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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE POTENTIALITIES OF RUSSO-INDIAN TRADE RELATIONS

BY BARON ALPHONSE HEYKING, D.C.L., PH.D.

I HAVE been honoured by a request from Dr. Pollen, Honorary Secretary of the East India Association, to give a short account of the potentialities of Russo-Indian trade relations, and although some years have elapsed since I left the post of Russian Consul General for India, I still retain sufficient interest in that wonderful country to try now to express an opinion about the future of such trade relations.

Up to the present these relations were in their infancy, and were kept within very narrow limits. The considerable growth of the exportation of Indian and Ceylon tea into Russia—which is bound to follow an upward course in the future—is almost the only instance of the development of Indo-Russian trade relations worth mentioning ; but it is known that such development has been retarded by a series of adverse circumstances which in all probability will be eliminated in the future, much to the mutual advantage of both countries.

Two such colossal economic units as Russia and India (with a thriving population of 180 and 330 million souls respectively), endowed with most favourable climatic conditions, and a fertile

soil containing those mineral resources which are essential for industry and manufacture, situated on the same continent, at no great distance apart, must necessarily come into close economic contact with each other.

Among the adverse circumstances which in the past have hampered the expansion of Indo-Russian trade relations, the political factor played a very considerable part. India mistrusted Russia, always fearing a possible invasion from the North. Not only the Anglo-Russian agreement with regard to Central Asia, but more especially the Russian revolution, has brought about an entire change in this respect. Russia has no tendency of aggression and aggrandisement at the expense of her neighbours. Her new political creed is to live and let live. She desires all nations to determine their own fate, and declines the application of force in welding their destinies.

One condition which was against the development of Russo-Indian trade relations was the lack of means of communication between the two countries. There is a line of steamships from Vladivostock to Calcutta which must be developed in the future. Again, Odessa should be linked up with Bombay and the Persian Gulf by another steamship line; and the most beneficial results may be expected by connecting the Russian railway system with that of India through Persia via Quetta. Negotiations on this scheme have already reached a very advanced stage, and it is only the war that has brought this very important enterprise to a standstill, which is bound to be renewed as soon as peace has been re-established, when Persian affairs will also be satisfactorily settled. This railway project is bound to be a potent factor for the development of Russo-Indian intercourse. It was the late Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, Sir Alfred Lyall, who very rightly said, "The overland route between Europe and India is manifestly destined to be one of the chief highways of the world" . . . and, he added, "nowhere in the civilized world, even among jealous and hostile states, have strategical reasons been held to be so impera-

tive as to prevent the junction of the main railway lines between two continental countries."

Another drawback to Russo-Indian trade was the German middleman. If one compares the imports of Germany from India chiefly through Hamburg, with the exports of Germany to Russia, one finds that Germany has brought into Russia many articles which are of Indian origin. A special report on Indo-Russian trade recently published by the Indian Government discloses the grip which Germany had on the supply of tropical raw material exported to Russia. Just before the war various methods of profiteering by German transit trade made itself felt in Russian imports of Indian products. For instance, the trade in jute between India and Russia via Germany was three times as large as the *direct* trade in the same article between the two countries. The transit through Germany is, of course, as unnecessary as it is undesirable.

With the object of avoiding it in future, and of establishing direct trade relations between Russia and India to the greatest possible extent, a deputation was sent from India to Russia for the purpose of studying the question. In its report, the deputation takes a very optimistic view of the potentialities of direct trade between India and Russia. The abolition of the sale of vodka will result in an increased consumption of another and better stimulant—tea; and, on the other hand, for the same reason, the purchasing power of the Russian peasant classes has been augmented. To foster India's export trade into Russia, joint enterprise is recommended in the form of a co-operation of firms willing to enter the Russian market. Of even greater importance is the advice set forth in the report that, on the conclusion of peace, agencies for the sale of Indian goods in Russia must be ready for immediate action. Russia cannot afford to postpone her measures for reconstruction. If she cannot secure the goods—of which she stands in need—from any other source, then she will be obliged to procure them from German agents. This warning should be emphasized. With a few exceptions, British firms have, for the moment,

drifted into a state of lethargy regarding Russian trade. British concerns pretend that the present state of unrest in Russia precludes any practical action of theirs in that country. Be that as it may, it remains true that the British commercial world must be ready when the great opportunity comes at the cessation of hostilities! Agencies in Russia should already be appointed, and provided with adequate information regarding the necessary requirements of the Russian market; addresses of prospective customers should be supplied; catalogues in the Russian language should be drawn up, with quotations of prices, c.i.f. in the Russian currency, etc. This must be done *before* peace is concluded in order that operations may be begun immediately war is at an end. To prepare for this contingency it is necessary not to wait for special boons and advantages in the form of preferential treatment by Russia, but, rather, to anticipate a less profitable issue, for instance, such as the realization of the peace-programme which the Soviets are advocating, viz., that a separate understanding with the Customs should *not* be concluded! In such an eventuality Great Britain and India would have to fight German commercial rivalry in Russia on equal terms. But, even so, British and Indian enterprise have the great advantage of being able to *prepare* for this emergency *now* that Germans are excluded from Russia. By the time that peace is declared British commerce should be firmly established in Russia, and in order to accomplish this no great difficulties need be surmounted, for, as the *Indian Pioneer Mail* of September 1, 1917, very aptly puts it: "A very large party in Russia is impressed with the necessity of definitely severing the German connection."

When I was in India, I published a letter in the *Times of India*, in which I advanced a proposition that trade relations between England and Russia hoped to receive a new impetus to the benefit of both countries. This view met with cordial sympathy, and I received a series of interesting letters from private individuals and Chambers of Commerce in India, concerning the manner in which it was thought Indo-Russian trade could be improved. For

The Potentialities of Russo-Indian Trade Relations.

instance, the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau expressed their hearty approval of the intention to develop Indo-Russian trade, which, from *their* point of view, would be of mutual benefit to both countries. Another letter written by a Hindu said that Providence itself demanded that India should be linked up in trade and commerce with Russia, and that, therefore, "friendly intercourse between the two greatest countries in the world" should be encouraged. Still another letter from a Hindu merchant expressed surprise that Russia had not appeared in the commercial world before. "If we take into account," he wrote, "what the Russians have achieved commercially in Persia, and in other parts of Asia, one must come to the conclusion that the fact that India has been left out, is not from lack of enterprise, but rather the result of insufficient information. After having beaten their competitors in the Persian market and elsewhere, they will have no difficulty in establishing themselves in India. It will be easy for Russians to take the place Germans have held in the past in India, by trying to comply with the tastes and special requirements of the population, as Russia has already had experience in trading with the Asiatic people of her dominions."

Some Chambers of Commerce and private firms suggested a reduction of Customs duties in India, or a preferential tariff to be conceded to India. Since the Paris Economic Conference, this idea has become considerably more practical than it was before. It has been recognized that the most-favoured-nation clause which Russia applied to goods originating from the British Empire, does not meet the requirements of British trade, and would have to be replaced by a device assuring the British goods more favourable conditions for importation into Russia. But even under the old tariff, many raw materials of different kinds are free from Customs duty in Russia. India, as a chiefly agricultural country producing to a great extent raw materials, cannot complain in this respect. India produces much raw material which is necessary to the trade and manufacture of Russia; it, therefore, stands to reason that there should be an excellent opening for Indian exports to Russia.

Besides, many Indian articles, as, for instance, jute, woollen manufactures, leather goods, silk, indigo, tobacco, oils, raw cotton, rice, coffee, spices, rubber, oil-seeds, hides, skins, shellac, and lac, gum, etc., have a good chance of finding a market in Russia, in spite of the Customs tariff of that country. Trade in Indian tea has, as already mentioned, a bright future in Russia, which is foremost among the tea-drinking countries of the world, and appreciates more and more the fragrant leaf grown in India and Ceylon. Russia, on the other hand, is in a position to provide India with products of her rapidly growing industries, at prices which may prove far lower than those of articles imported into India from other countries. Russia abounds in natural resources, and her large population provides her with cheap labour. There is, therefore, practically no limit for Russia in being able to undersell the manufactured goods which other countries export to India. Owing to the lack of enterprise on the part of the Russian merchant, far too little attention has been paid, hitherto, to the different classes of goods which are produced or manufactured in Russia, and which might be exported to India.

For example, Russian sugar should prove a welcome import into India, as this country is bound to increase her sugar importation, owing to her growing demand for this material, and the decline of her own production. The beet sugar industry in Russia produces an annual amount of sugar far in excess of the internal demand. Another Russian product which should find a good market in India is kerosene. Russia in 1904 to 1905 supplied India with not less than 53 per cent. of its imported kerosene ; in the following year her share of the import of kerosene fell to 4 per cent., owing to the disorganization of the oil industry in Baku. When the disturbances in this district were over, the supply of Russian mineral oil to India again increased. It is highly valued, and although it has to meet the competition of the Standard Oil Company, New York, the Burmah Oil Company, and the Asiatic Petroleum Company, it is sure to hold its own. Burmah will, of course, remain the chief purveyor of mineral oil to India, holding as she does the triple

advantage of possessing very cheap labour in its production, of being so near to the Indian market, and of exemption from the duty of 1 anna per gallon levied on all foreign oils imported into India. However, there is reason to believe that foreign oils, including Russian kerosene, need not fear the competition of Burmah oil. There is room for both in the country.

Another opportunity to expand trade relations between India and Russia lies in the importation of Russian cotton goods. These manufactures have already found their way to Quetta by transit through Persia, where they are much appreciated. The cotton manufacturers of Moscow and Ivanovo Vosnesensk, are producing for the markets of the Central Asiatic provinces of Russia a description of printed cotton goods, the designs on which are a pleasing interpretation of Turkestan, Persian and Central Asiatic patterns. Their skilful adaptation to Asiatic tastes, their cheapness, and their good quality, recommend them not only to the population of Central Asia, but also to that of India. On the authority of merchants in India who have good business experience I may say that the Lodz printed goods, grey and white shirtings, cambrics, drills and other cotton manufactures, have a good chance of finding buyers in India.

The earthenware and china goods which Russian manufacturers produce for use in Turkestan, are likewise adapted to the tastes of Central Asia and Northern India. In Baluchistan, Peshawar, and the Punjab, one already meets all sorts of chinaware of Russian origin, as for instance, teapots, cups, milk-jugs, sugar-basins, bowls and plates, which are specially made for the use of the inhabitants of Turkestan. These articles have a good sale, and the demand for them is rising. Now they reach India through Afghanistan or Eastern Turkestan, Ladak and Kashmir. On the long journey the goods change hands several times, their price growing accordingly. However, the high price for Russian china in India does not diminish its sale, and this in itself is sufficient proof of its possibilities on the Indian market in the future, when easier ways of communication are established.

To those articles of Russian manufacture which should find a ready sale in India upon a large scale should be added, gold brocade, galloons, lace embroideries and gold thread. These articles are manufactured chiefly for the use of the Greek Orthodox Church, and are inexpensive.⁶ In India they would serve the purposes of various classes of the population, who like to embellish their garments and headgear with showy gold adornments. Russian gold thread is known on the Indian market, and the demand for it is very steady. This trade is bound to assume bigger proportions in the future, as Russian manufacturers are endeavouring to study the requirements of the Indian market, and to find out what sorts of Russian gold lace are most suitable to the taste of Indians.

Of other classes of Russian goods which may be suitable for import into India, mention may be made of liqueurs, such as Kümmel, Kirsch, Gin, etc. ; cigarettes, a speciality of Russia, which are second to none, and are comparatively cheap, meeting the requirements of a gradually increasing demand ; Swedish matches, top-boots, which find buyers in Afghanistan and Northern India ; deal, ply-wood, vegetable oils, oil-cakes, hides, grease, etc.

It is time that Indian buyers should become acquainted with Russian industrial productions. To that effect, Russian people have been advised to send out catalogues written in English, to avail themselves of travelling agents in India, to appoint representatives on the spot, providing them with the necessary samples of Russian goods. It would also be desirable to establish museums in certain places, possibly in rooms connected with the Russian Consulates in India. By such and analogous methods, the importation of goods from Russia to India, followed by an increase of exports from India into Russia, could be fostered. India has nothing to lose and much to gain from such growth ; she is dependent to a great extent on imported industrial products and manufactures ; her interest lies in providing herself with the most suitable and cheapest article of which she stands in need. Russia is willing and able to render her valuable services in this direction. Commerce is a

potent never in welding mutual interests together, fostering mutual appreciation and friendly intercourse. The existing alliance between the British Empire and Russia favours the establishment of strong and broad commercial relations between Russia and India. It is now time to take advantage of this favourable juncture.

Lancashire has nothing to fear from Russian trade in India. For some time to come Russia will not be in a position to compete with Great Britain in the importation of manufactured goods, and even if such were the case, Great Britain would not be the loser. The Indian market can accommodate *both*. Under the wise administration of Great Britain, the purchasing power of the ryot is steadily rising, and the requirements of civilized life are spreading. Great Britain will not be able to cope with the demand by herself alone, and may, therefore, be glad to avail herself of some assistance from Russia, more particularly so as, in return for such exports to India, Russia will carry on an importation trade from that country, thereby contributing to the further development of Indian wealth and importance.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, October 29, 1917, a paper was read by Baron A. Heyking, D.C.L., PH.D., Russian Consul-General (retired), entitled, "The Potentialities of Russo-Indian Trade Relations." His Excellency Monsieur de Nabokoff (Chargeé d'Affaires, Russian Embassy) occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., and Lady Arundel, Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Frederick S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Lely, Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.F., Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel Stuart Godfrey, C.I.E., and Mrs. Godfrey, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Lord Strabolgie, Baroness Heyking, Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Madame Novikoff, Lady Kensington and Lieut. Kensington, Lady Katharine Stuart, Colonel and Mrs. Gray, Colonel Kilgour, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Mr. Owen Dunn, M.I.C.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Drury, Mrs. Collis, Miss Tudor Hart, Mrs. Kinneir-Tarte, Mrs. Nash, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Wigley, Miss Perring, Mr., Mrs. and Miss Phillipowsky, Miss Ashworth, Mrs. Salwey, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. Druce, Miss Wild, Miss Cobbe, The Misses Stewart, Mr. Khaji Ismail, Miss Sybil Judge, Miss Kate Judge, Mr. William H. Beable, Mr. and Mrs. de Vesselitsky, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Miss O. Lamb, Mr. Kidwai, Mr. S. Haji, Mr. E. Miller, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. Salway White, Mrs. M. T. Jackson, Miss Wade, Miss Webster, Miss Mitchell, Dr. Kapadia, Mr. Auastarieff, Mr. Forrest Stuart, Mr. J. Rhambata, Mr. Polak, Mr. Alexander Osou, Mr. B. B. Chatterjee, Mr. R. Grant Brown, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Hassan Ally, Miss Swainson, Mr. Winter, Mr. Chadwick, Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Bollet, Mr. Courtney, Mr. H. W. Wolfe, Mr. Adams, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. W. Frank, Mr. K. N. Dutt, Mr. Osmond C. Knapp, Mr. Sokolon, Mrs. Tempest Thompson, Mr. H. C. Newson, Mr. Robert Powell, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with applause, said: Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in introducing to you the Lecturer of

to-day, Baron Heyking. I have occupied one position of great privilege in common with him. We have both served our country in India, and that is the reason why I have accepted the honour of presiding at this meeting. (Hear, hear.) The subject of the lecture is the future possibilities of trade between India and Russia. I do not dare to encroach upon this subject, but I would like to say just a few words on another subject, and that is the past impossibilities of the trade between India and Russia. That, I think, will serve as an introduction. These impossibilities, I think, were manifold and complex, and they were both practical and political. The practical impossibility, of course, I can only give you an index of. I cannot go into the matter because the matter is far too wide. The first practical impossibility was that both Russia and India were not industrially developed. The railways in Russia were scarce, and, owing to political reasons, the industrial development of Russia was handicapped by this, that wherever the question arose of building a railway which would serve to develop the industrial resources of the country, the military party said, "No; we must build a railway to the western frontier, because Germany will attack us." I may mention in this connection that the Murman Railway, which is now one of the very few lines of communication between Russia and the outer world, was suggested about twenty-three years ago by Mr. Witte, who was then Minister of Railways; but it was not built because the railways had to be built to the west. Well, that was one impossibility. I think a casual glance at the map will show us that there were many barriers between India and Russia. There is a railway system in Russia, however scanty, and in India, but there is no connecting-link. There is also the insuperable barrier, the Himalayas. As I have said, I am only just giving you an idea of what the difficulties were. The political difficulties were still greater. Baron Heyking will, I think, admit that when in Bombay he was a very lonely gentleman. He was the only Russian agent for that vast Empire, with a population of 300,000,000, and I am pleased to have this opportunity of paying a tribute to Baron Heyking's energy and foresight (Hear, hear), because Baron Heyking studied the possibilities of trade between India and Russia even then. Of course, the Consular Agent is supposed to be there to promote trade. I was much more fortunate than he was, because I came to India after the 1907 agreement between Great Britain and Russia, and I had the great good fortune of being there when the same far-seeing statesman who inspired and promoted the agreement of 1907 was Viceroy of India. That made my task considerably easier, and I could already foresee that changes were impending. Of course, this war has removed the impossibilities, and allows us now, I think, to have a vision; and this vision, as I see it in a few years, is this: a railway which will give the possibilities of loading and placing cargoes on the rails in the North of Russia and bringing them right away down to Madras (Hear, hear); also of airships crossing the barrier of the Himalayas and carrying the goods from Russia to India. I do not see why that is at all impossible. I think that if future humanity applies the same sort of genius to constructive work as is now being applied to destructive work, we shall see airship

crossing the barrier. Before the Siberian Railway was built, of course trade between India and Russia across the Pacific was almost if impossible; but now that we have the Siberian Railway, which I hope will have many branch lines after this war, because we shall have to develop the industrial riches of Siberia, it is my hope that the Pacific Ocean will once more justify its name as it has done in this war, and that there will be more than one line between Vladivostok and Calcutta.

I will now call upon Baron Heyking to give us his vision.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, said : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, before reading my paper will you allow me to preface it by a few remarks? The subject of my paper would bear a much more lengthy discourse, but I am limiting myself to the few pages which I shall have the pleasure of reading to you, basing my remarks on my own personal experiences in India. I, therefore, do not pretend to give you anything complete or exhaustive, but I shall only try to give you the chief outlines, which I ask you to take into consideration for what they are worth. Another reservation made is that the war and the revolution in Russia have brought about conditions of life quite exceptional, which do not affect the potentialities of Indo-Russian relations. In the future, when peace will be restored, national trade will be carried on under normal conditions. Mention is, therefore, not made of the special difficulties which have arisen in Russia, and which are, I am sorry to say, a great drawback for trade and commerce in Russia.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we all appreciate the interesting lecture we have just heard, and we will try and remember the chief points that the Lecturer has made, and the facts he has given us, but there is just one point I should like particularly to emphasize. The Lecturer has told us that this war and the Alliance is one of the reasons why we should in the future come into closer relations with India. To this I would like to add that it seems to me the future developments of Russia and of India have one point in common, and that is, that the spirit of individual initiative in Russia will certainly not be hampered by any Governmental supervision and interference. I will give you one example of this. There are watering-places in Russia of every kind and description, but Russians spent before the war, on an average, £25,000,000 in Germany every year, in German watering-places. We have all those beautiful watering-places in Russia, but the supervision of the Government was such that the people went to Germany. This, I hope, will not happen in the future (Hear, hear), and I hope to see the watering-places of the Crimea and the western shores of the Caucasus—which are, perhaps, the most beautiful spots in Europe—and Russian industries developed, and that will bring about the possibility of trade exchange. I think that if India progress on the same lines is forthcoming, and that is something that will help the two countries, aided by those railways and airships which I have already dealt with, to come into closer contact, and that that contact will not be limited to officialdom, but that it will really be a *rapprochement* of those two countries, and the symbol of this

closer unity will be the railways and the material ways of communication that will unite them.

I will now call upon Mr. Chadwick, who has expressed a desire to speak.

Mr. CHADWICK : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it has been a great pleasure to all of us to hear two former Russian Consuls-General in India express their faith in the improvement and development of trade between Russia and India. I had the good fortune to be sent, only last year, from India to Russia for the purposes of making inquiries in regard to such possibilities. I am thereby under a great personal obligation to our Chairman, for he gave me several letters of introduction, and I received the greatest assistance both from officials and from commercial classes in Russia. There is a strong desire in many circles in Russia to develop closer trade relationships. The feature that was most surprising was that whilst our Indian returns showed that we practically only sent tea from India to Russia, the Russian returns showed that India actually sent many other goods, to the value of about three times that of tea—such articles, for instance, as Rangoon rice in Reval, indigo, lac, oil-seeds, jute, medicinal plants. These at times were delivered actually in our own Indian packing, and sometimes with Indian labels, but for the most part bought, unfortunately, in Hamburg. So it was right through a large number of our own Indian products. The point I wish to make here is that, in spite of the past impossibilities of which we have heard, and which have hampered and contracted trade in the past, yet Indian goods were finding their way to Russia. The Russians were very anxious, and are ready, to work together much more directly for the benefit of both countries. The fact that their industries and resources are steadily developing really means an increased demand for tropical raw produce. For instance, in Turkestan I see they have now a crop of about 2,000,000 bales of cotton, which is the largest and most successful extension of cotton-growing in a new area in recent years. That has not been equalled either in India or Egypt. All that cotton has to be baled in jute sacking, to be sent to the mills in Moscow. Similarly, with regard to oil-seeds, the demand for soap is increasing very largely in the villages of Western Russia, and there is a market growing up for edible vegetable fats and nut butters. Thus it is that Russia needs tropical produce, and has steadily been taking more each year; and, presumably, when the country settles down once more will continue to require an increasing amount. Can this trade be developed on a direct basis, or is it once more to pass mainly through the hands of German intermediaries? The Germans will certainly endeavour to get it back. They know Russian methods, and Russian merchants know that they can get from them the articles they largely require. Stocks in Russia were low when we were there, and are probably still lower. If, then, the opportunity is to be seized, some organization or body is required which can get into touch cheaply and widely with the Russian market and methods, and which can inspire confidence in the Russian purchaser that he will get the goods he needs in the form he wants. It would seem to be both a long and costly

process for each competing Indian firm to send its own agent to Russia to study the market. One short example will illustrate how the Russian manufacturer wishes to be certain that he gets what he really requires. Take the quality of goods. The Russian tariff is very high, and duties are levied on weight and not on value. No manufacturer wants to pay a heavy duty on dust or small stones which inadvertently or otherwise get into the goods. The presence of such foreign matter is sufficiently annoying when no duty is leviable; it is more so when a duty has been paid on it.

One should not be surprised at the important part Germany has played in this trade, because in Moscow I was told by one merchant: "We are accustomed to see you Britishers coming here to talk about machinery, but you are the first one who has ever come here to talk about rice, and pepper, and jute, and things of that sort." The Germans, as a matter of fact, were installed in the towns, and it is in the towns where demands for these articles mostly exist. I think I am right in saying that most of the British capital in Russia was invested in the mines, and in developing the more remote portions of the country, whereas the Germans were in the towns in touch with industrial and other changes. As for the reliability of Russian trade, some British manufacturers in Russia who have been established there for years say that trade is very good when once you know how to work with the Russian commercial classes and understand them, and not endeavour to do business entirely by letters. Undoubtedly great openings exist. Many of the old political barriers and past impossibilities are disappearing, and it really remains for the initiative of the two countries to develop the openings that now exist. In justice to Russia, I think there is one thing I ought to say. Tea is an article we pride ourselves on sending from India to Russia, but the tea trade has been very largely developed by Russian merchants going to Calcutta and to Colombo. If Indian and British merchants visit Russia to develop trade connections, I am quite certain that they will find a good and ready welcome awaiting them, and, I think and hope, what may develop into a profitable and pleasant connection. Trade to be stable has to go in both directions, and Russia with her vast resources must have some articles India lacks. I am sure we are all glad to find two Consuls-General still keeping an interest in the relations between Russia and India, and hope they may long retain it, because there is undoubtedly a great future for both countries. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BEABLE said that he was quite sure they were all very much impressed, as they had been on previous occasions, with the wealth of knowledge that Baron Heyking had shown on questions affecting the development of relations between the British Empire and his own country. As he had had the pleasure of saying before, there was, in his opinion, no man who had done more to promote those friendly relations than Baron Heyking had done. (Hear, hear.) Reference had been made to the difficulties which occurred in the business communications between Russia and India, the practical difficulties of transport, the political difficulties, and so forth. The practical difficulties were to be overcome by political

acumen and organization. If the politicians, the Government, and the manufacturers of the country were prepared to work harmoniously together, and to do everything they could to promote business relations, then the so-called practical difficulties would soon be removed. But there was another difficulty which had been touched upon by the Lecturer, and that was the lack of initiative on the part of the British manufacturers, not only those in this country, but those who were Britishers in India as well, because, after all, we are all part of one great Empire. They had been too much accustomed to let things go. (Hear, hear.) It reminded him of a story he had seen a few days ago of two Irishmen starting out from Belfast to Ballachulish. When they started they were told the distance was fourteen miles, and after proceeding along the road for some two hours they stopped a fellow-workman and asked him how far it was, and he replied : "Just fourteen miles from here." They went on for another couple of hours, and then came to cross-roads ; and they inquired of someone who was driving past which was the road, and how far it was. And he replied : "It is exactly fourteen miles from this corner." "Well," one said to the other, "thank Heaven, Mike, we are at any rate holding our own!" That seemed to have been the attitude of the British manufacturers, and he was glad the Lecturer had emphasized the point of making immediate preparations for trade after the war. They had to look at this question from the broad Imperial standpoint, and to make preparations now. Then, in the second place, it had got to be not a mere question of India and the British Empire, but a question of mutual advantage. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and the relations between the two countries affected almost every possible phase. There were scarcely two countries in the world that were less rivals, or more complementary to each other, than the British Empire and Russia. He was glad to have the opportunity of attending this meeting, and he hoped it would be the precursor of many others that would tend to bring together the two countries in friendly relations. He had the greatest sympathy with Russia in the difficulties she was passing through now ; but, personally, he had studied the question carefully, both in Russia and in this country, and he had unbounded optimism in the future that Russia would come triumphantly out of her difficulties. If they would only rise to the occasion as men and women of this great British Empire their relations with Russia would be of the friendliest character in the future, and would be much to their mutual advantage. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Sir MANCHERJEE M. BHOWNAGREE said he was delighted to take the opportunity the meeting afforded, when a distinguished Russian gentleman presided over it and another had treated them to an interesting discourse, to express in the name of India the sincere wish of her people that the Russian Empire might soon get over the present difficulties against which she was bravely contending, and be prepared to march on the path of peace and prosperity after the victory of the allied arms. (Applause.) The treaty of 1907, to which His Excellency the Chairman had referred, was a source of great relief to India, and since then the

growing amicable relations between the British and Russian Governments were a matter not only of relief but rejoicing there, as thereby the fear of a Russian invasion, which had imposed a heavy burden upon the exchequer of India and the energies of her statesmen, had been sensibly reduced. (Hear, hear.) Referring to the lecture itself, Sir Mancherjee said he admired the frankness with which Baron Heyking had expressed his views, and he could well understand how acceptable they would prove to an audience of Russian manufacturers. But when the lecture was delivered under the auspices of a Society whose object was to promote the interests of India, and before an audience animated by the same sentiment, it seemed to him to call for some criticism. In the course of his address the Lecturer quoted from a letter received by him from a Hindu gentleman the following words : "If we take into account what the Russians have achieved commercially in Persia, and in other parts of Asia, one must come to the conclusion that the fact that India has been left out, is not from lack of enterprise, but rather the result of insufficient information. After having beaten their competitors in the Persian market and elsewhere, they will have no difficulty in establishing themselves in India. It will be easy for Russians to take the place Germans have held in the past in India, by trying to comply with the taste, and special requirements of the population, as Russia has already had experience in trading with the Asiatic people of her dominions."

Taking this as the basis upon which trade relations between Russia and India could be developed, the Lecturer made out a case almost wholly an arrangement by which India might export to Russia her raw products, and receive in return Russian manufactured articles. That was to say, that Russia should take the place of Germany and other enemy countries, and be added to Japan, America, and other friendly countries after the war in dumping down their manufactures into India, and the people of India would welcome with both hands this sort of trade relations with Russia. Sir Mancherjee was afraid the learned Lecturer would find himself mistaken, the aforesaid opinion of the Hindu correspondent notwithstanding. (Hear, hear.) India had suffered, and suffered vitally, from the want of manufacturing, trading and scientific knowledge. That had been the cause of her poverty. She had become aware of the evil, and was clamouring for a remedy. In the process of the reconstruction after the war, now so much talked about, it would be a serious blunder on the part of British statesmen if some sound practical scheme was not included to extricate her people from their industrial helplessness and growing dependence on foreign manufactures. (Cheers.) The country was bountifully endowed by Nature with numerous valuable products, her workmen were industrious and thrifty; yet, in spite of such favourable conditions, she had failed to grow opulent and vigorous. That was contrary to both natural and human laws for the advancement of nations. (Cheers.) While he was in entire sympathy with the object of the Lecturer to develop the potentialities of Russo-Indian trade relations, and sure that the people of India would heartily welcome it as making for an amicable connection between the British and Russian

*Empires, he thought it his duty, by a few words of friendly criticism, to point out that the fulfilment of that object would have to be secured by different methods than those which were so largely dwelt upon in the paper. (Applause.)

Mr. T. J. BENNETT, in proposing a vote of thanks to His Excellency for presiding, and to Baron Heyking for the very able and valuable paper he had read, said that one personal note struck by the Chairman had rather interested him. Baron Heyking, he thought, had had a position in India less comfortable than that of His Excellency, and that brought to his mind recollections, which wild horses would not draw from him, in regard to the relations between the Russian Consul-General in Bombay at a certain period and the Government in Bombay. If they wished to know more about it they must ask M. de Klemme, the very able gentleman who was Consul-General at Bombay in his time. But all this, of course, related to the period antecedent to the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian agreement. He felt sure he was giving expression to the feeling of all present when he said how gratified English people and other subjects of the British Empire were to meet two distinguished representatives of that great Russian nation which was now in the throes of a painful and difficult evolution, the outcome of which they could guess and conjecture about, but of which they were not certain; but they might rest assured that their hopes and their best wishes went out to our Allies of that great nation. They would not be critical, and they would not be too inquisitive. There were things going on in Russia which were difficult to understand, but they must be patient with the working out of those great events which were now in progress, and hope for the best. He had been interested in Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree's reference to one important phase of the problem enunciated by the Lecturer. He had apologized for having been a sort of naughty boy who had disturbed the harmony of the proceedings. But, to his mind, Sir Mancherjee had spoken excellent sense, and he was entirely with him when he denounced the idea that India should for ever be the mere hewer of wood and drawer of water which some selfish economists in this country had wished her to be. They had outlived that, if ever they had believed in it, and though there was a possibility that for long India may be exporting mainly her raw products, to his mind it rested very much with India herself how long that period should last. (Hear, hear.) He might mention that to-day rails were laid behind the Front in France by the Railway Construction Department which had been manufactured in India, and they would see at once that they had every reason to hope that India's commercial relations with England, and with Russia, and with other countries, would be improved on the lines Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree desired. He was sure that Baron Heyking would be glad to see the manufactured products of India exported to Russia, as well as the raw products, and if there were any raw products of Russia they could do with in India, they would be glad to see them too. He hoped they would understand the position taken up in regard to the balance of trade between India and her neighbours. Sir Mancherjee was perfectly right, and he cordially endorsed what had been said. In

conclusion, he asked those present to express their thanks in the most cordial way to His Excellency, and to Baron Heyking for the most valuable paper he had read.

This was seconded by Sir Arundel T. Arundel, and carried unanimously.

The LECTURER, in reply, said : Ladies and gentlemen, I felt that my few remarks would be the means of creating an interesting discussion, and my expectation has been fulfilled. I thank very much the very able orators who have spoken on the question, but I must defend myself against something which I really did not say. I advocated the development of Russo-Indian trade relations as such. I do not think that in this paper I was advocating the exportation of raw materials only from India, and the importation of manufactured goods from Russia. Such a course is quite impossible. I mentioned in my paper that India was a great country, developing steadily, and, of course, industry and manufacture is also developing there. Of course, we will import also manufactured products with the greatest pleasure if they are good. (Hear, hear.) I thought that a fair exchange of the commodities of those two countries would meet the purpose of both. That was the leading idea of my paper, and I think that in that I was certainly not wrong (Hear, hear.) The very nature of international trade excludes force. Each country exports precisely those articles she is in a position to sell, and which at the same time are required by her international customers. If in future India is able to export to Russia manufactured articles instead of the raw products she now exports, and if, on the other hand, Russia needs such merchandise, this sort of commerce will no doubt be established. Russia is free from any bias against manufactured goods coming from India. The law of supply and demand automatically decides what sort of articles should pass from one country to another. If India wants to transfer her trade in raw products for the more profitable exportation of semi or wholly finished articles, she can do so as soon as she has developed her manufacturing industry which will enable her to place those products on the world's markets.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you on behalf of the Lecturer and myself for the very kind response you have given us to day. I must say that, quite apart from the personal tribute, what I have appreciated more is the fact that this is one of the many meetings I have attended in this country since Russia's difficulties have increased, and every time that our British friends have spoken of Russia and her difficulties, the response given by the audience to a wish that Russia may recover speedily was made with such genuine outbursts of sympathy expressed in applause (Hear, hear) as denotes, I think, that it is a real and true national sympathy. (Hear, hear). It is the one outstanding feature of this war, in which about three-quarters, or perhaps four-fifths, of the world are now engaged, that it has brought about this national friendship between Great Britain and Russia, and that is a capital that we must not spend, but invest. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

The following is an outline of a speech which Madame Novikoff (O. K.)

would have delivered had she not been suffering from loss of voice due to a cold : Ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Pollen has recently published a delightful book on Russian poets. Ever since I read it (and I greatly enjoyed it), my idea was—but ideas of that kind may be expressed only by a very, very old woman—that in return for this pleasure could I not do something to please Dr. Pollen? Is there anything I am able to do for him? I was lost in uncertainty. But a few minutes ago I discovered that his desire was that I should say something at this meeting about India.

Unfortunately, though I greatly admire that great country, my admiration is desperately platonic.

Some years ago, Lord Roberts was kind enough to invite me to his house in Calcutta; but at that time I had some pressing work on hand, and had to refuse that tempting invitation. So I have never been in India. I only admire pictures of Indian scenery, Indian glorious architecture, Indian books, and other products of Indian genius. Nothing more!

On second thoughts, I think, nevertheless, I may say a few words at this meeting. My little story begins with the really great heroic Skobeleff—of course, not referring in the least to the present man, who had the impudence to take that name, and who now represents the present chaos in Petrograd. The real Skobeleff, two weeks before his death, brought me his beautiful portrait, and seemed in very good spirits. We talked frankly about all sorts of things. He was chaffing me on my love for Great Britain, and, not satisfied with that, concluded with these strange words : “But England is very absurd!” Here it was my turn to interrupt the speaker, with my usual vehemence, alas! so well known to all my friends. “How can you use such words!” I exclaimed. I had not long to wait for his reply. “Nothing can explain my meaning more easily than this,” replied he, very calmly. “I think you must admit that I am not a coward?” Here came my second interruption : “Thank God! that you certainly are not!” But he continued, hardly noticing my words : “Well, I tell you, to think of Russia as if she could and wanted to give any trouble to England in India, or was even dreaming of fighting and annexing Indian territory, as it was supposed to be the case by English writers, is simply the climax of absurdity!” Here I understood how my friend was right in his blame and how wrong I was in my defence. No doubt there has been no end of suspicion, and endless accusations and fears of Russia’s possible folly. But now it is time for me to stop my faulty eloquence, and apologize for trying to keep your attention for such a long time.

The Hon. Secretary has received the following letter relating to the lecture from the Baroness Heyking :

12, PEMBROKE SQUARE, W. 2,
November 2, 1917.

DEAR MR. POLLEN,

I am writing to tell you how pleased I was to have been present at the interesting meeting of the East India Association when you had

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arranged that my husband should read his paper on the "Potentialities of Russo-Indian Trade Relations."

Since I look upon India as my home-land, and my parents are still living there, this is, therefore, a subject which I have very much at heart. Knowing India as well as I do, I am able to appreciate the importance of the interchange of products of that country with those coming from the country which I have adopted by marriage—Russia.

I have always wondered why so little coffee, pepper, and spices are exported from India to Russia, and, now that she is an ally, why should she not provide herself with these and other merchandise coming from India, which are incomparably excellent, instead of obtaining them from other countries? It all depends, of course, upon these products being brought before the notice of those requiring them. May I suggest that Indians should adopt a method to which English firms in England have now reverted, and which has proved very satisfactory, and that is, to send out to Russia commercial commissioners to advertise their stock-in-trade and collect custom. As one firm alone could not bear the expense of engaging the services of such a man, several firms should combine together to employ him. The orders the agent would get in Russia should then be distributed amongst the various firms which he represents. Say twenty coffee planters, through the medium of such a commissioner, get, cumulatively, an order for 1,000 tons, then each planter should receive an order for fifty tons. Such a scheme would avoid the middleman, who usually pockets a considerable profit. Of course, in so doing we should have to encounter the criticism of Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, who, it seems, objects to the exportation of Indian raw products to Russia; but, in support of our planters, it must be maintained that there can be no better course than to sell what India is able to produce at the present moment. Highly-finished manufactured mechanical goods may be the commerce of the future. It remains, however, that the principal thing for India at this juncture resolves itself in the vigorous exportation of that which she now possesses, avoiding the services of the middleman, be he a German or an Englishman, and making use of the steamship line—Calcutta-Vladivostok.

I will not further encroach upon your time. Pray accept my thanks for the opportunity you have thus afforded me in expressing these few ideas.

Many thanks for your kind invitation to your lecture on the 6th instant, which I have much pleasure in accepting.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

KATHARINE HEYKING.

THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION OF INDIA

BY T. DAVIS, M.A., F.R.G.S.

IT has been said so often that the British Empire needs India as to become a commonplace of Indian politics.

The Empire needs its illimitable wealth, its inexhaustible man power, its boundless generosity, its Imperial prestige, and, apparently, gives so little in return, that the loyalty of its subjects is severely taxed.

THE NEED OF INDIA

But it must be remembered that India needs the British Empire. The resources of Empire have been placed at the disposal of India, and the long period of peace and prosperity has been due entirely to the protecting power of Great Britain.

There is room, however, for a much closer co-operation in working out a common policy, for a better mutual understanding of the problems peculiar to India, and for a more enlightened grasp of the basic principles which would make India an important and integral part of the whole Empire.

THE GOLDEN AGE

We are familiar with the story of many who love to speak of a Golden Age in India, when perfection characterized its social system, which subsequent Powers marred till it has reached its present degradation.

Never mind, things are moving rapidly nowadays, and it is much better to dream of the Golden Age that is coming, and to associate ourselves with the energetic reformers of to-day in making India the joy of the whole earth.

We are very proud of India, of all she has done in the Great War, of how she has disappointed our enemies and confounded their devices.

A better day is coming, when her sons will come into their own again, and even Home Rule and Nationalism pale before the greater inheritance the War will bequeath to us. We can already see the dawn of a wider Imperial unity and a closer bond of international friendship.

Perhaps then we shall see that the policy of British rule in India has prepared the country for this evolution of political freedom, and established the conditions upon which such a glorious future can be assured.

One fact is clear in the long and chequered history of British rule in India—that our hands have been clean.

Administrative efforts may have been productive of evil as well as of good, but no one has impugned the motive and goodwill of the Administration. That, at any rate, has been beyond reproach.

We hear it said sometimes that the Englishmen of this generation do not understand the people as the older men of the John Company days. They were not birds of passage. They were domiciled in the country. Whereas the young men of to-day seek frequent leave, longer the better, and early claim a substantial pension.

At any rate, the present system does save the Services from stagnation, and some of us would be glad if the servants of State in England had some distant home to claim their presence.

In the social evolution of India we should not lose sight of the fact that from earliest times there has been a considerable amount of spade work done in consolidating the national life of the country, and even British rule entered if so a by no means insignificant heritage.

England found there an ancient civilization with the potentialities of a vast Empire.

Our rule in a country divided against itself became more stable and more enlightened than any previous one. We are conceited enough to believe that no other civilized nation could have done better.

Great Britain will bequeath to some generation following a better India than she found, whose ideals will have been formed by close contact and co-operation with a Government which, whatever its faults, has stood for justice, truth, and righteousness. The best of India's sons have seen this vision, and have realized the vast amount of constructive work to be done in attaining it.

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE

In this respect may I pay a tribute to one we highly respected in Bombay—the late Mr. Gokhale? You may claim him as a reformer, or you may classify him as a builder. He was big. He filled his sphere. He will live on.

It has been said that every man is the child of his age. This is only a half-truth, for some, and Mr. Gokhale in particular, are progenitors.

HIS POLITICAL TESTAMENT

Some unkind critics have said that the last political testament of Mr. Gokhale was a fabricated document. Well, our good friend the Aga Khan is quite able to deal with that.

Anyhow, it would take a Gokhale to conceive it, and its intrinsic value depends upon its solid common sense and practical utility in a period of transition.

All I ask for it here is to regard it as a practical contribution of a great mind and a devoted son, and as a step forward in Indian politics. It is in the right direction of constitutional progress, another milestone in the history of the relations of Great Britain with India. Read in conjunction with Mr. Montagu's statement on British aims in India, there is every

possibility of it receiving the sympathetic consideration of the Government.

The scheme, in a word, is provincial autonomy, with provision for greater facilities for India's sons to be associated with the supreme Government.

The Aga Khan expresses the conviction that Mr. Gokhale's opinions will have a beneficial effect upon Indian thought, and contribute materially to the evolution of a sound progressive policy.

No one dreams that this scheme of autonomy is the end in view, but undoubtedly it is a means in sight.

We must remember that Mr. Lloyd George has not taken a hand in Indian reform yet. That is one of the pleasures in store for him, and his political life cannot be complete till he find Nirvana for political India.

There are distinguished Anglo-Indians and honoured Indian friends present who are well qualified to speak on this important subject, and we shall welcome their contribution in the discussion.

It is interesting to note in the two final paragraphs of Mr. Gokhale's testament that he conceived of a great future for Indian colonization, especially in German East Africa, and foreshadowed the granting of commissions (long overdue) to Indians. Let us not lose sight of the fact that this was penned in the darkest hour of the War, and is a testimony to the true prophetic spirit of the writer. There is not the slightest indication that any mean advantage was to be seized, owing to England's overwhelming troubles, nor the least doubt of her final and complete triumph.

India's so-called political friends fail to realize that the unrest which seems to loom more largely in their own imagination than in the heart of the country is but the paradox of the spirit of contentment which is the lot of the average citizen of India.

Political aspiration is confined at present to the few buoyant spirits; political education is the rugged path in store for the many who will struggle into the fuller liberty of a purified civilization.

Any visitor to India in the cold season can write a book, for the materials are there prepared for his consumption. Those who have borne the burden and heat of the day there for many years hesitate to make even a short speech. They spend the evening of their days still thinking.

A great responsibility rests upon our Indian friends resident in this country to educate our people here in the true state of affairs, and not to confuse them by magnifying petty details into great problems.

An Indian writer has said : "The British in India have never attempted or desired to move the masses, and have no means of doing so if they wished."

That was not my experience in observing the wonderful work attempted by the various Services of the Government in India.

INDIAN SOCIETY

Let me analyze the situation a little more closely. India (when we leave our textbooks) is divisible into three important sections :

1. *The Pandit class*, which is the predominating influence in the land.
2. *The great mass* of the population—rural, illiterate, superstitious, and withal contented.
3. *The educated class*, which has received the benefits of Western culture, and represent a very small minority of the people.

It is the latter class which has made its voice heard in Europe, and as a rule has unconsciously given the impression that they are speaking in the name of the whole.

Now British rule in India has benefited every class without distinction, and has laid the foundation of a new civilization in which the East will contribute from its vast treasure-house something to the progressive life of the West.

AGRICULTURE

The policy of the Government in regard to agriculture is an object-lesson to the world of its solicitous care for the millions

of its poorest citizens who eke out a bare subsistence on the land.

Several Commissions have been appointed to consider the whole question of agricultural problems, and to make recommendations as to their solution, especially as to the best way the farmer as a class can be benefited, and agriculture be developed on sound economic lines.

Consequently, we have an Agricultural Department to collect information, and to watch over the interests of the cultivator. Agricultural education has become a recognized branch of the Education Department, and its institutions for higher education are full of promise.

India is a land rich in its agricultural products, and, given a good rainfall, the cultivator ought to make a competent living. Generally speaking, his wants are few, and his stock-in-trade of limited value and of primitive construction.

With the introduction of Western agricultural methods and implements there is a gradually increasing output, and their general acceptance would more than repay the initial cost of outlay.

However, the Indian raiyat is a poor man, without sufficient capital for his limited needs, and, consequently, he has frequent recourse to the money-lender. To be in debt is a cherished heritage. To be solvent would be to him a strange feeling.

To attempt to legislate for this impoverished class seems at first sight to be an interference with their domestic economy, and not an effort to improve their social environment.

This, however, is not the case, for the cultivator, being in debt, leads to a further and greater evil—viz., that of the land itself passing into the hands of the money-lender, who either leaves the land uncultivated, or reduces the raiyat to a condition of absolute servility.

A paper read before the Association last session showed the value of the Co-operative Credit Societies' Act, which provides necessary capital for this impecunious class, and "is a sincere and patient effort to ameliorate the conditions of the peasantry."

IRRIGATION

Then no work of the Government has been so assiduously pressed forward as that of *irrigation*.

The salvation of the masses of India lies in utilizing Nature's provision, and overcoming her vagaries.

A well-irrigated land is a sufficient security against famine. In some parts of India, it is true, a great deal is left to private enterprise, but on the whole the Government has initiated and developed this important work.

INDUSTRIES

Closely related to agriculture in providing a livelihood for the illiterate classes of the country is the subject of *industries*, and the part they play in the social evolution of India.

The fame of certain branches of Indian industries from remote times has spread far and wide, and their skill in weaving, brass and silver work, wood and ivory carving, has attained a high standard of excellence.

The reason for this undoubtedly lies in the fact that particular crafts have been inseparable from certain castes, and so the art has been maintained in their families, and by continual and habitual practice the high standard of efficiency has been maintained.

Industry, however, implies something much bigger than local arts, and comprises everything we include under the term Industrialism.

The old bonds of social life in India are being loosened, and a new era has begun.

Indian workmen have been brought into contact with outside nations; and a new industrial environment has dawned.

Old forces are being swept away, and caste claims are giving way to class claims.

India from being a country of villages, is being changed by the springing up of townships, with their new social conditions and the equalization of the opportunities of life.

One of the most hopeful signs of the development of Indian

life is the increasing number of business partnerships, by which the material prosperity of the country is developed and mutual respect enhanced in a most decided way.

India has in recent times shown how to utilize the business capacity of her merchant princes in the political and social life of the community. In this country we have had too much law and too little business in our Parliamentary life. Business is the best training for any politician, and the less secrecy in diplomacy the better for our international relations.

We are suffering to-day for neglecting the industrial development of the Empire.

No part of the British Empire has such vast material resources as India, and a great future is in store for her in the markets of the world.

Industry, however, cannot be developed on the old family system.

There must be expert knowledge imported, and men of practical experience brought in from any part of the Empire.

Men of capacity for managing must be engaged till others are fully trained.

Foreign capital will be necessary till the fallacy of every man his own banker is exploded. The labour market must be recruited from an educated population. We shall then see a vast economic structure rise, which will make India a prosperous and contented land.

Industrial expansion, practical science, commercial enterprise, have introduced new economic laws, and their development will signify the establishment of Indian society on a better-organized and broader scale. The old landmarks will be no longer a safe guide, for the new conditions of life will be determined by new social and political relations.

EDUCATION

Moral and material progress within living memory has been achieved principally by the few who have availed themselves of the benefits of Western education, which can do for the East what it has done for the West.

It is a necessary instrument of progress, and in any case the future ruling class must be an enlightened one, deriving its principles from the learning of the West.

The policy of education is now carried out in the widest sense of the term, and there is no branch of modern education untouched by the legislature in its efforts to advance the material, social, and political condition of the masses of the country. There is no social or religious barrier placed in the way of any citizen debarring him from the benefits of education.

There is undoubtedly a great gulf between the educated classes and the illiterate masses of the country, but the day is coming when education will be universal and compulsory in every village in India, without reference to sex, caste, or creed, and in its wake the political enfranchisement of the masses with a universal suffrage.

The barest rudimentary education is not sufficient for any progressive people, and the demand must necessarily be for the best that modern civilization can give.

The door of higher education must be opened wide for all who desire to profit by its advantages.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

One of the privileges the State confers upon an educated people is the authority to govern themselves. This is one of the objects of the Government of India, but its growth and development have been somewhat tardy owing to the inherent incapacity of the great mass of Indian subjects, and to those internal differences which militate against a rapid forward movement of self-government. However, self-government itself is an educating process, and the leaders and representatives of the people have shown considerable aptitude—I might say hereditary ability—in this branch of political education.

LORD MAYO'S POLICY

The policy of Lord Mayo in 1870 was to grant a limited sphere of self-government to the newly-formed municipalities,

by which they were to have the right of managing local funds for the purpose of primary education, sanitation, and other local public works.

LORD RIPON'S POLICY

This policy was developed by Lord Ripon in 1881-82, when the municipalities were given a political status—i.e., they were “to serve as instruments of political education.”

The principle underlying this is that the people themselves should realize that they have a direct relation to the State, and is an attempt to create in India a public opinion by which every subject should be able to assert his political rights, and that all money entrusted to governing bodies is a public trust.

No one denies that there is dissatisfaction in India at the slow growth of self-government. It is not sufficient to say that this has been one of the anxious problems of the Government, and one of the ideals of British rule.

The progress since 1881 has not marked time with other developments in the country.

Undoubtedly the root of the difficulty has been to transform without losing efficiency the over-centralized system now in force into a decentralized system, coterminous with the Province, and representative of popular feeling without respect to class, caste, or creed.

Those who know India best feel that this must be a gradual process, so as to give time for the production of the right men to guide and mould the destinies of India.

But there has been too much of the bullock gari and too little of the motor-car in our methods. We cannot wait for the mass of the population to be educated up to the standard of an intelligent and practical interest in the government of their land. We must utilize the material already to hand.

The visit of some highly-placed officers of the Crown to gain “a first-hand acquaintance with India” will not solve forthwith India’s problems. But still it is a pledge of practical sympathy, and may prevent a precipitate movement which may imperil the permanent well-being of the country.

India has from time immemorial been used to an autocratic form of Government, and the process of democratization may be slow, but it will come to pass.

Minor grievances can be more summarily dealt with. Take, for instance, what seems to be a great burden on the mind of a very thoughtful Indian writer : "Tons of paper have been used in discussing Imperialism, and still India is without a flag."

Happy India ! You can have the flag if you will give us the paper.

The land without a flag will be the attractive one after the War.

THE NEW SCHEME OF DEVOLUTION

It would have been excusable if the Government had postponed till the dawn of peace its intentions relating to the claims of India for a fuller recognition of its political rights. But as a result of the intense loyalty of every part of the Indian Empire the British Government has laid down the principles which will actuate them in fulfilling their Imperial obligations towards India.

Definitely and clearly those principles are :

1. The increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration.

2. The gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

3. Progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages.

4. The home Government and the Government of India must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation they receive from Indians.

The Government remind India that they are responsible for the welfare and the advancement of the Indian peoples.

This policy is not a war measure, or a tentative scheme to solve present difficulties, or a palliative to clamorous reformers,

but an earnest of practical self-government, which will be the fruition of years of patient work by those who have lived and died for the welfare of India.

BONDS OF EMPIRE

It has been said that the bond which unites England and India is political.

As this idea is so very prevalent in India, and consequently the cause of much unrest, it would be well to state that the relationship between the two countries is something stronger than mere politics. There is a stronger link that binds the destiny of the two together : perhaps indefinable, certainly non-political.

It is evidenced by the mutual good will and co-operation existing between us in working out the salvation of millions of our fellow-subjects. If the political power of Great Britain were withdrawn from India to-morrow, there would still remain a unity of ideals, a common commercial life, great industrial partnerships, many unrealized as yet, philanthropic projects and a progressive civilization to be handed on enriched and ennobled to the next generation. Owing to British rule India has ceased to be an isolated Empire : it is an integral part of the greatest Empire the world has ever known. It would be a retrograde movement for India to be divorced from or deprived of the fuller Imperial life of which she is so glorious a partner.

India is in a period of transition. Behind there is a very old civilization, which had taken hold of the social life of the people ; and now it is being influenced by a new civilization of such magnitude that it has sapped the very foundation of its national life.

PATRIOTISM

There is unrest ; but there is also a strong patriotism, which, if guided aright, will find its ideal in assimilating the best characteristics of the old and the new.

Patriotism is not solely concerned with politics, for, after all, the political life of a nation is but a reflex of its moral life.

If the heart of a people is elevated and enlarged it is certain to lead to noble deeds in the realm of politics.

India has had a succession of great men who have endeavoured to elevate the tone of their age by working out moral and social ideals. They were patriots ; they were also politicians. If East and West co-operate on the right lines in producing the highest form of civilization we shall find its growth and development dependent upon political efficiency, social reform, and moral integrity.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION

In the near future, when nations will enter into peace, when freedom shall be established in the earth, India will make her contribution to the life of the world. Her best friends know she can do this. From her treasure-house she can bring something which will link her with nations yet unborn. We want India to tone down the stern practicality of the West by an infusion of her mystic spirit ; to combine with other sons of Empire in creating a great economy which shall stand for righteousness in the world.

The West will settle might by force.

The East must breathe into a victorious West the breath of a living soul.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, November 26, 1917, a paper was read by the Rev. T. Davis, M.A., F.R.G.S., on "The Social Evolution of India." The Secretary stated that Sir Murray Hammick, owing to the illness of a relation, was unable to occupy the chair, and that Lord Lamington had kindly consented to do so. The following, amongst others, were present :

The Rt. Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Lord Strabolgi, Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., Mr. P. C. Lyon, C.S.I., I.C.S., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E. Sir Frederick Robertson, LL.D., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Sir Roland K. Wilson, Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. K. Ismail, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Burton, Mrs. Archdale Wilson, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. Malik, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Singh, Mrs. Fitzroy Mundy, Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Forbes, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Rev. W. L. Broadbent, F.R.G.S., Mr. S. K. Engineer, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Miss Ashworth, Mr. G. Adams, Mr. Polak, Mr. Golfe, Syed Erfan Ali, Mr. Hassan Ally, Mrs. Collis, Mr. Teckchand Hiranand, Mr. S. Haji, Miss Davis, Mr. P. N. Moos, Mrs. Candy, Dr. Kapadia, Mr. M. N. Das, Mrs. Marshall Webb, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. N. C. Sen, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Pollen has explained to you how it is I am in the chair this afternoon. I regret that my tenure will be very short, because I was due to preside at another meeting at 4 o'clock, at which I am afraid I shall be a little late. With regard to the paper by Mr. Davis, which you are going to listen to this afternoon, I think when you have heard it you will agree with me that it touches very slightly, but with great distinctness and with great nicety, upon many of the problems with which we have to deal in our government of that great Empire. It is almost necessarily so at this period of our history. It deals with the political relations between our country and that Empire. As you are aware, at the present time there are great so-called reforms in the air as to what should be the system of administration in India. Of course, that is a very vast topic indeed, and nobody—certainly not on this occasion and more particularly this Society, which is not a political society—would venture to think of going deeply into such a matter as that. But Mr. Davis, as I say, goes with a light touch over many of the features that are connected with our rule in India, and I think you will agree with me that he puts very clearly and very concisely the different problems that confront us. As he himself has pointed out to me, there is one thing which I think is very true indeed. He will read to you these words : "One fact is clear in the long and chequered history of British rule in India—that our hands

have been clean." I think with regard to our rule in India, nobody even with only a cursory acquaintance of our administration of India, would deny for a moment that it is the fairest and cleanest system of government that the world has ever seen. I believe that one and all who have been assisting in the administration of that country have been animated by the desire to do the very best that they could for the inhabitants of that great Empire. It has not been for the establishment of mere lucrative gain or to make our rule to be felt more paramount, that they have performed their work of administration. It has really been with the best intentions and with the hearty desire to make our rule operate for the benefit of the Indian people. For myself, I think there is a great deal, too, in the final paragraph which you will hear read by Mr. Davis, and I hope you will agree with me that it contains a very great truth indeed. I think it would be wrong for me to detain you at this period of the evening any longer, but I would ask you to excuse my now forsaking the chair, and I will ask Sir Frederick Lely to occupy it.

(The paper was then read.)

Sir FREDERICK LELY: Ladies and gentlemen, I regret to say that you have had a double loss this evening, which is peculiarly unfortunate, in that it has resulted in my unworthy self occupying this chair. First of all, Sir Murray Hammick raised your expectations only to disappoint them, not by his own fault; and then, secondly, Lord Lamington was here for only too brief a time. I am sure that Dr. Pollen on an occasion like this must very much miss the presence of that able understudy in the chair, Sir Arundel Arundel, who is always a sure resource to come to the rescue in such cases. But, however, as I say, ladies and gentlemen, you will have to make the best of the present occupant.

We have all been exceedingly interested, I am sure, in Mr. Davis' paper. I believe Mr. Davis has had a personal knowledge of India, or, at any rate, of that insignificant section of it called Bombay (which I mean to be sarcastic and not serious), and I believe he was for many years a member of the noble army of missionaries. I hope you will excuse me for one moment if I take the opportunity, as one who has lived for many years in India and seen a great deal of the people and conditions, of bearing my humble testimony to the great debt which the people of India owe to the missionaries. It is not a matter of religious belief at all, I do not refer to that for the moment, but I am sure that we who have lived in the centre of the country and among the villages and towns have had many opportunities of seeing the sympathy and the knowledge shown as a rule by the Christian missionaries. I think it is only fair in passing to bear that testimony to their work, which I do with pleasure.

Now we have had the opportunity of hearing this very thoughtful paper from one of them. It seems to me a very hard thing that we in this generation should have loosed upon us a host of problems any one of which would have taxed the wisdom of our predecessors. This paper on India is itself a small forest of problems, and on most of them I must admit I have pretty strong opinions, but I refrain from pressing them upon you just now, because in my opinion most of them are so ~~verbosely~~ ~~over~~ ~~grave~~

that it is perhaps not well to begin to discuss them without more thought than I have been able to give to them this evening. At any rate, I would like to ask your permission to postpone any remarks on the points that have been raised until the close of the discussion. There are one or two which strike one, especially such as Lord Lamington himself noticed—the testimony to the cleanliness of the hands of the English. Whatever opinions there may be, however much diversity there may be as to the wisdom of the policy on this or that question, I think every fair-minded man must admit, whether he be British or Indian, that the general motive underlying the action of the Government of India has been one of a keen desire for the advancement of the country and the welfare of the people. I do not think any fair-minded man can deny that. Then a curious point strikes one in surveying the position, and that is that most of our acute difficulties have been practically raised by ourselves, or, at any rate, as the direct result of English policy and of the introduction of English ideas. If the English had never gone to India, I doubt if much would be heard there now of the ballot-box, or of the right to self-government, or the necessity of compulsory education. They are all of them direct children of the British Government. But that makes them none the less difficult. Such serious considerations as we can all give to them they fully deserve.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will not say anything more now, because, perhaps, occasion may arise later on.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said he would have preferred to have taken part in the discussion at a somewhat later stage when he could have had some points on social evolution to discuss. He felt that the lecture had given the meeting a number of most interesting remarks having more or less a bearing upon the political evolution of India, but not very much on the social evolution of India. What he had expected to be enlightened about had been as to the lecturer's views on such things as the solvent of British education acting on the old institutions and the old life of the people. He would have liked to have heard the lecturer's views on the later developments of the Hindu joint family system; about caste and its bearing on the great problems, not only of social life, but also on political evolution; and also on the Hindu Muhammadan unity and what efforts had been made to reconcile the conflicting views and interests that have hitherto prevailed. Unfortunately, the lecture did not give one much material for discussion on those points. One remark the speaker would like to make was that he thought the method of the paper was a tacit admission that the political life and political institutions of India have a real and important bearing on the social life of the people. In working out any new constitution for India, one would have to remember that constitution must have its roots in the social life of the people, and would also have its future fruits in the social ideas and institutions of the people. It was therefore of the utmost importance that a true picture of the social life of the people and the trend of its evolution should be in the minds of the British people, before whom the question of the reconstitution of India would come. He thought it was perfectly true that the Indian Government as constituted hitherto had found great difficulty in touching any social question, and had usually left

social questions alone. There was, for instance, the question of endowments, which was partly a religious question, but also a social question in many of its aspects. Endowments were given in olden times for educational work, and for the giving of caste feasts, and so on. The difficulty in legislating on those questions had been partly religious and partly social, not at all political. He did not think if the matter had remained on a political plane, the Government would have had the slightest hesitation in remedying the somewhat scandalous waste of resources that took place in regard to the old endowments in India. One also found that the cause of unrest was not purely political. He believed it would be found to be more largely social than political. People were dissatisfied with the economic opportunities open to them, with the educational faculties they had, and with the present social status of the different classes. The speaker thought that, in order to tackle all these thorny questions it was of the utmost importance to come to close grips with the actual social conditions and the social ideals of the people as reflected in their literature. Historically social evolution in India had gone on from the beginning of time. He did not think anybody would doubt that Indian society as constituted now was a very different society from the Indian society of which one had pictures in the ancient and mediæval Hindu dramas. There one found that a number of cults had absolutely absorbed the social life of the people in their worship. The speaker considered that the great lesson to be drawn was that varying thoughts and ideas had been gradually filtering into Indian society which had completely altered the basis of social conditions. The Muhammadans had contributed liberally in this direction, both consciously and unconsciously, and the English contribution was growing daily. He would like to say that in all these things the way to study the problems of the future was to put oneself into the place of the people who lived the life of the villages, and also of the great industrial centres that are growing up in the modern towns. In conclusion, the speaker said he thought that an intimate study of the vernacular literature was necessary if one was to understand freely the inner social life and ideas of the Indian people, and the true working of their collective mind. Any reforms which failed to take account of these would be either breasting an irresistible stream or drifting from one futility to another. What we want is effective progress, in which the people co-operate, marching with joy from strength to strength.

Sir FREDERICK ROBERTSON expressed his personal regret that the lecturer had appeared to have dealt more with political than with social evolution, which was a subject of absorbing interest. In this connection he would only say that, as regards India, he thought many of his own countrymen and many Indians were making a very serious mistake in deciding at this initial stage on the final goal to be arrived at. He was himself a democrat, but was not obsessed with the idea that democratic self-government on a representative basis was necessarily the best for India. The problem of India was absolutely unique, and the way to approach it was to try and discover the government best suited to it under the circumstances, and that which will best allow India to develop most freely on its own lines without coming to any *a priori* decision. One obstacle to be overcome in

social evolution will be the language difficulty. It had constantly occurred in his own Court experience that town Indian examining counsel could not understand the country-side speech, and he had had himself to interpret what was said by witnesses to them.

He had hoped to have heard something of the social movements going on in India, such as the splendid effort of the Brahmo Somaj, the movement among the depressed classes of the South for the recognition of their rights, infant marriage, widow remarriage, and various movements in the Muhammadan world, and he trusted that enlightened Indians would give much attention to these subjects, and in particular to the education and improvement in the position of women.

One remark he must make on the last sentence of the lecturer : "The East must breathe into a victorious West a living soul." Without depreciating in the least the soul of the East, he felt that there was no justification for the suggestion that the West needed a new soul from the East. At the present moment the soul of the Empire was in the trenches, and one of the greatest nations on earth in the Far West has just shown the kind of soul she possesses by staking everything—brains, men, and money—in a titanic conflict for an idea, for no selfish ends at all, but simply to aid in the defence of truth, honesty, justice and mercy, and to secure a righteous and a lasting peace.

Mr. GURMUKH SINGH said that there were two things in the paper which appealed mostly to him—first, that instead of bragging about the past, Indians ought to concentrate their efforts on the present and the future ; and, secondly, the question of education. The lecturer had said that in a short time there would be free and compulsory education in India, and the speaker hoped it would be so. Until the illiterate condition of India was improved, it was futile to hope to do anything. He agreed with Mr. Yusuf Ali that instruction should be given through the media of Indian vernaculars. He thought the previous speakers had neglected the great subject that he was most interested in—that of economics. If India was going to succeed, it would succeed only on sound economic lines. Political progress was necessary, but economic progress was not less essential. The speaker pointed out the fallacy of classifying Indians into pandits, uneducated masses, and the educated few, and considered it wrong to ignore the essential unity underlying variations of caste and creed in India.

Mr. P. C. LYON said he thought that the reason why the writer of the paper had raised so many political questions was because all social questions in India had a tendency to become political ones. The reason for this was that there were plenty of people in India who were diligent in persuading the people that every social disadvantage from which they suffered—their poverty, their limited education—were due to the evil policy of a foreign Government. English officials, as foreigners, could do little to counteract such propaganda, and a very strong feeling of nationality had for many years been growing up in Bengal—the province with which the speaker was best acquainted—a feeling which had been stimulated enormously by the patriotism roused in all the belligerent countries by the World

War. The political dacoits and murderers, who had been successfully dealt with by the Bengal Government, were only the fanatical ~~extremists~~ in the great mass of nationalists and it was because these nationalists believed in our sincerity in desiring their advancement towards political freedom that they remained loyal. The reforms which were now being planned were designed to meet the aspirations of these men for a larger measure of self-government, and were in themselves bound to effect improvement in the administration. He was confident that the great Indian Civil Service, which had done and was doing so much for the good of India, would realize that it would be their greatest achievement if they could succeed in guiding and carrying through the changes which were coming in India without internal disturbance.

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK said that he had to join with the other speakers in expressing disappointment that the lecture did not carry out its title, because he thought much more emphasis was laid on the political development than upon the social development of India. He agreed also with previous speakers as to the necessity of the use of the vernaculars. The speaker thought that India was really reacting against the excessive doses of Western civilization and its methods. It was not at all likely that India, with her different individualities, was going to proceed and develop on exactly the same lines as in the West. It was probable that her conception of democracy and her conception of the manifestation of the religious spirit would be very different from that of the West.

Rev. T. DAVIS: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I promised Dr. Pollen that I would write a paper with no intrinsic merit in it, but one that would evoke considerable discussion and valuable contributions, and I venture to say that I have succeeded. I may say one other thing, and that is that the paper dealt with principles, and in the discussion the word "social" has been misused this afternoon. The illustrations given by speakers were really "domestic," whereas I used the term social in a generic sense. With regard to politics having nothing to do with it, why, every person who has spoken this afternoon has landed right in the House of Commons. In dealing with principles, I tried to show that the attainment of ideals can only come gradually by a process of education. That education is political, economic, and—shall I say?—religious. I carefully avoided touching on religion, although the Chairman spoke so gracefully on that point. I may say that we missionaries who go to India do not go for this world's wealth.

Dr. J. POLLON moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his admirable paper, and to Sir Frederick Lely for occupying the chair, unoccupied by Sir Murray Hammick, and vacated so suddenly by Lord Lamington. One knew what an admirable chairman Sir Frederick Lely was; he always threw light on any subject he touched upon, and his conduct in the chair during the afternoon had been as admirable as it always was.

MR. COLDSTREAM said he had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to the lecturer for his paper and the discussion it had provided, and to the chairman for presiding.

INDIA AND THE FUTURE

By J. POLLEN, C.I.E.

A CURIOUS thing happened! On the very day on which war broke out between Great Britain and Germany (August 4, 1914) Mr. William Archer's book—surveying and criticizing Indian conditions and claiming ultimate self-government for India—went to the publishers. In this book Mr. Archer declared that if there was one thing more certain than another it was that the moment England got into serious trouble elsewhere India "would burst into a blaze of rebellion." England has "got into serious trouble elsewhere"—but, instead of bursting into a blaze of rebellion, India (as those who knew her best well knew she would) has burst into a blaze of loyalty. Still, Mr. Archer thinks that his prophecy can scarcely be said to have been falsified, inasmuch as "England has not been in any trouble which, *in relation to India*, could be called serious." But this won't do. Even if the trouble had been in relation to India, there can be little doubt that the inborn devotion of the peoples of India to their King Emperor—and especially to an Emperor who has shown his personal trust in them—and their confidence in the will of the British people towards justice and humanity, would have prevailed and been made manifest. And Mr. Archer does well to insist on the great

* "India and the Future," by William Archer. London: Hutchinson and Co., Paternoster Row. 1917. 16s. net.

facts that " Indian discontent was wiser than Irish," and that India, as a whole, instead of trying to make additional trouble for England, or even looking on in sullen indifference, has claimed for herself the right of active participation in the affairs of the Empire whether for weal or woe, has gallantly shed her blood for its maintenance, and has afforded a splendid example of steadfast comradeship in the hour of danger and trial.

" Praise to our Indian Brothers, and let the dark face have his due !
Thanks to the kindly dark faces who fought with us, faithful and few,
Fought with the bravest among us, and drove them, and smote them,
and slew."

There are, indeed, some who hold that the " faithful few," who alone were called upon to fight, might have been converted into many millions had India's honour and India's pride been more firmly relied upon, and her sons more fully trusted; for " in the very teeth of those who tried to persuade her that she owed no gratitude to a horde of foreign despoilers and tyrants " India recognized that Britain was in the right, Germany in the wrong—that Britain was fighting for Liberty and Honour—and that Germany was striving merely for World-tyranny and self-aggrandizement.

After the events of 1914-1917, Mr. Archer regards it as absolutely unthinkable that England should not recognize and frankly acknowledge the duty of giving India, *as soon as possible*, an equal status in the community of self-governing nations with whom she has so gallantly stood shoulder to shoulder in the hour of need in the great fight for Liberty.

The principle, he declares, is now beyond the sphere of argument, though controversy must and will centre round the qualifying clause—" as soon as possible."

This proviso recalls the famous qualifying clause in Queen Victoria's great post-Mutiny Proclamation—viz., " so far as may be"—which some have represented as " a promise made to the ear and broken to the hope," but which in

practice prevented the famous Proclamation from becoming an " Impossible Charter."

Mr. Archer's avowed reason for writing this book is simply that he has something to say which has not, to his knowledge, been fully, explicitly, and dispassionately said before, and it must be admitted that what he has to say is much of it new and he has said it well and strikingly.

He admits that the extraordinarily interesting and complicated situation of India may be inherently hopeless, but he does not think so. The main question is, how can the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country be cordially conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. This is, in very fact, the problem which Mr. Montagu (with his band of friends) has been invited out to India by the Viceroy to try to solve! It is an essential part of Mr. Archer's case that India is as yet far from being prepared to take an equal place among the civilized nations of the world—and he does not think it important to decide " whether India is the most forward of barbarous or the most backward of civilized nations." One or other to his mind she certainly is. He agrees that India might at many points retort the reproach of barbarism against the incompleteness of Western civilization, and he readily admits that the barbarism of India has picturesque and even venerable aspects to which few of the barbarisms of Europe can lay claim; but " that does not make it either desirable or permanently possible in the modern world." At the same time he shares the faith of Young India in a greater India of the future, but he insists that this will not mean " a revival of a past which never existed "; and he regards " the half-Europeanized Indian agitators " as the gravest danger India has to face with their unreasonable hostility to the English, and their false faith in a mythical India of the past which the English have destroyed, and which will miraculously revive when English tyranny is withdrawn. There never was such an India, but the best hope for India is a glorious future;

and the complete enfranchisement of India as soon as possible, is, or ought to be, the ultimate aim of British policy! The experiment may be foredoomed to failure—but if it is so foredoomed, “at least,” says Mr. Archer, “let us fail magnanimously and not stupidly.” This is something like what Sir Bamfylde Fuller says, in a recent letter addressed to *The Times*, when he argues that English democratic politicians have succeeded in undermining the authority of the Indian Civil Service, and declares that there are now only two possible courses open—viz., to maintain the prestige of the Indian Government or to allow India to govern itself—a policy of “hands off” or of “Home Rule.” In the words of Mr. Roosevelt, we must either “govern or get out.” “The former alternative is beyond expectation. The question is, then, whether we should allow Home Rule to be wrested in morsels with heart-burnings and hatred, as in Ireland, or bestow it frankly with as good grace as we can muster. Let us do it magnanimously and not stupidly!”

The best solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs (or, better still, parcel them out amongst Native Chiefs with representative Assemblies!), with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting its functions to matters of Imperial concern.

As a matter of fact, says Mr. Archer, “we are giving India what she has never had before: unity, cohesion—in a word, nationality. We are endowing her with political ideals and ambitions, and are laboriously qualifying her to take her place amongst the great nations of the future. These things we are doing whether we like it or no; and many of us have always realized it and gloried in it. But officially we must needs deny it.” “If we could only unlearn this short-sighted habit, we might count upon a welcome change

in the attitude of all Indian politicians, except the fanatics of anarchy. And even they would be largely disarmed."

The moment our rule becomes confessedly a means to an end, and that end the creation of an enlightened, prosperous, autonomous India, it ceases to be in any true sense humiliating.

" Indian self-government," he argues, " is bound to come almost automatically as soon as the country is intellectually, morally, and socially prepared for it; whereas any attempt to upset the existing order while the nation is imperfectly welded together and but slowly emerging from barbarism would, even if it nominally succeeded, mean a reversion to anarchy which the world could not and would not permit." He, therefore, rightly insists that as soon as the people of India are capable of forming a sane political judgment, that judgment will command respect. So long, on the contrary, as the withdrawal of outside control would hand over the patient, inarticulate masses to mere anarchy and class-exploitation we cannot honourably renounce the responsibility which, wisely or unwisely, we have once for all assumed. Once our rule is recognized as a means, not an end, all enlightened and self-respecting Indians will co-operate loyally with us in the gradual enfranchisement of their fellow-countrymen.

This hope for the Future Mr. Archer builds on an intelligent appreciation of the Past. In dealing with and dissecting that Past he does not mince his words or seek to soothe the ear, but he pleads earnestly for India's moral and intellectual regeneration and for a new birth into higher things so as to enable her to work out her own social and political salvation.

To solve the problem of Indian education in Great Britain, he pleads for the establishment of a great Educational Institution or College in England devoted exclusively to the needs of India, and in which India should be the supreme subject of thought, of study, and of interest; and it cannot be denied he is quite right when he dwells upon the un-

necessary and unreasonable test of character to which Indian students in England have been subjected by the ignorance and indifference of the mass of Englishmen to India.

"What wonder if Indian students come together in cliques—compare notes on their personal grievances and inflame each other's sense of the wrong done to their great country in being treated not only by the "man in the street," but by Parliament and the Press, as a mere side issue among the more pressing affairs of an alien Empire. When these students do happen to meet with what they regard as really sympathetic treatment, it is too often at the hands of fanatical Orientalizers who share and confirm their illusions as to the past of their country, and as to the injustices inflicted by England on India."

As has been well said, not a few Europeans, such as Mrs. Besant, have achieved a cheap and very mischievous popularity amongst unthinking or emotional Indians by assuring them that their gods and their scriptures, their philosophers and their heroes, their poets and their thinkers, their arts and their crafts, are far greater than ours; that with them is to be found the key to all knowledge human and divine, and that behind the outer veil of crude superstition there resides in the inner shrine of the Indian soul a transcendental spiritualism denied to the Western soul. Mr. Archer shows how void of any real foundation this silly flattery is, and how deep and pressing is the necessity for Indian social reform before India can hope to achieve any real greatness as a nation.

The chapter on "Manners" deserves thoughtful and careful study by both East and West, the moral pressed home being that senseless swagger and pitiful, mischievous racial snobbery are little less than criminal in India. At the same time Mr. Archer shows that it is no mere insensate arrogance which draws the colour line at the threshold of certain exclusive clubs in India, but an instinct which makes Englishmen, who are day by day immersed to the eyes in

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Indian interests and affairs, hunger for one little spot where they can for an hour or two entirely shut out the obsession of the Orient.

The chapter on "The Indian Opposition" is perhaps the most arresting of all. In this it is explained that the Government of India is a Ministry which never goes out, and the Indian Nationalists are an opposition which never comes in and is consequently unrestrained by any sense of responsibility, by any anticipation of having to make good its words when its turn comes. Instead of dealing with this opposition as most autocracies would deal with it, the autocracy of India allows it not only the utmost liberty of speech any constitutional party could possibly claim, but gives it a clear and honourable official standing.

Mr. Archer then proceeds to discuss the grievances currently alleged against the British Rule, dividing them into grievances "material" and "moral." The first of the former is "The Drain," and following the facts set forth in Mr. Pennington's "Truths about India" (published under the auspices of the East India Association). Mr. Archer comes to the same conclusion as the late Mr. Justice Ranade, that the theory of the drain is "absolutely and ludicrously unfounded." He believes that not only does India receive a full equivalent for the sums withdrawn from her, but she gets her administration quite amazingly cheap—incomparably cheaper than any other region of the world of similar extent and population. As to the military charges, he thinks they are fully justified, and points out that for £400,000 a year (less than a quarter of the cost of a single battleship, less than one-twentieth of the naval expenditure of Japan, and less than one-hundredth part of the naval expenditure of England), we assume the entire charge of India's maritime defence. At the same time, he would like to see the Home Government generously paying for the upkeep of the India Office, although the claim on India under this head is not "positively unjust." He then goes on to show that the grievance of commercial subjection is largely

'an imaginary one, and notices incidentally that if India would only capitalize her nose-rings alone her Savings Bank totals would go up with a bound.

He then examines the causes of Indian Poverty, and comes to the general conclusion that the root of Indian poverty lies in the fact that the people at large have no will to be rich or even well-to-do. Not till they learn "to want more wants" will they learn to take thought how to supply them. Later on he says that over-population lies at the root of Indian poverty, and that Government is not to blame for this except in so far as good government removes the checks upon fecundity which bad government incidentally imposes. He notes that the population of India has doubled under British rule, and thinks there could not be more conclusive testimony to its general beneficence in all matters which Government can control. This testimony could, of course, have been more conclusive had the population quadrupled; and there are some who (as it seems to us rightly) hold that India is very far from being overpopulated, and that with good government and good social customs and proper direction she could afford to still further increase and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it. The population is badly distributed—that's all—and this needs remedying. But it is strange that Mr. Archer has not noticed one of the chief causes of the increase of the poverty of the Ryot under British rule, and that is the elaborate, extravagantly expensive and unnecessary Judicial System which has stimulated litigation on which "poor" India spends more than fifty million pounds a year!

Dealing with the moral grievances, Mr. Archer shows that in the matter of education Government cannot reasonably be charged with any lack either of diligence or of good-will, and that in the civil employment of Indians Government could not, with advantage to the commonweal, have gone much faster and farther than it has done; while, although opportunity for military training has not been afforded and the community has been compulsorily disarmed, yet as a

matter of fact India is as "*martial*" to-day as she ever has been, except in so far as she no longer offers a happy hunting-ground for armies of robbers and marauders.

While thus combating many of its complaints, Mr. Archer is far from suggesting that the Indian Opposition has no legitimate functions, or even that on the whole it mistakes its function and does no good. His point is that there is a fundamental inconsistency in its attitude towards the British rule; that while it wills the end it grumbles at the means; and that it constantly lays to the charge of Government evils rooted in the history of the country, and in the character of the people—evils which Government does not cause, and can cure, if at all, only by the aid of the people themselves and of time.

LI HUNG-CHANG*

BY E. H. PARKER

MR. J. O. P. BLAND has employed his learned leisures to distinct advantage this time in giving to us a really well-thought-out and carefully balanced estimate of Li Hung-chang's character and career; it may be called the co-operative *Times* view, as the experiences of Michie and Chirol are drawn upon very frequently. The subject, which is treated in quite a calm and judicial manner, is divided into eight chapters or aspects, the Introductory one in the first instance displaying the general ground or field upon which the great Chinese statesman had to work from the commencement of his career; that is to say, North China, as it was when the great Taiping rebellion broke out shortly after the accession of the somewhat pusillanimous and contemptible Emperor Hien-fêng in 1851. Then we have, in succession, chapters on Li's Family Circle; his conduct as a Chinese official; two chapters on his success as a Diplomat at home and abroad; others on his failure as a Naval and Military Administrator; Li viewed as a Statesman and Politician; and, finally, a summing-up on his Human Equation. It goes without saying that there must be—and the author indeed admits and apologizes for it—a certain amount of overlapping when the subject or object is viewed in this prismatic way; but that does not matter much to the average

* "Makers of the Nineteenth Century: Li Hung-chang," by J. O. P. Bland. Constable. Price 6s.

reader who is neither purist nor specialist, and who is only too glad to have the spectrum deftly handled for him, even at the cost of occasional redundancy or repetition in lights and shades; only in this way can the seven colours, so to speak, be properly visualized, and the spots on the whole sun be detected.

The author, apart from his fourteen years' experience in the Maritime Customs, and his ten years' service as Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Council, seems to have had unusually good opportunities for acquainting himself with his political subject at first hand, for he tells us (p. 170) that when the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1894 he was "acting in a confidential capacity under Sir Robert Hart," and thus saw documentary evidence of Li's real sentiments at this particular waning-point in his career. He also informs us (p. 203) that as *Times* correspondent in 1900 he "had occasion to discuss the Boxer crisis" with Li Hung-chang during the statesman's (eight weeks') residence at Shanghai—*i.e.*, after the final waxing-point had been laboriously gained once more, and fourteen months before the final eclipse. Add to all this some years' service as Representative in China of the British and Chinese Corporation formed in 1898, involving no doubt more or less close co-operation with loan-banks and railway syndicates—all dear subjects to the wily old statesman's heart—and it will be seen that if anyone is fitted by circumstances and training to evolve a sane and connected account of Li Hung-chang's career it is Mr. J. O. P. Bland: and he has not disappointed us; the picture seems clear, convincing, unprejudiced, and just.

As Mr. Bland reminds us (p. 283), Li was often called the Bismarck of the East, and rather relished the title. Before Mr. Bland reached the years of discretion, Li was also called the General Grant of the East, and relished that title too: this was in 1879, when the two warriors had several jovial interviews. Li, in fact, was never averse to a little personal flattery, but he was always much too sharp to overestimate

its value. Except that both Bismarck and Li were powers behind the Throne, it is true, as Mr. Bland says, that the appropriateness of the human comparison is not very obvious, as the Blood and Iron of the former was, as our author sardonically expresses it, rather Blood and Silver in the case of the latter: in both cases the "blood" refers in truth rather to persistency and ruthlessness of political aim than to brutal cruelty and cowardly contempt for defenceless human life such as we see evinced in the Prussian war ogres of to-day. In verity Li Hung-chang's corruption was as measureless and deliberate as it was mean and disgraceful, and not one word of what Mr. Bland says upon the subject is or was, in the opinion of Li's own countrymen, in the least forced and exaggerated: his elder brother Li Han-chang, the "bottomless bag," was even worse, not in intent so much, as in default of his younger brother's shrewd ability and decent desire to cover up these personal iniquities. None the less, as Mr. Bland generously admits, the "environment" in China undoubtedly palliates if it cannot at all excuse such pitiable lapses in the great: "Tut-tut, it is the custom of the country!" as Disraeli is reported to have cynically said when, without pretending to qualms of horror, he stumbled over a murdered beggar's corpse in the streets of Naples. The Empress-Dowager, Li's chief protector and patron, was just as corrupt as himself, "only more so"; whilst her rascally henchman the eunuch Li Lien-ying (popularly known "up north" by the ribald designation "*P'i-t'iao Li*"), who was the ultimate squeezing power behind the Empress, was most so of all. The early Emperors of the Manchu dynasty, warned by the fact that the ruling houses preceding them had mostly collapsed, generation by generation, under the evil influence of these "fag ends of men" (as the Chinese poets and historians dub them), had laid it down as an absolute rule, which was engraved on plates of iron, that no eunuch should ever hold administrative office or leave the precincts of Peking; and this rule had been faithfully observed up to the time of the despicable Hien-fêng and his two widowed Dowagers.

Corruption in high places, aggravated by eunuch influence, undoubtedly from 1851 onwards sapped the resisting power of the State, and thus contributed, indirectly if not immediately, to the fall of the Manchu ruling house, to which notwithstanding Li Hung-chang, following out what Mr. Bland calls his "Confucian" principles, was loyal to the very last: but these principles are part and parcel of the old "religion" (of which Confucius confesses himself to have been a mere transmitter), born and bred into the bones of every literary Chinese, though not always so conscientiously followed as in the case of Li Hung-chang.

The following slightly curtailed passages in the Introductory chapter will prepare the reader for the seven more minute sub-studies to follow it: Li's chief claim to greatness lies in the fact that he perceived the science of the West must relegate most of his country's traditions to the limbo of things. Much of his work was, however, tainted, and its utility impaired, by the love of money. Civilization had been preserved in unparalleled longevity by the fundamental doctrine that the nation must be governed by moral rather than by physical force, and his visit in old age to Europe served only to confirm this view. The whole history of his life, notwithstanding, is the record of endeavours to bring home to his countrymen the perception of this adverse truth—that China could never hope in these times to maintain her sovereign rights and independence by persistence in the unbroken continuity of ancient traditions. In theory the government was an absolute autoocracy based on ancestor worship: in practice the Emperor was a prisoner within the walls of the Forbidden City. The Taiping rebellion shook the prestige of the Manchus, but it left the privileges and power of the mandarin caste undiminished. The newly created Tsung-li Yamén's chief function was to serve as a buffer between the Chinese Executive and the foreign representatives at Peking. Li lived long enough to see the Emperor's belated conversion: had he lived still longer, he would have seen the bureaucracy still calmly triumphant

above the conflict of Young China and Old. Only the Throne's immemorial right to remove any and every official had enabled the Empress-Dowager to hold the Empire together.* Censors were engaged in base intrigues. Eunuchs had steadily increased: under the dissolute Emperor Hien-fêng and his widows they waxed fat and kicked. Li Hung-chang never hesitated to make friends with the Chief Eunuch Li Lien-ying, who was wont to boast openly that he could make or mar the highest officials; thus, Li Hung-chang's hands were often tied; most notably so after the Japanese defeat, in the matter of secret agreements made with Russia. Sir Robert Hart ascribed the unchanging attitude of the ruling class to "inherited pride, in its massive and magnificent setting of blissful ignorance." China had preserved intact her splendid civilization and all the fixed traditions of an agricultural people born and bred in ancestral worship and ancestral Theism. At times disturbing voices had reached her from the West, but the *literati* had remained indifferent and complacently devoid of curiosity, though after the abolition of the East India Company in 1834 a few of the more intelligent began to scent impending danger. Even the taking of the Summer Palace in 1860 could not shake that arrogance, which always believed such successes would be temporary, and this especially when the Allies committed themselves to the dynasty's support and to the integrity of China. Li Hung-chang shared this dislike and trust, but not the contempt: his life-work lay not only in preventing encroachments, but in educating his countrymen to a comprehension of these threatening new forces; a life-work neutralized, unfortunately, only too often by his own verity and nepotism: his far-seeing statecraft was in more than one great instance subordinated to his less legitimate private ends. Young China, whilst accusing the Manchus of having brought China to degradation, knew well

* The custom of printing daily reports from the provinces in the *Peking Gazette* has entirely ceased during the Republic; and no information whatever about local affairs seems to be any longer vouchsafed to Peking.

in its heart that the mandarin tradition of venality was Chinese rather than Manchu, and this bottom fact helps us to understand the subsequent failure of Parliament and the Republic—a failure in many respects all a direct legacy from Li Hung-chang: the lesson, all too late, of the Boxer revolt was not; however, entirely lost upon his *protégé* Yüan Shih-k'ai, whose efforts at fiscal centralization were unremitting, and on the whole not unsuccessful; but as for long ages provincial autonomy had proved more successful, so far local prejudice has still resisted reasonable centralized reform.

All this is followed out, aspect by aspect, date by date, with painstaking skill, and it may be fairly said of Li Hung-chang—what cannot yet be said so clearly of Sir Robert Hart, General Gordon, or any other of Li Hung-chang's contemporaries—that he has found a biographer who neither flatters nor sets forth aught in malice; but always honestly, if mercilessly, exposes the plain unvarnished truth. Sir Robert Hart's private records were destroyed during the Boxer troubles, otherwise his biographical memory might have been better served, and, moreover, further light would certainly have been thrown upon his opinion of, and confidential dealings with, Li Hung-chang. Mr. Bland makes repeated allusion to the mysterious disappearance of Mr. Pethick's diary from that gentleman's death-bed (pp. 31, 170); and also quotes, but with some diffidence, from the equally mysterious "diary" of Li Hung-chang forming the basis of the old statesman's "Memoirs" republished anonymously as a book some four years ago under the auspices of the Hon. J. W. Foster (U.S.). Mr. Pethick was for many years, and up to his death in 1901, the absolutely trusted and quite confidential personal adviser of Li Hung-chang, whilst Mr. Foster* served after the Japanese war of 1894-5 as adviser to the Chinese Government, through Li, as he

* The *Tung-hwa-luh* of May, 1895, published some of the confidential advice offered by Mr. Foster in connection with the surrender of the Liao Tung peninsula and the taking over of Formosa. Mr. Foster died at the age of eighty-one at the moment these lines were written (November, 1917).

had already been to the Chinese Legation at Washington a year or two previously. On the other hand, Mr. Bland now establishes the fact that the person who, he says, originally published the "Memoirs" of Mr. Foster's book in the New York *Sun*, was actually in North China as a private in the U.S. 9th Infantry in 1900. To add to the mystery of the whole transaction, a member of Li Hung-chang's family declares (according to Mr. Bland) that the Viceroy never kept a diary at all. Here, then, we have one real diary missing, and one imaginary diary created in connection with two intimate friends who died within a short time of each other,—that which *donne furieusement à penser*, the present critic naturally being incompetent to form an independent opinion, not to say to connect the two incidents as narrated by Mr. Bland. It would almost appear that Li's most faithful henchman (American), whose name never obtains mention in any Chinese or English records, directories, and so forth (unless in fact he died first of the two) felt it to be his moral duty to commit psychic *harakiri* in order to carry his patron's secrets to the Shades below.

Although in matters of correct judgment upon ascertained facts Mr. Bland may hope, as above intimated, to obtain universal approbation, yet in relation to the facts themselves there are, besides the diary question, here and there other points requiring expansion and even emendation. It was not Li Hung-chang himself who organized the capture of the King of Corea's father (p. 159). On April 19, 1882, Li's brother-in-law, Chang Shu-shêng, Viceroy at Canton, a grim old warrior, was ordered to replace Li temporarily at Tientsin, and about a month later received from Peking a severe snub for applying for the "naval assistance" in Corea of Li Hung-chang's contemptible son-in-law Chang P'ei-lun (p. 102). As things were gradually growing more serious in Corea, about the beginning of August Li was ordered by the Emperor to hurry back to Tientsin from his hundred days' mourning furlough, and towards the end of that month Chang Shu-shêng reported to Peking the kidnapping (by

General Wu Ch'ang-k'ing) and the safe conveyance to Tientsin of the Corean King's intriguing father; a copy of Chang's report on this subject was sent by express courier from Peking to Li, who at Chefoo, on his way back from leave, received further details on the subject from Admiral Ting and Ma Kien-chung (p. 159), who were in Corea. Thus, Li Hung-chang, though possibly the "germ" idea was his, had nothing to do with the actual kidnapping order; still, Ma had evidently been privy to it, as he reported he had made conciliatory advances for a compromise with Japan to the King of Corea as soon as the King's father had been spirited away to China.

On p. 105 Li's adopted son Li King-fang is described in a note as being "at that time"—i.e., in 1895—Chinese Minister in London: he may have been Secretary of Legation there, before, as Minister in Japan, assisting his father in the Itō negotiations of 1895, but surely he was not appointed Minister to Great Britain until 1908? Mr. Bland has succeeded in worrying out most of the true facts in connection with the various adoptions, marriages, and so on which often obscure the question of this or that son or nephew. Li's own father was (according to the *North China Herald* of November 13, 1901) originally of the Ts'ao clan—but (p. 65) Mr. Bland now states it to have been the Hsü clan—adopted into the Li family: this partly explains how Li's mother, who by birth herself belonged to the Li clan, could have married a Li; but there is a second explanation, and that is that in the case of Li, Ch'en, Chang, and perhaps one or two other very common clan names, the exogamic rule is occasionally relaxed to the extent of admitting two widely separated branches of the same clan to intermarry. The above-cited number of the *North China Herald* quotes at length Sir (then Mr.) Valentine Chirol's admirable estimate of Li's character: indeed, Mr. Bland now reproduces (p. 284) extracts from it.

On p. 189 the Dungan or Tungan rebellion of 1863 is alluded to as the "rising of the Tungani tribe." The origin

of the word "Dungans," applied by foreigners not to a tribe but to certain half-Chinese Mahomedans, widely spread over Kan Suh and parts of Turkestan, has been frequently discussed by Bretschneider, d'Ollone, Pelliot, and others: perhaps the best derivation is that suggested by the American traveller Rodney Gilbert (*North China Herald*, March 11, 1916)—i.e., *turungan* or "colonists," who have intermarried with the Chinese, but whose Arab, Turki, or Iranian ancestors came to China a thousand years ago from the West; the word is, he says, Turkish, and is contracted in modern Turki to *Tungan*: Mr. Gilbert, having recently visited Ma An-liang, the semi-independent Mussulman ruler in West Kan Suh, and also several Turki princes around that region, besides personally inspecting many Tungan centres, has had special facilities for forming a sound opinion upon this point.

On p. 173 it is stated that the Manchu Emperor's advisers "were all for declaring war against the 'Yellow Dwarfs' [the Japanese]." There seemed to be some misapprehension here: true, the earliest Japanese called themselves *Wa*, for which sound the Chinese, who have always habitually selected contemptuous characters to represent foreign countries, used the rare pictograph *Wo*, which has practically no other use in literature; to this native sound *Wo* or *Wa* they added *nu*, "slaves," just as, with the Huns of 2,000 years ago, they always said "Hiung-slaves"; but except that *Wo* is written with a "primitive" similar to the primitive of *Ai*, "a dwarf," there seems no justification for the commonly received opinion that the Chinese meant to call the early Japanese "dwarfs"; and in any case the term "Yellow Dwarfs" has no existence in any Chinese literature, official or otherwise, besides being absurd in principle, as the Chinese themselves are even yellower of complexion than the Japanese.

The severe strictures (p. 19) laid upon the two extremely honest conservative viceroys Liu K'un-yih and Chang Chi-tung are scarcely fair. It is true that, whilst Li Hung-chang at a comparatively early date discovered the help-

lessness of China to cope with the science of Europe, these two distinguished men remained "old school" in their general attitude; but it is none the less true that after the Japanese *débâcle* of 1894-5, and the still graver Boxer *débâcle* of 1900-1, they mercilessly exposed all China's weaknesses and corruptions in a series of splendid State papers given to the world for the first time in the *Tung-hwa-luh* (Manchu Annals), carried up to the Emperor's death in 1908. Li, however much talent he displayed in fencing with the hated foreigner and parrying his troublesome ambitions, never penned a single State paper exposing the true dry-rot that was eating the ancient Chinese structure away; indeed, Li himself—and his whole family—was, as Mr. Bland shows, so venal and corrupt that even he, with all his Palace influence, would scarcely have had the impudence to pose as a financial reformer and purist. His *protégé* Yüan Shih-k'ai, who, as Governor of Shan Tung during the insane Boxer affair, had splendidly supported these two incorrupt viceroys, disobeyed the Dowager's orders, and made reasonable terms with the Shanghai Consuls, and had then taken up education, administrative reform, and effective armies as his specialities, lost no time after Li Hung-chang's death in November, 1901, and his own appointment to the vacant Tientsin viceroyalty, in both advocating and putting into practice innumerable economic reforms, besides lending hearty support to the anti-corruption campaign of Chang and Liu. The crass stupidity of the Manchus themselves, however, nullified all the efforts of these four distinguished patriots—each in his own degree, and each with his own shortcomings—with the result that the Manchu empire of K'ang-hi and K'ien-lung, two autocrats unrivalled for intelligence in the history of the world, collapsed miserably in the incompetent hands of a pack of corrupt, imbecile princelets, spiteful women, and contemptible eunuchs.

Mr. Bland's present book is written in much chaster style than his somewhat rambling "Recent Events and Present Policies" of a few years ago: the matter is better digested,

more to the point, and less redundant: he sticks better to his definite task, and works out his specific subject more carefully: there are still a few lurking traces of his old fad about philoprogenitiveness as the origin of all Chinese evil, and of his rooted aversion to that objectionable person the British official, whether Foreign Office, Colonial, Diplomatic, or Consular: as a good Shanghai-ite he may be pardoned these tendencies, which are part of the usual stock-in-trade of that cosmopolitan community. The photograph of Li Hung-chang in the frontispiece is evidently a reduction of that published in Mr. Foster's book, where the Chinese statesman appears standing between Lord Salisbury and Lord Curzon.

Perhaps the writer of this notice ought to try and justify his title to express any opinion at all on the above subject. Forty-six years ago he had two argumentative interviews of two hours' duration each with Li Hung-chang, who presented a copy of his photograph. Between 1878 and 1881 he had a score or more of long conversations with Liu K'un-yih (who also presented his photograph, and gave a friendly private dinner); and about half as many conversations with Chang Shu-shêng, who kindly supplied a number of letters of introductions to old anti-Taiping friends in the interior. He also had two conversations with the real General Grant in Canton (1879) on his way to visit the "Chinese General Grant" at Tientsin. When Yüan Shih-k'ai came back to Corea with the King's father, the writer had a long interview with the pair, and of course had further relations with Yüan Shih-k'ai during the wretched intrigues of 1886-7. Admirals Lang and Ting both exchanged visits between their fleet and the Pagoda Island Vice-Consulate in 1890, and thus the exact facts about Li's treatment of Admiral Lang (correctly stated by Mr. Bland so far as he goes) are known to the writer at first hand. In 1894 Mr. Michie, so often mentioned as an authority by Mr. Bland, spent a couple of days at the Hoihow Consulate, and subsequently to that met the writer frequently in London. When

Sir Robert Hart, with the rest of the foreign community, was undergoing the siege of the Legation in 1900, he killed part of his time by writing a long letter to explain the loss of his papers and to give his views upon the political situation in general. Finally, the whole of Li Hung-chang's, Liu K'un-yih's, Chang Ch'i-tung's and Chang Shu-shêng's chief State papers from 1860 to 1901 have been read and are possessed by the writer; in addition to which, in 1891, as Consul at Hoihow, he had to measure swords officially with both Chang Ch'i-tung and Li Han-chang in connection with the celebrated pig case, in which they came off second best and had to "fork out."

TANKS

TANKS have been looming large on the Cambrai front and at home; they have crashed through obstacles as the newest engines of war, and gathered in millions for War Bonds in a most peaceful, yet irresistible, way. Sir William Tritton, in a Press interview, gives the story of the origin of the name. "When we commenced to build them at Messrs. William Foster and Co.'s works our men were naturally very curious; so we told them they were water-carriers for Mesopotamia. That was too much of a mouthful for them, and they shortened the description into 'Tanks,' and 'Tanks' they have remained and are likely to remain until the world's last battle. In time we had to tell our workmen the truth, and I do not think sufficient credit has ever been paid to them for the wonderful way in which they kept the secret." Sir William tells how a Tank has been built on which an eye is painted. It is a gift to the Government from Mr. Eu Teng Sen, of the Federated Malay States, and the eye stands for luck. The Prime Minister and many prominent politicians have ridden in a Tank; His Majesty the King, who has always taken a great interest in the Tanks, has been over a 10 ft. trench in one. Sir William declares the Tank to be the natural reply to the machine gun. "What good is a nest of machine guns against a Tank?" he asked. "But how different is a nest of machine guns against advancing infantry. We are by no means at the end of 'Tank development,'" he continues, "but the merit of the original design is shown by the fact that the Tanks used to-day are practically identical with those which swarmed over German lines on September 15, 1916. The chief changes made have been in regard to fittings and increased comfort for the crew."

A. A. S.

THE SUPPRESSION OF VODKA

BY BARON A. HEYKING, D.C.L.

AMONGST the many after-war problems which are already looming large and important in the reconstruction of affairs of the State, the prohibition of the liquor traffic is more and more recognized as a *sine qua non* of further national progress. For the further education, moral and physical development of the whole nation, it is necessary to appreciate certain facts regarding the prohibition of alcohol in countries which have already adopted it.

The suppression of vodka in Russia merits special attention. Such a measure was only made possible because this country had, a few years previously, introduced the State monopoly of vodka-brewing and vodka-selling. Private interests were not involved, and when that monopoly was abolished the sole loser was the State Exchequer, which lessened its annual income by the colossal amount of 800 million roubles a year. From a financial point of view this decision was heroic. We may confidently anticipate that this effort, made under the monarchic régime, will not be reversed by the new order of things, more particularly so since the initiative of the Government is supported by a great popular movement in favour of Temperance.

In Great Britain it has now been realized that the only practical way of bringing about total prohibition is to introduce a measure for the State purchase of the Liquor Trade, and there is some hope that the Government may take this step, which

should bear the same beneficial results as in Russia, satisfactorily solving the burning drink problem.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the suppression of vodka for the welfare and progress of the Russian nation. A well-known worker in the temperance cause, Mr. D. Tchelyshov, writing in *The Messenger of Temperance* (*Viestnik Tresvosti*), stated that before the suppression of vodka was brought into force in 1914, over one million working men in the best years of their manhood annually drank themselves to death in public-houses ; that hundreds of thousands of alcoholic sufferers filled the hospitals ; that innumerable public-house keepers allowed countless peasants to drink away all their substance, even to the extent of selling their furniture and the roof over their heads to buy vodka ; that the number of victims of delirium tremens was so great that over 27,000 insane persons had to remain at large for want of sufficient accommodation in asylums, which were filled to overflowing with these drunkards. This picture of physical, moral, and economic ruin can be matched by one equally appalling portraying infantile mortality and degeneracy due to the curse of alcohol.

Four and a half million children under the age of five years died from the want of natural nourishment and as the result of having parents addicted to alcohol. In the general hospital of the town of Yaroslav, out of a total of 2,014 patients, not less than 908 men and 24 women were admitted for complaints which were inherited in each case from a drunken father. Such and analogous statistical figures show to what extent this mortal evil was sapping away Russia's vital strength. By the suppression of vodka Russia has overcome her worst enemy, and created for herself a new life and a new future.

If a child is induced for the first time to taste alcohol his face shows disgust, because he feels, instinctively, that it is injurious to health. Indeed, it may be scientifically proved that its use is not in accordance with the natural conditions of the life of man. The action of the child clearly shows that alcohol is an acquired taste brought about by the depravation of

humanity. If alcohol be taken in small quantities its harm is not so easily discernible, and there are many who, being convinced of the necessity of avoiding drunkenness, are still of the opinion that alcohol should not be entirely discarded as a beverage. The entire suppression of vodka, however, is due to an appreciation of the necessity of introducing not only freedom from drunkenness, but the abolition of alcohol altogether. Anyone who has made a study of the question of the abuse of alcohol will have come to the conclusion that entire abstinence is the only possible way to fight this drink evil, for very patent reasons. As long as alcohol is obtainable the temptation will exist, for the great majority, to use it in excess, and with the avowed intention to get drunk. Vodka is a tasteless drink. The Russian peasant drinks vodka, not for the benefit of tickling his palate, but for the mere pleasure of drunken sensations, and if this fact is fully realized it will be seen that the only way to sober him is to deprive him altogether of his vodka. Consequently, so that all classes of society should pay the same penalty of the Law, the same edict must fall on those to whom the danger of drunkenness may be no menace. *Salus populi suprema lex esto.* Even opium-smoking indulged in with great reserve may not bring about serious results to health ; nevertheless, the sale of opium for this purpose has been prohibited entirely, greatly to the benefit of public welfare. So it must be with regard to alcohol. It is, however, a fact that even small quantities of alcohol may do harm, and that, generally speaking, it is not possible to fix a margin where the use of this drug may become actually dangerous to health. Its use produces, in the great majority of cases, a craving for more and more, thus proving its corrupting influence upon the mind.

The question of drinking alcohol has a totally different effect in Russia than in England. It endangered the existence and progress of the Russian nation more than it does in this country. In comparison with England, Russia is a country which is backward in cultural development and in the diffusion of knowledge. The actual result is, that ignorance of the deadly consequences

of this pernicious habit, and the absence of so many factors of cultivated life which stem the tide of drunkenness, have aggravated the whole situation of intemperance in Russia.

More whisky is drunk per head in England than vodka is consumed per capita in Russia, but the masses in England have a more nutritious diet of food than the people of Russia, which counterbalances as a sort of antidote the bad consequences of alcohol. The Russian peasant, who forms not less than 80 per cent. of the population, is, as a rule, very poorly fed; he eats meat only on special holidays. The effect, therefore, of alcohol upon his empty stomach is much more pernicious than if it were taken after a good meal.

Another factor which helps to keep the use of alcoholic beverages confined within certain limits is the English national love of all sorts of sports. Everyone knows that the use of alcoholic beverages impairs the physical and mental capacity of the human body. It is, therefore, imperative for sportsmen who wish to take advantage of all opportunities which their organism affords to abstain—at least, for the time being—from the use of strong drink.

In Russia, the peasant class has had practically no other recreation from the toil and wear and tear of daily work than the habit of drinking alcohol. The pleasure which alcohol gives is the joy of change, of masquerading, of distraction from the ordinary state of things. After having taken a certain amount of the drug the surroundings appear invidiously changed, the pulse begins to beat quicker, the outlook on life seems to be brighter, the victim is under the illusion that he is physically stronger and mentally fitter. Of course, a reaction sets in very soon, and especially when alcohol is taken in any great quantity; the tempting illusion is soon followed by utter despondency, waning strength, and general incapacity. At least, the first hour of illusion, when the whole aspect of life seemed to have changed for the better, does not fail to exercise its attraction.

Now that this unfortunate state of affairs in Russia has been changed the peasantry have gained threefold: the great

amount of money which was spent upon liquor is now deposited in savings-banks, or used for the comforts of life ; the health of the population has thereby improved enormously, and the mentality of the peasant, which formerly—owing to strong drink—was in a comatose state, has now been awakened to the self-consciousness of the duties and rights of man. Intellectually, the Russian peasantry is now in a state of fermentation ; they have broken the bonds of Drink-slavery, and behave like enfranchised slaves or inexperienced children, who do not know their limits, and think that all the world is at their command. This feature has given to the Russian Revolution its vagaries and excesses ; but it is easy to discern that this orgy of freedom, or rather license, is purely temporary, and must lead to saner and wiser methods of statesmanship.

The suppression of vodka has benefited the Russian peasant by liberating him from the money-lender, the “koulak,” to whom he often pawned all he had in order to satisfy his craving for drink. The money-lender—more often than not, utterly unscrupulous—thus held his victim, who was hopelessly in debt, completely at his mercy.

Another aspect of temperance in Russia is the influence it will have on the forthcoming competition with the Jews.

A man who is accustomed to alcoholic drinks is distinctly hampered in competing against one who is a total abstainer. The seven million Jews, the majority of whom are total abstainers, and who, in addition to their well-known strong tribal solidarity, have now obtained perfect equality with other citizens, will exercise, in almost every walk in life, a powerful economic force with which Christians must count. The suppression of vodka will enable Christians to compete with the Jews. Such legislation may, therefore, be looked upon in the light of a blessing, saving them from being outdistanced by the Jews in their struggle for life. •

A further benefit which the suppression of vodka in Russia has brought about is the decrease in crime. It is a very well-known fact that crimes are only too often the direct result of the use of drink, and if the victim of alcohol lacks the moral

balance and resistance which education gives he is more inclined to become a brute, a beast, an irresponsible being, following only bad instincts and depraved tastes when in a state of intoxication. Morally, the use of alcohol, as of any other poison, is neither good nor bad ; it belongs to the so-called *ἀδιαποτά*—viz., to actions whose moral signification depends entirely on the consequence to which it leads. It seemed so cruel to deprive the Russian peasant of the only distraction he had in his hard life of toil, and it would be very cruel indeed if reformers were to stop at the suppression of liquor without giving the people something better instead. Herein lies the whole crux of the question of how to fight the drink habit in the future. A human being who is accustomed to spending his leisure in imbibing alcohol must be saved from such a habit, not only by deprivation, but by gaining the taste for other enjoyments and pastimes of a healthier nature. In this respect the use of coffee and tea, which also quickens the pulsations of the heart without the concomitance of the disastrous effects of alcoholic poison, have proved of enormous value in Russia as most effective and valuable substitutes, although, of course, they alone are not sufficient to cope with the emergency. In order to obtain the full benefit of the temperance movement Russia needs a widespread establishment of institutions devoted to elevating pleasures. In this respect Great Britain may serve as a model for Russia. It would be the salvation of the whole problem to inculcate the sportive spirit in Russia ; to create all sorts of unpretentious workmen's or peasants' clubs, libraries, lecture-halls, meeting-places ; to found societies for the propagation of useful knowledge, and to teach the peasant how to lead a thoroughly healthy, clean, and pure life. The more certain forms of social intercourse are cultivated the more the human mind is improved, because it is then necessary to live in a more thoughtful manner. By teaching the peasant the secrets of more elaborate forms of life it will be easier for him to give up the vodka glass, thus making him more efficient in all he does. The suppression of vodka has been the first and necessary step in this evolution.

It has also an important bearing on religion. The law of Moses and Christianity do not specially prohibit the use of alcohol, but there cannot be any question that the use of this drug, specially with regard to its consequences, is contrary to the tenets of both. Religion means the raising of life to a higher plane. God, as the Principle of Life, is opposed to the wanton destruction of life. Alcohol is a deadly poison which annihilates living organism if used in sufficient quantity. It is a liquid fire consuming life, the antithesis to the Source and First Cause of all life—God. It also impairs the higher psychic powers ; for instance, telepathy, and the intensity of prayer as a medium of elevating the soul to the realm of the Infinite. It materializes and brutalizes the higher aspirations of man. According to the famous Russian writer, Count Leo Tolstoy, “it is an invention of the devil himself.”

Thus it may be seen that wide horizons are opening up for Russia as a direct result of the suppression of vodka. I think that nowhere has the experiment of introducing abstinence from drink been made on a greater scale, and had more promising results. The Temperance Movement in Great Britain is gaining more and more in power, and perhaps it may receive a new impetus by the example of Russia. If Great Britain would follow Russia in abolishing the use of spirits in the same way as the use of opium, cocaine, and other deadly poisons have been prohibited by law, the beneficial results would probably even surpass those obtained in Russia, because Great Britain is a more advanced country. It would also be much easier to suppress the use of spirits in Great Britain, as the English are more capable of acting together with one accord than Russians have been able to do up to the present. In such a strong-minded and practical nation as the English it is difficult to understand their weakness for the bottle. But a change for the better has already come about within the last twenty years. There is no more boasting as to who can drink the most. The knowledge of the deleterious effects of alcohol is steadily spreading, and the value of a healthy life from a moral point of view, as also, from a point of view of Eugenics is more and more realized.

Thus, let us hope that the day is not distant when the Russian and English nations will shake hands in a common spirit of brotherhood in temperance. There should be a brotherly "give and take"; Great Britain may take from Russia the example of the total suppression of spirits, and give to her British methods of spreading enlightened recreations, sports, and development by moral and physical training.

TO SLEEP

(AFTER JAMMI)

COME, gentle Sleep! image of Death, approach,
 And kindly hover o'er my lonesome couch :
 How sweet in sleep to rest the weary eyes,
 Live without life, and without dying die!

O gentle Sleep! tho' thou 'rt like Death,
 I woo thee to my bed :
 Come, wish'd-for rest!—thy balmy breath
 Thro' all my members shed :
 For oh! how sweet such death and life :
 To die without death's fatal knife—
 And live when life is fled.

IKBAL ALI SHAIKH.

MILITARY NOTES

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

THE new Allied War Council of Three may be fitly described as the addition of a fifth wheel to a coach. The want of co-ordination between the military operations of the Entente Powers has hitherto been both surprising and disappointing. When the French or the English have assumed the offensive (which they always do alternately and not simultaneously), the Russians have been quiescent ; when the Russians made a push, the allied armies in France and Flanders remained passive spectators. The Germans, with their excellent system of strategic railways, were able to hurry whole divisions of troops and masses of artillery from their Eastern to their Western fronts, and *vice versa*. The conditions of climate and weather, circumstances of locality, unforeseen accidents, etc., make the task of co-ordinating the operations of armies separated by the width of a continent a difficult, if not an impossible, task. But the remedy for a lack of co-operation is not to be found in an Advisory Committee and an attempt at a unity of control admirable in theory, but unattainable in practice.

When a politician finds himself in a tight place, his usual expedient is to appoint a Royal Commission or a Committee of Inquiry to save the situation and stave off the disagreeable necessity of coming to a decision. Mr. Lloyd George knows no more about military affairs than did Lord Haldane or any other civilian Secretary of State for War who has ruled the British Army since the abolition of the office of Commander-in-Chief, and when things went wrong on the Italian frontier he felt the natural impulse of the politician to appoint a committee to put things right.

might be invested with supreme control over operations in all the theatres of war ; but further reflection has led him to the conclusion that its functions are to be advisory only. The commanders in the field may, however, be trusted to rely upon their own judgment and their own knowledge of the circumstances and the locality, without depending on the advice of sages sitting in council chambers in Paris. The student of military history may gain some idea of the result of directing operations in the field from the remote security of a Cabinet in the control exercised over the commands of the Austrian armies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the Aulic Council sitting at Vienna.

The war has now entered on a new phase, arising out of the secession of Russia from the Entente and the discomfiture of the Italian Army in the field. That army had done good service hitherto, had repulsed a desperate attack by large Austrian forces a year ago, and was making victorious progress towards Trieste, when last October it suddenly crumpled up under a fresh attack and retreated across the frontier, leaving all its conquests, besides hundreds of guns and over two hundred thousand prisoners, in the hands of the enemy. No authoritative or satisfactory explanation has been given of this sudden collapse. Some have attributed it to the anti-war propaganda carried on in the ranks, partly by Socialists, partly by priests, for the Pope and the Vatican secretly sympathize with Austria, the only Great Power in Europe which still affords Catholicism some political support. Others have with more probability attributed the Italian defeat to the inferior quality of their second line, or Territorial troops, who have refilled the gaps caused by casualties in the active army. These troops were almost entirely destitute of organization and training in time of peace, owing to the deficiency of funds for the purpose ; and it is said that supplies were inadequate, and they lacked many things necessary to efficiency. They were surprised by the sudden and violent

onslaught of the Germans, and gave way in disorder, and their panic communicated itself to the troops who should have supported them, spreading the contagion through the whole army, which could only be rallied behind the line of the Piave.

Many writers have called this war by the name of Armageddon, and the British troops under General Allenby are now drawing near to the battle-field of Hor Megiddo, where Napoleon defeated the Turkish rabble army which had sought to interrupt his investment of Acre little more than a century ago. The fact of Jerusalem (Al Quds, the Holy Place) being in British hands would have a moral effect throughout the East greater even than the capture of Baghdad. And it is quite possible that British and Turkish forces may meet at Armageddon, the plain between the mountains and the sea, which in former times seemed an ideal spot for setting the battle in array ; but the Turk's experience of our Yeomanry acting as cavalry will probably confine him to the neighbouring hills. It is now eight hundred years since a Christian army, urged on by the expectation of the Second Advent, stormed the walls of Jerusalem ; and a colony of pious Germans has established itself at Haifa in Palestine with the same expectation of greeting the approaching return of the Messiah. But the Musalmans maintain that He will alight on the minaret of the mosque in Damascus. It is to be hoped that General Allenby may obtain sufficient reinforcements from India to enable him to capture Damascus as well as Jerusalem, and sever Syria as well as Palestine from the Turkish Empire, which has spread its blighting influence over these unhappy lands for the last four centuries. From the time of the Crusades until the beginning of the seventeenth century Syria and Palestine were united with Egypt under the rule of the Mameluke Sultans ; and Aleppo and Damascus, Cairo and Alexandria were the clearing-houses of an extensive trade which brought the muslins of Mosul and the dimity of Damietta into the markets of Europe, along with

the gold and ivory, the apes and peacocks of India and Ceylon. But the Portuguese on the Indian Ocean, and the Turks on the Mediterranean shores, combined to close the route, and deprived the Sultans of Egypt of the revenues on which they relied for the maintenance of their military power. It may be that history will once more repeat itself, and that a Sultan of Egypt may once again unite under his sway Syria and Palestine, beneath the ægis of a European Power. Mehemed Ali Pasha conquered, and for a time held, these provinces, and looked to France to support his claim to them ; but Great Britain, Russia, and Austria, combined to expel the Egyptian troops in possession, instigated more by jealousy of France than by their avowed solicitude for the integrity of the Turkish Empire. In those days France was the rival whose exclusion from proximity to our line of communication with India was the sedulous object of British diplomacy.

Though the Turks have been expelled from the Hejjaz, they still hold possession of Yemen or Arabia Felix, though their forces there are cut off completely from communication with the rest of the Empire. Early in the war they attacked and captured the town of Lahej, the Sultan of which enjoyed the blessing of a British Protectorate. Our garrison from Aden failed to relieve the place, and it still remains in Turkish hands, while its Sultan is a refugee in British territory. Our acquiescence in the enemy's occupation of Lahej is not conducive to our prestige in Arabia. Our excuse must be that we have too many irons in the fire, and that other spheres of operation are more important than the Aden hinterland. But now that the Germans have been cleared out of East Africa the theatres of our military operations in the East are reduced from five to four, and some of our troops to be presently withdrawn from East Africa might be spared to make our Protectorate of the Sultan of Lahej and his people an actual fact. If we cannot wring Belgium from the iron grasp of the invader, we can at least recover Lahej.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

GENERAL

THE NEXT THIRTY YEARS : THOUGHTS ON THE WORK THAT AWAITS STUDENTS OF THE HUMAN SCIENCES. Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the British Academy, July 19, 1917. by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, B.M. (London, 1917.) Price 1s.

It was a fine inspiration which prompted Lord Bryce, in choosing a subject for his Presidential Address to the British Academy this year, to look forward rather than backward, and from the serene outlook of his eightieth year to indicate to this storm-tossed generation fruitful fields of research and learned investigation that still await the toil of the scholar. Within the vast field of knowledge that he surveys, the studies that appeal to the readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* come under review ; he points out that we still lack a satisfactory history, "critical, impartial, and philosophical," of India, that no trained historian is studying at first hand the growth of republican government in China, and that we need to know more about the rule of the Arabs, or rather of the Arabized Moors, in Spain. Among other subjects the careful study of which is needed, he mentions the relations of Greek culture with India, "the early history of Arabia and, above all, of Mohammed and his surroundings. Every few years there appears some new treatment of the Prophet's character and his aims, and of the causes which led to the swift growth of the empire of his first successors. These views are so far discrepant as to show that many questions are not yet settled." He suggests that we need a new science, or at least a new scheme, of ethnology, and discusses the questions of the fusion of races by intermarriage, and the influence upon racial character and aptitude of environment, and especially of contact with other peoples, as compared with what may be called the inherited quality of the race ; and he adds the profound reflection : " Such fragmentary observations as I have been able to make in travelling among the non-European peoples have led me to doubt whether we are not apt to exaggerate the importance of heredity

on the one hand and of physical (such as climatic) environment on the other, to underestimate the value of the contact of races for each of them, and to allow too little for the social and political conditions under which a race or people has lived, it may be, for thousands of years. Should such doubts be well founded, the differences in mental power and in a capacity for progress between such peoples and ourselves may be less permanent than we fancy, and the ultimate assimilation and equalization of the several human stocks—at least as respects some branches of activity—be nearer than is commonly supposed. The gulf, for instance, which is believed to sever us Europeans from what we call the East—though really there are four or five quite different ‘Easts’—may be by no means so deep as both Easterns and Westerns fancy.”

Were the relations between East and West studied—and fostered—in this broad-minded and hopeful spirit, much unnecessary bitterness of spirit might be prevented, and the foundations of the future be more securely laid.

He closes this remarkable address in a note of lyrical optimism: “The ship that carries the fortunes of the world may be sorely battered, but she will get through, and rest herself in calmer weather. When the tempest is spent, the stars will reappear; as Dante, when he had passed through the sorrows and terrors of the Inferno, emerged under the vault of heaven, and saw above him the Four Holy Lights of the Southern sky, ‘E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle.’”

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY EXAMINED

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY IN EUROPE. By H. E. Egerton, M.A. (*Macmillan*, 6s. net.)

It was Mr. Disraeli’s boast that he had rescued the Queen’s foreign affairs from the limbo to which they had been consigned by the shop-keeping class of English politicians. They were, he said, England’s *home* affairs in *foreign* parts.

At the suggestion of the editor of the *Round Table*, Professor Egerton, whose works on Colonial Policy have become classics, undertook the task of describing in rough outline, and vindicating, British Policy towards foreign Powers. The perusal of the book makes the reader realize the true meaning of Mr. Disraeli’s golden definition, as well as tempting him to attribute the success of Professor Egerton’s sketch to his previous study of Colonial History. In the space of 400 pages the author passes somewhat rapidly over the seventeenth and eighteenth century, so that the events from the outbreak of the French Revolution to the year 1900 occupy about three-quarters of the volume. The difficult task has been greatly facilitated by plentiful and skilful quotations from the sayings and writings of the protagonists on the stage of European diplomacy. Thereby he makes them speak to us direct, and fasten quickly on the essentials of their political creeds and aspirations. But we will quote from the author himself—

“The claims of morality had not assuredly been very much regarded in the past international relations of the various Powers;

but men had gone on groping their way in a fog of self-deception and confusion. It was reserved for Frederick the Great to put in practice, by the dry light of logic, unblushing, and unashamed, that creed of Machiavelli which he himself had, on paper, confuted. The whole law and the prophets of the doctrine that the State is Power, that consequently Might is Right, and the strong arm of the Prussian the inspired instrument of the right hand of the God of history, as enforced by Bismarck, and taught by Treitschke, was first proclaimed when Frederick swooped on Silesia. Time was needed for the manifestation of its full results; and the mighty doings of the French Revolution, followed by the career of Napoleon, together with the weakness and inferiority of individual Hohenzollerns, were for a long time to bring other issues to the fore. None-the-less, the dragon's teeth had been sown; and sooner or later a new Europe would have to deal with the consequences."

In his Christmas address to the German soldiers in Flanders, a descendant of Frederick has given yet another proof that he is following closely in the footsteps of his predecessor, and taken his national theology from the same source!

But if the reader finds much that is illuminating with regard to Germany, he finds little to warrant the success of a new experiment in a concert of Europe. The scheme of Alexander I. is dismissed as the dream of a mystic under the influence of a Baltic Baroness. Perhaps a whole chapter might have been devoted, with advantage, to the causes of that failure. The author, we note, quotes Castlereagh's criticism, and proceeds: "Whatever may have been the possibilities of a new Europe, actuated by obedience to a higher law, such hopes were rudely dispelled by the action of the various Governments." Thus we can only find comfort in the hope that, during the hundred years that have passed since the Congress of Vienna, "Governments" have marched somewhat along the road, whilst at the same time realizing that the presence of representatives of "Mittel-Europe" in quadruple strength would immediately defeat the objects of any such assembly. As regards the possibilities of a durable peace, Professor Egerton expresses himself as follows:

"It may sound a paradox, but it is probably true that in the present temper of the world the best prospects lie in the existence of strong alliances of Powers, ready to wage a defensive war on behalf of each other's interests if attacked. . . . Next to converting the temper that desires war, the best thing is to make war so dangerous a game that even those inclined to wax wanton will consider carefully before they embark upon it."

Prevention is better than cure—moreover, it is safer in dealing with hot-heads intoxicated with the wine of "Weltmacht."

COMPARATIVE RELIGION. By A. S. Geden, D.D. (*Published by S.P.C.K.*)

This is an interesting little volume, which merits careful perusal, and more especially so, as the Christian religion is included for comparison with other beliefs.

The author's desire to dwell on the points of accord between the various religions, if honestly carried into effect, shows a praiseworthy spirit.



The statement with reference to Islam that "The most important and commanding feature in the Divine Character is absolute and irresponsible power, controlled by no moral considerations and instigated by no feelings of pity or regard," is a conclusion directly at variance with the Qur-án, every chapter but one of which opens with the invocation, "In the name of God—the Merciful and the Compassionate."

The author's attitude towards Buddhism is on the whole sympathetic, and referring to Buddhist missionary propaganda, he rightly states that their methods are never those of persecution; violence and persecution being contrary to the precepts of the Buddhist faith, and this precept was uniformly translated into practice.

H. L.

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ORIENTALIA
THE HOLY QUR-ÁN

THE HOLY QUR-ÁN, containing the Arabic text with English translation and commentary. By Maulvi Muhammad Ali, M.A., LL.B. (*The Islamic Review Office, Woking, 1917.*)

Some thirty years ago, a Dutch scholar discussed the possibility of a "retour au Coran," a return to the simplicity of Muslim teaching as set forth in the primitive revelation, freed from the glosses of commentators and the superincumbent weight of centuries of tradition. His speculations met with little sympathy from scholars of Arabic and authorities on Mohammedan history; they argued that Islam, as it exists at the present day, is the outcome of a process of development that has been going on for more than thirteen centuries—that during this long period systems of theology have been formed which have become an integral part of the thinking of Mohammedan peoples—that the Muslim religion is not based merely on the Qur-án, but on the Traditions of the Prophet, which are commonly held to be derived from divine inspiration, though the mode of the inspiration was subjective, and not objective, as in the case of the Qur-án—that organized systems of legislation and rules of ceremonial practice have become inextricably bound up with Muslim life and thought, and that consequently it is impossible for any Mohammedan thinker to turn back the stream of history and persuade his co-religionists to accept a re-statement of Islamic doctrine based on a study of the revealed text alone. By none have these considerations been more vehemently urged than by Christian missionaries and controversialists, who naturally find that the mediæval presentations of Islam are the more vulnerable and offer the easiest targets for the slings and arrows of theological controversy.

But there has grown up in recent years a Modernist school of Muslim theologians which refuses to be fettered by the opinions of earlier exegetes and claims for itself a measure of freedom of interpretation that overleaps the boundaries set by all previous schools and sects. This development has been rendered all the more possible by the decay of ecclesiastical discipline in the Mohammedan world. The Muslim Church has at no time possessed an organization at all comparable to that of the Papacy, and the violent methods of suppressing heresy which were employed in

the days of the Abbasid Caliphate and other periods of Mohammedan history were rendered possible by the active support which the State gave to the theologians; but at the present time, when it is calculated that upwards of 83 per cent. of the population of the Mohammedan world are living under Christian or some other non-Mohammedan rule, such intervention on the part of the State in matters of religious belief or practice is entirely out of count, and the "learned," who form the only counterpart in the Muslim world to the clergy in the Christian Church, have no spiritual head possessing such powers of discipline as have enabled the Pope to suppress the Modernist movement in the Roman Catholic Church, or enjoying such willing obedience from his adherents. Further, the influence of Western learning and education in large parts of the Mohammedan world has caused the younger generation of educated Muslims to be more familiar with Western literature than with the theological literature of their own faith, and they have to a large measure grown up in a circle of ideas that does not include the scholasticism of Islam, such as formed the major part of the mental pabulum of their fathers.

Among the Modernist movements in Islam that has enjoyed this immunity from persecution, through the fact of its arising in a country under Christian rule, is the Ahmadiyya sect, to the founder of which the editor of the translation under review renders his acknowledgment in the following words : " And lastly, the greatest religious leader of the present time, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, has inspired me with all that is best in this work. I have drunk deep at the fountain of knowledge which this great reformer—*Mujaddid* and *Mehdi* in Islam, of the present century—and founder of the Ahmadiyya movement, has made to flow" (p. xciv). Accordingly, the translation and commentary embody the distinctive doctrines of this sect in regard to its Christology, the doctrine of Jihâd, etc. It is in its Christology that this sect has made the greatest breach with Mohammedan tradition; it repudiates the common orthodox belief that Jesus was not himself crucified and that he was miraculously delivered from the hands of the Jews and taken up alive into heaven, some one else being substituted in his stead; and asserts on the contrary that Jesus was actually nailed to the cross but was taken down again while still alive and after being healed of his wounds made his way to Cashmere, where he preached and finally died a natural death, and was buried in the tomb (now known as that of Yus Asaf Nabi) in Khan Yar street in Srinagar, the capital of Cashmere (pp. 241-2, 686-7). In accordance with this interpretation the words of chap. iv. v. 156 وَ مَا صَلَبُوهُ " nor did they crucify him" are taken as not necessarily implying death upon the cross; and the words لَكِنْ شَيْءٌ لَّهُمْ which have hitherto been taken to mean "but a similitude (of Jesus), was made for them," are translated "but (the matter) was made dubious to them."

The distinctive doctrine of the Ahmadiyya sect in regard to the promised Mahdi is referred to in the note on chap. xxiv., v. 55 : " The analogy of the Israelites, to which the verse refers, points to the appearance of a Messiah among the Muslims as a Messiah was raised among the Israelites, and it

was on this verse that the claim of the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement, was based. He claimed to be a reformer for the fourteenth century of the Hejira and the Muslim Messiah."

Jihád is interpreted to mean *striving hard*, and v. 52 of chap. xxv. is translated : " So do not follow the unbelievers, and strive against them a mighty striving with it," and the note is added : " Every exertion to spread the truth is, according to this verse, a jihád—nay, it is called *the great jihád*, and *fighting in defence of religion* received the name of *jihád*, because under the circumstances it became necessary for the truth to live and prosper, and if fighting had not been permitted, truth would surely have been uprooted. . . . It should be noted that the greatest jihád which a Muslim can carry out is one by means of the Qur-án, to which the personal pronoun *it* at the end of the verse unquestionably refers, and not with the *sword*" (*cf.* also note 1073). The injunctions to fight *in the way of Allah* are explained as referring only to war waged in self-defence and to put a stop to religious persecution (chap ii., v. 190); and the idolaters in chap. ix., v. 5 (" So when the sacred months have passed away, then slay the idolaters wherever you find them") are explained to be " not all idolaters or polytheists wherever they may be found in the world, nor even all idolaters of Arabia, but only those idolatrous tribes of Arabia assembled at the pilgrimage who had first made agreements with the Muslims and then violated them" (*cf.* note 238 on chap ii., v. 190).

But apart from these distinctive doctrines of the Ahmadiyya sect, the student of Muslim religious thought will find many interpretations which differ considerably from those given by the earlier commentators. The translator states his attitude towards them in the following words : " The present tendency of the Muslim theologians to regard the commentaries of the Middle Ages as the final word on the interpretation of the Holy Qur-án is very injurious, and practically shuts out the great treasures of knowledge which an exposition of the Holy Book in the new light reveals " (p. xcvi). He claims for himself the same freedom of exegesis as they exercised in refusing to look upon their predecessors as having uttered the final word on the exposition of the Qur-án, and accordingly he rejects many of the stories which set forth in the works of these commentators. He entirely rejects the doctrine of abrogation, commonly accepted by Muslim theologians, according to which certain verses are stated to have been abrogated by others revealed at a later period, and makes the passages on which this doctrine is based, refer, not to verses of the Qur-án, but either to the Mosaic law which was abrogated so as to give place to the law of Islam (chap. ii., v. 106), or to the power of the enemies of the Prophet (chap. xiii., v. 39), or to earlier revelations generally (chap xvi., v. 101); in accordance with this method of interpretation, he translates the word *آل* as a *message* or *communication* rather than as a *verse*.

The reader will find many of the familiar stories in the Qur-án represented in a new and, sometimes, startling light, and emptied of all miraculous characteristics. The well-known legend of the Seven Sleepers

of Ephesus is no longer allowed a place in chap. xviii., and the suggestion is offered that the persons referred to as having taken refuge in a cave from religious persecution were "Joseph of Arimathaea and some other early Christians, their place of refuge being Glastonbury in England, which on account of its northern position well answers the description of the cave as given in the Qur-án." In the same chapter (v. 94) Gog and Magog are identified with Scythian tribes occupying territories to the north and north-east of the Black Sea, and the translator adds, "There is, however, another point worth considering, and that is the gigantic effigies of Gog and Magog in Guildhall, London," and it is suggested that "the preservation of the effigies of Gog and Magog in England, which can be traced to a very early period in English history, makes it probable that the Angles or the Saxons had in very ancient times some connection with the Scythians" (p. 606). The "two-horned" Zulqarnain (commonly identified with Alexander), whose assistance against the incursions of Gog and Magog is asked for in verse 94, is stated to be Darius I., by reference to the two-horned ram in the vision of the prophet Daniel (Dan. viii. 3).

The eschatology of the Qur-án is expounded in this commentary in terms of the spiritual life; heaven and hell are not names of two places, but really two conditions (p. 1048), and the blessings of paradise are "nothing but physical manifestations of the spiritual blessings which the doers of good enjoy in this life too" (pp. x, 1009); these blessings are described in words applied to women, because the reward spoken of is "one having special reference to the purity of character and the beautiful deeds of the righteous, and it is womanhood, not manhood, that stands for a symbol of purity and beauty." The translator holds that the Qur-án nowhere speaks of conjugal relations being maintained in the life after death.

The examples above cited are sufficient to indicate the novel character of this translation with its commentary, and it will arrest the attention of all students of modern movements in Muslim theology. The translator describes himself as the president of a Muslim missionary society in Lahore, and his brother (who saw the book through the press) was at the time head of the Woking Muslim Mission and Imam of the Mosque in that town. There are several indications in this volume that one of the aims underlying its publication is the furtherance of the propaganda of Islam in this country, by a presentation of this faith in a form calculated to be acceptable to the modern world and freed from such aspects as have exposed it in the past to the attacks of hostile critics. There are several references in the notes to the missionary character of the nature of Islam, and it is emphasized that the principles of Islam are now being gradually accepted by the world at large—e.g., in the comment on the verse (chap. ix., v. 33), "He it is who sent His Apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, that He might cause it to prevail over all religions"; among the signs which indicate that the prophecy of the establishment of the superiority of Islam over all other religions of the world is now finding fulfilment, are "the railway systems of the world and more especially the extension of that system into Arabia itself" (p. 1164). The trans-

literation into Roman characters of the Arabic prayers (given on pp. xxv of the detailed exposition of the dogmas and fundamental institutions of Islam, which forms a preface to the work) is clearly intended for the use of English converts.

H. L.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF ARABIC VERSE. Sharh al-maqnūn bihi 'alā ghairi ahlihi. Edited by I. B. Yahuda. (Cairo, 1915.).

The compiler of this anthology, al-'Izzī, died just a year before Hulagu and his Mongol army sacked Baghdad in 1258, put the Caliph to death, and brought to an inglorious end the Abbasid dynasty, whose capital it had been for nearly five centuries. He is best known as the author of an Arabic grammar, which has gone through several editions and has had as many as twenty commentaries written upon it; it was one of the first grammars of the Arabic language to be printed in Europe—at the Medici Press in Rome in 1610, under the patronage of Pope Paul V. But his anthology is now published for the first time; it contains verses by upwards of 220 poets, from those of the Days of the Ignorance before the promulgation of Islam to such late writers as al-Arrajānī (*ob.* 1149), and is divided according to the subject matter—e.g., the pleasures of friendship, reading etc., elegies, satires, love-poems, ethics, etc. The whole is accompanied by a commentary in simple and easy Arabic, and is on this account suitable for the use of young students. The book has been carefully edited and clearly printed, and can be recommended as a textbook for the use of those beginning the study of Arabic poetry. The editor, Mr. I. B. Yahuda, was at one time Professor of the Arabic Language and Literature in Jerusalem, and has a well-deserved reputation among European scholars for his extensive knowledge of Arabic bibliography.

T. W. ARNOLD

THE NEAR EAST
THE REVOLT IN ARABIA

THE REVOLT IN ARABIA. By Dr. C. Snack Hurgronje, with a Foreword by R. J. Gottheil. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.) 1917. Price 75 cents.

The name Mecca suggests to Western Orientalists that of Dr. Hurgronje, who is the only prominent member of their body who has resided in that city; his visit was indeed thirty years ago, which counts as a great length of time in these days, wherein each week is epoch making. And indeed his pamphlet was antiquated before it appeared; for its standpoint in time is when the revolt of the Shereef was only known by vague and contradictory telegrams, and he prophesies that "in the great war the Shereefate of Mecca cannot possibly take part." This prophecy has been falsified by the event—a fact which must somewhat diminish the interest in the rest of the pamphlet, which consists of not more than six thousand words, and is intended to elucidate the Shereefate historically and legally. Professor Hurgronje's statements about both Islamic history and law are in the highest degree subversive of accepted ideas. Page 8

he speaks of "the extraordinarily numerous posterity of Mohammed, issue of his daughter Fatima with his nephew Ali"; we had all along supposed Ali to have been Mohammed's cousin, not his nephew. Page 16: "The Shereef family, ruling at Mecca from about 1200 A.D. to the present time, were soon freed from the difficulty of choice when an end was made of the Fatimide Caliphate in Egypt and when the Mongol storm swept that of Bagdad in 1258. In the centuries following these events the Sultans alone were mentioned in the prayers." We had all supposed the Fatimide Caliphate to have come to an end in 1171; and in the prayer which Ibn Batuta heard in Mecca he states that the names were mentioned of the Egyptian King, the Rasulid Sultan, and the two Shereefs: and that formerly it had been the custom to pray also for the Sultan of Irak. Page 34: "The idea of a Caliphate of the Shereefs of Mecca has been ventilated more than once by this or that European writer on Islam, but in the Moslem world it has never been broached, and no one of the Shereefs from the house of Katada—rulers in Mecca and in varying portions of West Arabia ever since the year 1200 A.D.—ever thought of such a thing." Ibn Khaldun quotes this very Katada as in the habit of saying "I have a better right to the Caliphate" than his contemporary Caliphs, whence one member of the house certainly is recorded as having "thought of such a thing," and an earlier Emir of Mecca, Abul'l-Futuh, according to the same authority, actually claimed the Caliphate. Page 35: "The Caliph is primarily the leader of Islam's armies against the foes of the faith, or he bears a name bereft of significance." Page 30: "Spiritual authority has never been ascribed to the Caliph by the Moslem congregations." Mawardi, our chief authority on this matter, in enumerating the Caliph's duties, places his spiritual functions first, and his leadership of the *jihād* as the sixth. The number of paradoxes compressed into this small space is therefore very large.

Some passages are difficult to understand. "The Shereef Aun was an avaricious tyrant, whose actions suggest Cæsar's mad ambition." "Cæsar" usually stands for C. Julius Cæsar; but the character by no means seems to suit. "In Arabia as little as elsewhere have the Turks tried to affiliate with the people. They are unpopular in the highest degree." Since "affiliating" is a process whereby people render themselves popular, we should gladly know what it is; the dictionary throws no light on the matter.

The work of so great an expert as Dr. Hurgronje on his own subject is not to be criticized; it is however the reviewer's duty to point out that his views are very different from those held by most of his colleagues in both East and West.

D. S. M.

INDIA

THE LAWYER: AN OLD MAN OF THE SEA. By William Durran. Second Editor. (*Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1917.*) Price 4s. 6d. net.

There are some who hold that the greatest curse Britain, with the very best and noblest intentions, ever imposed upon India and Ireland was

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the gift of her "English judicial system"—and the book under review certainly proves what a fatuous fraud that system is! Long, long ago Elphinstone tried to save India from the fatal imposition by urging that no Vakils (native lawyers or English barristers) should ever be allowed audience in British courts in India, but the Lords Levities and lawyers proved too much for Elphinstone, as they had done formerly for a mightier man than he—Cromwell!

Only a wealthy country like England could bear up against the curse of English legalism. Poor countries like India and Ireland are borne down and submerged by it. "English law is professionalism naked and unashamed," and, as has been well said, it is not the certainty of the law but the uncertainty that pays the Advocate out of the pockets of the poor; and the uncertainty of the law is not greater than the uncertainty of the exalted Advocates—called Judges—who administer it. Such are some of the points pressed home by this book.

Dealing with the Bench and Bar in India, the author quotes the saying of James Mill, in 1810, to the effect that although the British possess forces sufficient to exterminate every human being in a district where dacoit-robberies are rampant, it is impossible to obtain a conviction, owing to the loopholes found by lawyers; and also M. Chailley's declaration (made in 1910) that "inexplicable acquittals encourage crime and ruin the prestige of the dominant race."

Mr. Durran shows that conditions are present in India which tend to turn the failure of our legal system to the direct discredit of the Government.

Bar and Bench are jointly responsible for the Vakil. It is one of the glittering fictions of the special pleader that the duty of the Bar is to aid the Bench in ascertaining the truth. But, as a matter of fact, a certain section of the Native Bar lay snares for the Bench under the triple stimulus of filthy lucre, professional laurels, and political disaffection.

Crime is encouraged by acquittals inexplicable to the laymen—and our prestige suffers! Thus we find that the legal system of India re-enforces the lesson taught by the experience of the United States. In both countries legalism conduces to lawlessness, and for this, so far as India is concerned, the British Government is primarily responsible. The author considers we are doubly culpable, because he (a non-official and non-lawyer himself) contends that there is an alternative, and that India herself exhibits a convincing demonstration of the success of quite another system worked on diametrically opposite lines. He refers to the institution of Civilian Judges, and declares that their record is a bright page in the legal history of India. In scarcely a single instance during the last quarter of a century have the members of the Indian Civil Service been concerned in failures of justice. These Civilian Judges are the true friends of the dumb millions of India, although they are considered interlopers by the Bar which has rendered "justice" such a fiasco in the courts of the Empire. The English Bar and Barrister Judges in India can speak no word of any Indian tongue, and have to

be shepherded and kept out of harm's way and the entanglements of fanciful interpreters by their civilian colleagues. If the reign of *Legalism* be our ideal, then the superiority of the Barrister Judges is unquestionable. But if we desire the reign of *Justice*, then we are compelled to regard the alleged superiority of the Barrister Judge as one of the most audacious, one of the most mischievous, fictions ever promulgated in the interests of privilege !

In this spirit the author proceeds to furnish a formidable array of facts and figures showing the absurdities of the working of the law in England, America, and India ; and his indictment of some of the evils exposed by Dickens and Lever—which survive to the present day is vigorous and effective and original.

The book is one which ought to be read and pondered over by every layman interested in the administration of law in the land, and by every lawyer who desires to see justice, in spite of the law, done in the courts of the realm.

To Lord Penzance the picture of "Law triumphant and Justice prostrate" seemed "a sorry spectacle"; and if the exposures so vigorously made, and the criticisms so forcibly driven home in this book, help towards a reversal of the positions in this picture, Mr. Durran will not have laboured or written in vain.

THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI. Translated from the Tamil by order of the Government of Madras. Edited by H. Dodwell, M.A. Vol V. (Madras, Government Press, 1917.) Price 4s. 6d.

The earlier volumes of this work have already been noticed in the pages of the ASIATIC REVIEW (vols. xxi and xxvii.). The present volume carries on the narrative from April 1 to October 17, 1748, and includes the account of the siege of Pondicherry by a squadron of British men-of-war under the command of Rear-Admiral Boscawen, and the disastrous failure of the attempt. Dupleix had received ample warning of this expedition, and had thus been able to complete the plan of his defence and strengthen the fortifications of the city. When, after long delays, Boscawen arrived and landed his troops, the besiegers took up the worst possible position that could have been chosen, north-west of the city, where their trenches could not be cleared of water, and the troops were worn out by harassing marches to convoy the stores that had to be brought up from the ships to the camp. The diarist narrates the details of the siege until October, when Boscawen had to withdraw, after having lost nearly a third of his men. Some of the details given are strangely suggestive of a modern newspaper report; under the date September 9, 1748, the diarist writes: "In all about forty shells were fired, to the terror of the people. The weight of these shells ranged from 150 to 210 or 215 pounds. It was astonishing to see them slowly rise, all shining, and burst as they fell. Although so many shells were fired, no one was either killed or wounded. This is what happened last night. No one till now had imagined their force or their noise. But now even

boys and girls know, people have lost half their fear of them. There is a noise when they are fired ; they look like a sun and make much noise ; they come slowly, like a man with a great belly ; so people can escape and go aside as they come near. So people are growing brave and despise the shells " (p. 321).

This volume, like previous volumes of the Diary, gives frequent illustrations of the author's hostility towards Madame Dupleix, who is described as having taken advantage of her husband's position to behave in an extraordinarily arbitrary and tyrannical manner. Ananda Ranga Pillai accuses her of employing her peons to rob men and women of their money and jewels. " For four months," he complains, " M. Dupleix has ceased to manage affairs. Madame has been ruling in his stead. . . . I do not know when God will put an end to her rule and protect the people " (p. 284). According to his account, her spies plundered the neighbouring villages, and accused their victims of being English spies, and brought them before Madame Dupleix. " She thinks all that her rascally spies say is as true as verses from the Vedas, and is delighted to order many to be beaten, lose their ears, be put in irons, and forced to carry earth. She delights in having men tremble before her. She exercises such authority that men think that she and none other is the ruler. Thinking this the best time to establish her power, she never asks why a man has been seized or who he is, but at once orders him to receive one or two hundred stripes, to lose his ears, to be chained by the neck, and carry earth " (p. 334). Through the lack of other contemporary records, it is not possible to check these statements, but they are not less credible than other accounts we have of administration in India in the eighteenth century, and the detailed character of the narrative makes this work a most valuable addition to previously existing sources for the history of the struggle between the English and the French for predominance in South India.

THE FAR EAST

ON THE EAVES OF THE WORLD. By Reginald Farrer. 2 vols. 8vo. xii + 311 and 328 pp. With 64 full page Plates and a Map. (*Edward Arnold.*) 30s. net.

On closing this book, the reviewer owns to a feeling of regret at not having the time to read it again at once, and also at the fact that he may have to wait some months before a further instalment of Mr. Farrer's journey in Northern China and Tibet comes off the press. The two volumes which record the first portion of that journey in 1914 make fascinating reading. The author went with a friend to seek new species of Alpine plants in the high altitudes of North-Western China, on the edges of the " Roof of the World." Thus we find in the pages of his work botany and mountaineering going in congenial double harness, but keeping technicalities so unobtrusively in the background that the reader to whom the very names of Bertham and Hooker are both unknown will see in the descriptions of new primulas and poppies mere episodes by the way,

impinging upon the thread of the traveller's narrative without breaking it. . Nevertheless, so skilled is the author, the lover of flowers will find the travelling episodes a pleasingly variegated rocky background for a carpet of wee Alpine flora, and, if he should wish to be introduced to the new species under their systematic names, illustrations and a thoughtfully provided appendix will satisfy his most critical desires. The author, whose books on mountain plants have doubtless influenced many an horticulturist and provided easy knowledge for those whose only opportunity is to be found in the small rock garden at Kew, reveals himself here as an unconventional, energetic traveller, with that most important requisite : understanding of, and sympathy with, the natives upon whom he suddenly springs, more or less unexpectedly, in the fulfilment of quests the nature of which they cannot apprehend, or which they believe to hide some subtle danger for their own welfare. He shows very decided opinions on most subjects, from the transliteration of Chinese sounds (in which sinologists will not agree), to the characteristics of the average dissenting missionary, and, in a footnote of six words (vol. ii., p. 311) lets out a sidelight on his politics. The remark on the Chagola affray lands him in Sir James Frazer's camp, and judging from the opposite page he may have wished he could boast the immunity of a writer on China, recently alluded to in our columns. Mr. Farrer is delightfully candid, truth oozes out of his pages, he will show you the Great Man Pung, blessed by a generous country with a salary of ten shillings *a year*, paid irregularly, and entrusted with the military control of a large city in a dangerous place, beset by two jealous wives besides ; or mandarins of lower status trying to please the haughty European intruder and their own chiefs without giving the foreign barbarian's country a chance to claim a little Kiao-Chao in exchange for the said intruder's hide; his descriptions are homeric—let us quote just one by the way, that of a servant who proved most useful : " His very appearance was enough to daunt the most hostile village ; for he was of a hideousness rare and special amongst men. Imagine a bandy-legged rhomboidal gorilla, gap-toothed and rubicund, capable of blossoming into a demoniac fury of yells and leaps and howls that might well affright a fiend." Now and again provincial words or unexpected similes come in to help the description : " . . . the whole population came raging through the court in a dense stream for the next five hours till one felt like Mr. Gladstone or Queen Victoria lying in state." One feels almost inclined to quote the prescriptions for Stock Exchange men, lovers, and gamblers to be found on page 205 (ii.), but it would be unfair ; in fact, the temptation is not to quote paragraphs, but pages, Chagola, Satani, Joni, the siege of Siku, the description of the loess, the adventures of Mr. Meyer of U.S.A., the escape of Mr. Purdom from the wrath of the Tibetans, etc. Incidentally the author vouches in one sentence for the wholesale eradication of the opium poppy which gave Sir Alexander Hosie matter for two fat volumes !

During their journey the author and his caravan were almost continuously playing a game of hide and seek (with the accent on " hide ") with the various White Wolf bands—reports of whose ravages were so magnified

in Europe that at least one party of curio-hunters thought it best not to leave London for China—and they had the luck to escape them. Altogether plant-gathering was not a healthy occupation then; the difficulties that were got over are not easy to realize when seated in a comfortable armchair, and amongst readers there may be some who will think the loss of a star ruby ring a long price to pay when added to them; perhaps the natives, with all their apparent sympathy, looked upon it as a revenge of the Mountain Gods upon the traveller whom a missionary-postmaster called a “friend of Satan”! The last pages of the book promise a sequel: the record of the second year (1915) of exploration in the colder ranges of Northern China; we trust it may be soon forthcoming, with a similar wealth of observation, of humour, of philosophy, of dainty flowers and towering mountains, strength and beauty side by side, charmingly reproduced in masterly photographs. Thirty-two species entirely new to science, and nearly a score of them hitherto known only as dried specimens, are mentioned amongst some 250 plants named in the appendix, some of which are not yet fully determined and may yet prove to be novelties. The index is exhaustive. We have found only one misprint (p. 175 (i.), footnote), and the mention of *pollen* as a material for honey is an excusable poetical licence in a book every page of which shows the unmistakable signs of a work of love.

H. L. J.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the following works:

1. The Year Book of the Universities of the Empire, 1916 and 1917. Published for the Universities Bureau of the British Empire. From Herbert Jenkins, Ltd.
2. Catalogue of the Printed Books and of the Semitic and Jewish MSS. in the Mary Frere Hebrew Library at Girton College, Cambridge, by Herbert Loewe, M.A. Published by Girton College.

MOHAMMEDANISM AND FREEMASONRY

For the first time in the annals of Freemasonry, a member of the Bohra Moslem Community, Brother A. S. M. Anik, was installed recently in the chair of an English Lodge, the Wantage Lodge, which emanated from the Honourable Artillery Company and received its name from Lord Wantage, the former head of the H.A.C. Many famous Freemasons gathered to do honour to the Indian W.M., including Lord Lamington, Lord George Hamilton, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree; H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Lord Ampthill were prevented from attending through national duties out of London, but wrote to convey fraternal greetings and good wishes, as did H.H. the Aga Khan.

A. A. S.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

WHEN Lord Carmichael addressed the Royal Colonial Institute recently on "Empire Partnership" his audience was almost exclusively "Colonial"; India was practically unrepresented. But everyone who heard his thoughtful suggestions and comments felt them to be worthy of the utmost respect and confidence, seeing that he spoke with wide personal experience of both Australia and India. The policy of a "White Australia" is as well understood by him as the cry of "India a Nation," and lent weight to his earnest plea that "an interest in the dependent portion of our Empire may be quickened in the self-governing portion, so that that quickened interest may help Englishmen, slowly perhaps but surely, and may help Indians, necessarily slowly but also surely, as education spreads and becomes more genuine, to work together and convince the Dominions that India appreciates the value of Empire partnership and is deserving of a share in it." Lord Carmichael expressed the belief that to form an Empire Partnership which professed to treat equally self-governing and non-self-governing partners would not be fair to either, but he added: "Self-government within the Empire is, I believe, attainable by India. I admit it may be long before she attains it, but I honestly believe she deserves to attain it, and I should like to see it clearly stated, by those who have the right to do so, that it will be aimed at. Meanwhile, even the smallest step in that direction is worth taking. There is a danger, no doubt, of Indians overrating at times the importance of India, but it is no greater than the danger of the people in our self-governing Dominions underrating it. More accurate knowledge is the safeguard against both dangers."

Whether we like it or not, Lord Carmichael observed, a spirit of discontent is growing, both in intensity and volume, every day in India among all classes, and what is needed is that there should be a wise guidance of that discontent. It "may lead to disaster if, through it, Indians lose their sense of proportion, but it will lead to triumph if, through it, Indians learn to share in the work of a partnership, not with Britain only, but with

all those lands who look to Britain as their mother. In such a partnership, all the partners must respect themselves and all must respect each other." Ideas move quickly in these days, more quickly overseas than here, and nowhere more quickly, said the lecturer, than among that rapidly-growing section of Indians usually spoken of as the educated classes. On certain points, he added, Australians and the younger educated Indians have many ideas in common. "Few things struck me more in India," said Lord Carmichael, "than the similarity unconsciously shown in their attitude towards many questions by some of the best informed and most intelligent Indians, and that of many persons whom I looked upon as typical Australians. . . . I often found it hard to realize that views expressed to me in Bengal had not been inspired in Australia, and I feel sure that any success I had in understanding the leaders of Bengali thought, or in getting them to understand me, was largely due to what I learned in Melbourne."

The "White Australia" policy found exponents in the discussion following the lecture. Sir Harry Wilson, referring to the meetings of the Imperial War Council and Conference last spring, pointed out that the word "partnership," with regard to India, had replaced "dependency" at the desire of the Overseas Dominions' representatives, and urged everyone to read the Blue Book giving the official record of the meetings. Sir Charles Lucas, from the chair, showed that India's Ruling Princes govern their own States, and declared that the glory of the Empire was its diversity. Lord Carmichael, in a brief reply, maintained that India can help Australia in her Northern Territory, and that Australia can help India, especially in parts of Bengal, in the matter of agriculture. His final word was an expression of hope that India will become self-governing, and that her share in the Empire Partnership will be strengthened.

Lord Carmichael was also a prominent figure at the annual commemoration in London of the birthday of Keshub Chunder Sen on November 19, at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington. Speaking from the chair, he told the large audience which this commemoration always brings together that he had attended similar celebrations in Calcutta, and was glad to pay tribute to the distinguished teacher as a Bengali who believed in Indian nationality, and in the advantage to India of her close connection with Great Britain. "I am not a Bengali myself," he observed, with something of regret in his tone; "but I am proud to be the friend of many Bengalis." Lord Carmichael entered a vigorous protest against the very exaggerated writing, "most of it quite untrue," which has appeared in the Press about Bengal, and which was calculated, he said, to cause pain to a sensitive people and give an entirely unfair idea of them to others who did not know them intimately. He trusted that good sense would prevail, and that the wise example of Keshub Chunder Sen in using every opportunity to bring about a friendly feeling and mutual understanding would be followed by all who care for India and the Empire.

Representative Indians always pay tribute on these occasions to a great son of India, and a warm welcome was given to a new speaker—because a

new-comer—Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, the Moslem member of the India Council. In his religious teaching Keshub Chunder Sen set an example of toleration and broad-mindedness, said the Sahibzada, and was a great power in social reform. Sir M. M. Bhownaggree paid tribute as a Parsi, Mr. M. M. Dhar as a Bengali, and Mr. P. C. Lyon as a Briton. Mrs. N. C. Sen read a poem she had written for the occasion, laying stress on the unifying influence of the great teacher. Among those who wrote to express regret for enforced absence were Lord Morley, Sir Edward Busk, Dr. Estlin Carpenter, Sir Prabhshanker and Lady Puttani. Mr. N. C. Sen mentioned that the celebration commemorated the seventy-ninth anniversary of his father's birth, and emphasized "the duty, the solemn duty, of India and England to cultivate close social and spiritual intercourse with each other." The presence of the Indian cavalry officers, on leave from France, lent an added, and somewhat unusual, interest to a memorable occasion.

"A strong Western China and a strong Afghanistan are the bulwarks of the eastern section of our Buffer-State line in Asia," said Colonel A. C. Yate in his lecture on "Britain's Buffer States in the East," before the Central Asian Society last month. He pointed out that "the war has transferred the pivot of Britain's Asiatic Buffer-State system from the Oxus to the Dardanelles, and from the 'figurative' Herat to the very real Constantinople." He referred to Constantinople as the handle from which the system spreads in the shape of a fan, expanding to the Nile on the right and the Oxus on the left, and declared that the threat to India is open to two great nationalities : the Teuton as well as the Slav. Colonel Yate agreed that the extent to which the creation in Central and Southern Europe of federated or international States, whose vital interest will be to resist German political and economic hegemony, can be carried out will be a crucial test of the Allies' success in the war, but considered that other tests must be taken into account. He turned the attention of his hearers to Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, and India, as also to Russia's domination in Central Asia, pointing out that the "no annexation" formula is put forward only by Russian Socialists. He gave it as his opinion that "the two great factors of the last thirty years in the manipulation of Britain's Buffer States of Asia—Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, and, in a minor degree, Egypt—have been the rise of Teutonic influence in Turkey side by side with the ever-growing Turkish apprehension of Russia. The latter has been growing," he added, "not for three decades, but for two centuries, and any protection from it which Turkey has received from England or France she has entirely forfeited by her insincerity and ingratitude, her massacres of Christians, and her subservience to Germany. Still, Russia pushed her into the arms of Germany." Colonel Yate supported Lord Bryce, Mr. Lewis Einstein, and others, in the conviction that the Turk should not continue to rule races and religions alien to his own. "It is possible," the lecturer suggested, "that the Turk may now be in doubt whether he was wise in letting the fear of Russia drive him into the arms of Germany." An "All Red Route" is needed

by Britain, he insisted, extending eastwards from the British Isles, as well as westwards, "from, say, Alexandretta or Port Said to Sadiya on the Brahmaputra; the time must come when railways will connect India with the Pacific coast of China." Colonel Yate foresees the eventual meeting of two of the greatest railways of the world—chiefly under British domination—at or near Aleppo. "The one," he says, "will come up from our Union of South Africa, following the long talked of Cape-to-Cairo route, and the other will come from the Far East. I do not myself see," he observed, "how we can abandon either Palestine or Mesopotamia." Colonel Yate strongly supported the opinion, to which Lord Bryce warmly subscribes, that no Great Power should have possession of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, and Sir Edwin Pears, in the brief discussion which followed the lecture, argued against Russian acquisition as contrary to her own best interests, and urged once again that the city should be internationalized.

The Hardinge Bridge over the Lower Ganges at Sara was fully described by Sir R. R. Gales, who was engineer-in-chief in charge of the work, at the November meeting of the Institution of Civil Engineers. He said that in the construction of the bridge—the erection of which was sanctioned in 1908, and it was opened for traffic in 1915—electric power was employed throughout. The bridge connects the 5 ft. 6 in. gauge system of the Eastern Bengal Railway south of the Ganges with the metre gauge system north of the river. It consists of fifteen girder spans of 345 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., with three land spans of 75 ft. at each end, the total overall length being 5,894 ft. It carries a double line of 5 ft. 6 in. gauge between the girders and a footway, 5 ft. wide, bracketed off the downstream girder.

Lecturing before the School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, last month on "Indian Orthography, or the Battle of the Characters," Dr. Pollen advocated an Imperial Script for India as a Secondary Alphabet to be used all over the Indian Continent for bridging over the linguistic gulfs between the various nations of the Eastern Empire. He told how some thirty-five years ago he had almost caused serious trouble in Sind by proposing the transliteration of Sindhi characters into Roman letters. When Sir Charles Napier "peccavit," Sindhi was only a spoken language, and the Bombay Government commissioned Captain Stack, of the Indian Staff Corps, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Barrow Ellis, a young Civilian, to devise an alphabet. This they did, and it was imposed by order on the Province and became the Sindhi alphabet, which the people now regard as something sacrosanct. All Dr. Pollen ventured to propose was that in Sind, where the alphabet in use had been imposed upon the Province by two Europeans, a beginning might well be made with a system of scientific spelling representing for transliteration or transcription purposes each settled class of sound by a simple symbol or letter based on the Roman alphabet which could be read and written with comparative ease and comparative rapidity by Indians and Europeans alike. Indian

public opinion, while admitting that a common alphabet is necessary and desirable for the well-being and progress of India, fears that the general acceptance of the principle of transliteration of Indian letters into Roman characters would mean the death of the national scripts, and would thus prove disastrous to India as a nation, however beneficial it might be found for the rest of the East and for the world at large. Dr. Pollen, therefore, suggested the adoption of the clear and simple letters of the "International Language" as a basis for the transliteration of all languages. He pointed out that the Russians have found that every one of the thirty-five letters of the difficult Russian alphabet could be correctly represented by the use of the International alphabet, and considered that what the phonetic alphabet of Esperanto has been able to accomplish for the Russian alphabet it could also accomplish for other alphabets of the world. The International language has virtually restored the vowel and other symbols of the Roman alphabet to the values they once possessed in English and in all civilized languages, and the restoration of these values seems the simplest and easiest first step to the solution of the problem of transliteration. With sympathetic encouragement its universal, secondary employment in India would only be a matter of time, while the acquisition of the International language itself would enable India to correspond readily with the whole of the world and not merely with the British Empire.

An interesting prelude to the Serbian Exhibition, which has aroused widespread interest in the artistic and literary world, was the Serbian dinner at the Lyceum Club, at which Dr. Dickinson Berry presided. The Serbian Minister was present, accompanied by Madame Ivanovitch. Professor Popovitch, Dr. Trumbic, Mr. Crawford Price, Dr. Berry and her husband, Mrs. Haverfield, and Mrs. Carrington Wilde, were among the speakers, and the presence of the celebrated sculptor, Ivan Mestrovic, lent special distinction to the gathering. "The Serbian soldier, from the highest to the lowest, is a perfect gentleman," declared Mrs. Haverfield, and a characteristic of all the British speakers was the devotion which Serbian courage and Serbian sufferings have inspired; all maintained their intention of standing by her until the day of freedom dawned.

East and West met in the person of Dr. Elsie Inglis, the dauntless woman doctor who has made the name of Britain beloved in France and Serbia through her healing gifts and powers of organization which, refused by her own country, were freely and devotedly given to our Allies. She was the second daughter of the late John Forbes Fraser Inglis, of the Indian Civil Service, Commissioneer of Lucknow, and was born in India. The first twelve years of her life were spent there; she then went to Australia, but completed her education in Scotland and in France. She took her medical degree in Edinburgh and specialized in surgery, holding appointments in hospitals and lectureships in the Scottish capital. She was an untiring worker for the advancement of women. Before the war she declared that two words were her chief concern in life: Surgery and

Suffrage. After the war another was added : Serbia. She felt that the services of medical women should be placed at the disposal of the Government in time of war, and set to work to organize hospital units, staffed entirely by women, for use wherever most needed ; it was the mobile hospital which appealed to her. Her offers of service were refused by her own country, but gratefully accepted by France, where the first Scottish Women's Hospital was established. Her scheme received more and more support, and units were dispatched to Serbia. Dr. Inglis always said : "Send me where the need is greatest." From the time she entered the fight against typhus in Serbia, until her service was over, Serbia held her heart. After the horrors of the Serbian retreat she remained with her hospital and its wounded men, and was taken prisoner. Her work of healing went on, and her skill was recognized by the foe. When she remonstrated on one occasion because her hospital had been taken from her, the reply was : "You make it so perfect, we could do nothing else!" Eventually she and her colleagues were set free, and on her return to England she offered for service with her hospital unit of women in Mesopotamia, but the authorities again were not willing. It was not long before she found herself with the Southern Slav contingent of the Russian army fighting with the Roumanians, and again she shared with another small nation the horrors of retreat. The Russian Commander-in-Chief ordered that the severely wounded men were to be taken to her hospital, knowing that they would receive skilled attention. She loved and served the Serbs even unto death, for she had scarcely reached these shores, bringing back her unit safely, when "her moorings were cut."

"A few things I should have liked to have done here, but I pass to wider service." This, with a cheering message to her comrades, was her leave-taking, knowing full well that she was faring forth on another great adventure.

With the eyes of the world turned on Italy, the presence in London of Dr. de Filippi is of special interest. Dr. de Filippi is no stranger to India, having been the companion of the Duke of the Abruzzi in his expeditions in the Himalayas and elsewhere, and on the outbreak of war in August, 1914, Dr. de Filippi was conducting an expedition on his own account in Central Asia—a scientific enterprise supported by the Italian and Indian Governments. For this and earlier achievements, the Royal Geographical Society has awarded him the Patron's Gold Medal. He returned to Europe shortly before Italy's entry into the war, and when Italy joined the Allies he placed his services as a medical man at the disposal of his country. His lecture to the Royal Geographical Society was particularly interesting, as he spoke from personal experience and a full knowledge of the difficulties which have had to be overcome. It made all the more pathetic his declaration that in a few days Italy was deprived of all the advantages she had gained during two and a half years of tenacious and incessant struggle. Great cheering greeted his final words : "Wounded Italy remains at her post. These disasters must and shall be retrieved."

In her address on "The Problem of Child Life in India," given at a recent meeting of the Marlborough School of Mothercraft, 29, Trebovir Road, S.W., Lady Muir Mackenzie spoke of the need for improved sanitation; the first step towards helping the Indian mother and her child was taken, she said, fifty years ago by Lady Dufferin; but when infant mortality reached the appalling figure of 80 per cent. in some places in India, it was imperative that something further should be done. She paid tribute to the excellent work achieved by British women doctors and missionaries, and to the valuable service and skill of Indian women who have qualified as doctors and surgeons. Their numbers need to be increased indefinitely, for it is the trained Indian woman, with her knowledge of language, caste customs, and conditions of life, who will be able to render the greatest service to her own people. Lady Muir Mackenzie urged that greater facilities should be offered without delay to Indian women in their medical training, and advocated travelling medical units to teach sanitation and deal with ordinary cases. Lady Sydenham presided at the lecture.

The first Indian appointments to the Order of the British Empire were published early in December. India has been in advance of Britain in awarding honours to women for personal service; the Order of the British Empire is the first British Order given to women on their own merits; it is specially designed as a recognition for war service, and includes service in and for India. Both the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford receive it. Among others are H.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore, H.H. the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, Lord and Lady Willingdon, Lord and Lady Pentland, Sir John Hewitt, Lady O'Dwyer, the Raja of Manipur, the Maharaja of Bobili, Lieut.-Colonel Sir W. R. Crooke-Lawless, Mr. A. R. Anderson, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Lady Robertson, Lady Ramsay, Mrs. L. M. M. Dennys, Mrs. M. Brown, Mrs. J. Macfadyen, Lieut.-Colonel T. H. Symons, and Mr. P. K. Sethna.

A. A. S.

THE JAPAN SOCIETY

On December 20, Mr. James Blair, Sub-Manager of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha in London, and Member of Council, Japan Society, read a paper on Japanese Shipping, dealing chiefly with Foreign Trade, from 1896 up to 1916, with slight reference to events in 1917.

After a brief introduction Mr. Blair recapitulated the principal laws referring to subsidies, and stated that in twenty years over 144 million *yen* had been contributed by the Japanese Government for the extension of steamship routes and encouragement of navigation, and over 15 million *yen* in the same period for the encouragement of shipbuilding, while 182 vessels of over 700 tons gross, aggregating 6,700 tons gross, had been constructed under these laws, the largest ship being the turbine s.s. *Tenyo Maru*, 13,398 tons gross, built at Nagasaki in 1908.

Reference was made to the control of Japanese merchant vessels by the *Teishinsho* (Department of Communications), a Department equivalent to the British Board of Trade and Lloyd's Register combined.

He then described the principal shipbuilding yards, in which nearly 100 berths are now available or will shortly be, the full output of which is estimated at 600,000 tons gross per annum.

The only drawbacks to rapid expansion are the poor resources of Japan in iron ore, and consequent insufficient production of steel, to cope with which several new steel works and foundries have been started. In the meantime, work is somewhat retarded by the prohibition of export of steel plates and sections from America, where large orders at high prices have been placed. In 1917, up to August, 111 ships, totalling 554,580 tons, had been granted Government permission to be constructed, and by September 35 ships, aggregating 154,727 tons gross, had been launched. Prior to 1916, many vessels were purchased abroad; in 1916, 20 vessels, totalling 74,300 tons, were sold to foreigners; some vessels purchased at 30 to 40 *yen* per ton have been disposed of at over 800 *yen* per ton.

The expansion of the Mercantile Fleet since 1896 has been rapid. In 1896, Japan possessed 373 vessels of over 100 tons gross, aggregating 334,592 tons; in 1916, 1,151 vessels, aggregating 1,847,453 tons, an increase of 550 per cent. in twenty years, while exports and imports combined during the same period increased 650 per cent.

At the end of 1916, there were 28 Japanese Steamship Companies, the fleets totalling 980,000 tons gross, with paid-up capital of 89 million *yen*, reserve funds 57 million *yen*, and the dividends paid in 1916 averaged 26.1 per cent., while private shipowning represented about 870,000 tons gross.

The paper also dealt in detail with Japanese general trading vessels employed in foreign waters under time charter; the Japanese Government War Risk Insurance; the effect of prohibition of imports into England and France; the increase in the cost of shipbuilding materials; the liners engaged in trading to Europe, with the percentages of increase in tonnage of goods exported to England; the average freights, and a comparison of outside chartering rates, as well as the rates paid on time charter basis for Japanese vessels; besides interesting comments on the great advantages conferred upon Japanese shipbuilders, shipowners, and merchants by freedom from Government interference.

Japan to-day ranks third in shipbuilding, and fifth in tonnage, and there is still ample scope for progress; other countries cannot expect to retain for ever the advantages they possessed. As Japan's influence and trade expands, numerous important international questions will arise, demanding the serious consideration of her statesmen, the tactful handling of her diplomats, and the patience of her people.

A VOICE—NOT IN THE WILDERNESS

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

IF anybody wanted to be convinced of the gratifying fact that the Serbian talent and soul are vividly alive, let him think of the products of Serbian genius which have been exhibited at the Serbian Exhibition in the Grafton Galleries. The great talent of Mr. Mestrovic is well known and appreciated, but I refer also to those whose reputation lies perhaps in the future. This is not all. In support of my assertion, I must recommend to readers a charming book just published, and translated by Mr. G. W. WILES, M.A.: SERBIAN SONGS AND POEMS.*

I think the dedication of this book, so simple and unpretentious, is very sympathetic. It is dedicated to "All those brave and childlike souls who unto death have sung and cheerfully endured, as seeing Him who is invisible." I also like the few words of the preface written by Mr. Harold P. Cooke, M.A., and the poem with which he closes it. As a sister of Nicolai Kiréeff, who died for the Serbian cause in the year 1876 in defending them against the Turk, and of Alexander, who worked all his life for the same cause, I, as the last of the Kiréeffs, cannot read without emotion the following charming lines :

" Stern bulwark once against the Turk,
The crimson-hornéd Crescent's foe
Ere that fell field of Kossovo,
There greets thee soon a greater work :

" Not thine for all time foreign strife,
The future days are on the wing ;
Fair drive the western winds that bring,
Dear Serbian land, the saner life,

“ Arise, but not from land nor sea,
That sleepest not where tyrants lie;
Arise, resurgent from the sky,
The greater Serbia to be.”

But I would strongly recommend the whole volume to English-readers, who always appreciate vividly a noble and genuine appeal to real patriotism. The fact that the majority of these poems are folk-songs, to my mind only adds to their charm. They are pathetic in their simplicity, and that is just what we like in our days of exaggerated mannerism and pompous conventionality.

This book really ought to have a wide circulation in England, and I should say also in America, our great Ally, who so unmistakably felt the wrongs wrought by the unscrupulous Germans and their fraternal alliance with Turkey against a humanitarian cause. I insist upon the word “our” Ally, as my faith in divine justice allows me to hope that Russia will soon recover her former position, and will strongly prove her faithfulness to her duties, pledges, and alliances. America has appreciated Russia with an earnestness that we Russians should consider as a noble and generous lesson given to us in our moments of despondence and apathy, when people should certainly not be allowed to indulge in either one or the other of these weaknesses. In fact, our motto should always be: “Faith and courage”—and success naturally follows these two predominant feelings.

“NEW AND OLD GREECE,” by F. R. Scatcherd, has been crowded out with other items, which will appear in the next issue.

News comes from Greece that the Bill for the Protection of Animals has passed, and is now an Act of Parliament. We congratulate Dr. Platon Drakoules on this successful result of so many years’ exertions on behalf of humane legislation in the Near East, for assuredly other Balkan peoples will follow Greek initiative in this as in other directions.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

FEBRUARY 15—APRIL 2, 1918 (*Double Issue*)

THE NEW GERMAN MENACE IN THE NEAR EAST

By P. E. DRAKOULES, LL.D.

[Dr. Drakoules has been in Athens ever since June, 1915, and has rendered yeoman service to the cause of the Entente ever since. He has now returned to London.]

OFTEN has the query been put to me, "Is Greece now entirely free from German influence, and if not, is the Entente to blame for not having done all that was possible to eradicate the poison?" To answer this question it will be necessary for me to go back to the beginning of active German propaganda in Athens. A propaganda of some sort had been going on for years latently or sub-actively, but its active stage began in the spring of 1915. It was about that time that I arrived in Athens, with a view to doing my best to prevent the labour feeling of the country being won over by the Kaiser. In this endeavour I was conscious of strengthening the hands of Venizelos, who then, in another field, was struggling against the growing German influence. The Kaiser's scheme was to create a Greek Socialist party imbued with pacifist principles, and appearing to control the mass of the working classes of Greece, and impressing on the world that there was in Greece a labour conscience endorsing the aim of Germany and awaiting her victory as the best thing for the future greatness of

Greece. Letters from influential Germans in Berlin have been written to me with a view of persuading me that if I loved my country it was my duty to open the eyes of the Greek proletariat to the advantages of taking a Germanophile attitude. It was these letters that had opened my eyes to the Kaiser's scheme, and I had left London in order to counteract it in Athens. It would be a long story to relate how by the autumn of 1915, as far as the labour feeling was concerned, the view was everywhere firmly taken that the working classes of Greece had made up their minds that in the Democracy of England and France lay the guarantee for their future.

But this is not to say that Germanism in Greece has been defeated. It was not defeated even after the expulsion of Constantine; and as to whether it is still at work, the answer is that it has no longer need to be at work, since it has obtained, somehow or other, the results for which it had been organized. What Germany chiefly aimed at in Greece was to render the Greek Army unwilling to participate at all in the war. Cogent arguments have been elaborated, and even glowing national ideals have been presented, so as to achieve the German object. This object has been achieved. If the Entente failed in Greece—and now no one is ignorant of the fact that grave blunders have been committed—the failure is due to the absence of any counter-effort to render the Greek Army willing to participate in the war, in the name of some great ideal appealing to their own consciousness as a nation, apart from the common cause of the Allies. For example, a Democratic Balkan Federation with Hellenism restored to its natural frontiers, and the whole Peninsula placed under the ægis of England and France would be sufficiently alluring to the Greek imagination to make the Greek Army a fighting force. The alternative would have been clear to their minds: either the Prussian State or the Democratic Commonwealth. To present such an ideal would be to counteract the German work. This ought to have been done in a persistent and systematic manner, but it has not been done. Had this formula been adopted, even the expulsion of Constantine might

have been thought unnecessary. What might have been considered preferable would have been to use every means to the utmost to bring about a conciliation between Constantine and Venizelos, forcing the King to accept the democratic solution, and treating Greece as an Allied country ever since the beginning of 1915. Indeed, save the sovereignty, everything in the country might well have been left in the hands of the Allies for the duration of the war.

About two months after the departure of Venizelos for Salonica I had a full hour's argument with Constantine, trying to persuade him that he had to choose either to cover himself with glory and render the greatest service to Hellenism by embracing the Entente cause, or lose ignominiously his throne within a few weeks. He lost it within a few months, after plunging Greece into the greatest of all her troubles.

The creation of the Salonica front was a most important event, and it is no exaggeration to say that without it the whole of the Balkan Peninsula would have been in the hands of Germany long ago. A German peace might have been imposed, even if the Entente were victorious in the West. Victory in the West would be fruitless without the creation of an efficient weapon with which to check German developments in the East; and that weapon has been at hand in Salonica, in the form of the Balkan Army, which the genius of Venizelos had made possible. No doubt the cost of it has been so gigantic as to cause many denunciations, but it has served a mighty purpose.

Nevertheless, the Balkan Army was not enough. It would have proved less costly and less thorny had the Allies proceeded at once to deal with Greece regardless of constitutional exigencies, and confined themselves to military requirements, in the interest of both Greece and the Entente. As matters now stand, the situation in Greece is precarious, and Germanism remains an ominous influence. When I left Athens about a month ago, this was apparent from the fact that the people never took kindly to the circumstances which necessi-

tated the political change, not because they did not see that the Allies, however they acted, were always the friends of Greece; not because they did not love Venizelos then as ever, but because they cared for Constantine as well. Since the lapse of the first four months of the war—the last four months of 1914—there has never been anything like the enthusiasm for the cause of the Entente that prevailed during that brief period. There is a *rancune* in the heart of the people which is utilized by the enemy to make the popular imagination cold and suspicious towards England and France—the two countries whose very name before could, like magic, always conjure up in Greece enthusiasm and trust.

In spite of the persistence of the Greek people in acting virtually as neutrals towards the Entente even after the political change of last year, a gradual awakening to the realities has been noticeable everywhere, thanks to the strength and prestige of Venizelos. But this awakening has been too slow, and now recent events hurl the current back. Germany is considered to be in the ascendant. The Russian *débâcle* gave her Odessa, the Black Sea, and Roumania. She threatens Asia Minor, and while she is advancing, Greece feels almost isolated, having nothing to depend upon for her safety were it not for the Allied Army at Salonica.

There is a point that cannot be discussed here—namely, that Greek and British interests are at stake now in the Near East. As my space is limited, I will wind up this article by calling attention to the danger which threatens the Salonica Army. What will become of it if Germany even temporarily prevails? For the present Germany is still distant, but foresight as to what may happen is always wise, although all the probabilities are that even at the eleventh hour Germany's schemes will be thwarted, and that there is time for us to make the Balkan peoples understand that a German peace would be their death. Germanization of all nations is what the *Kaiser* is pursuing, while the Entente is pursuing the freedom of the nations. Will it take a long time for the Eastern peoples to understand their vital interest? But if

they are slow to understand it, will there be time for the Salonica Army to encounter Germany?

I say there is time now, because Germany is still afar, but I speak in order to express the hope that those who are competent will bestir themselves while there is time.

A WOMAN'S REPLY TO SIR ARTHUR
CONAN DOYLE IN "THE TIMES,"
DECEMBER 26, 1917*

O MEN of the Future! Is it Hate that your spirits will crave
To build the New World with vision, to build and to save?
Is it Hate that we women need as Trustees of the Race?
Is it Hate that *we* want to see stamped on the English face?

What but Hate, fruit of Envy, loathliest weed that grows,
Has made of the men who fight us bandits, not decent foes?
Men maddened and drugged with Hate, a poisoned, dehumanized
breed,
Because they have drunk of the brew, the hellish brew of the weed?

For the Victor's right to avenge, for strength to see Justice done,
For Faith to disperse the darkness now veiling the face of the sun,
For Power to uproot the weed, the noisome growth of the pit—
For these things, not hate, they died, "the men who have done
their bit."

ETHEL M. ARNOLD.

THE OLD MANOR HOUSE,
WHITTON, MIDDLESEX,
New Year's Day, 1918.

* By kind permission of Editor of the *Westminster Gazette*.



THE
JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA
ASSOCIATION
(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER IX

DURING the session of 1906-1907 the Association, in conjunction with the South Africa British-Indian Committee, endeavoured to procure the cancellation of an Ordinance passed by the Transvaal Government imposing rigorous and degrading conditions on British Indian residents in the Transvaal ; and the Chairman headed two influential deputations of Indian and English gentlemen, including members of both Houses of Parliament, to the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and for India.

Addressing the Earl of Elgin, who was then the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Lepel Griffin, our Chairman, said : " You, my Lord, who have been Viceroy of India and whose sympathy is with that country, must know that legislation of this sort is unheard of under the British flag ; indeed, to-day in Europe I may say without any exaggeration that, with the exception of Russian legislation against the *Jews, there is no legislation comparable to it on the Continent of Europe ; and in England, if we wanted a similar case, we should have to go back to the time of the Plantagenets.

And against whom is this legislation directed ? Against the most orderly, honourable, industrious, temperate race in the world, people of our own stock and blood, with whom our language has, as a sister language, been connected. There is no occasion in the presence of people connected with India,

who know its history, to say what the Indian community is to-day—it is almost an insult to refer to it.

And by whom is this legislation instigated? I am told, and I believe it, that it is not by the best part of the British community in the Transvaal, who are, I believe, in favour of giving all reasonable privileges to British-Indian subjects; it is by the Alien foreign population, who are, perhaps, to some extent inconvenienced by Indian Traders, who are so very much more temperate and industrious than themselves. It does not come from the English. The legislation is prompted and the prejudice against the Indians is encouraged by the Aliens—by Russian Jews, by Syrians, by German Jews, by every class of Aliens, the very off-scourings of the international sewers of Europe. The English Residents, against whom I do not wish to say one word of criticism, are apart from the other races of the Transvaal, which is only a Colony by conquest, not by settlement, and it is the Aliens who are opposed to this honourable Indian community."

The representations of the Association were successful, and the objectionable Ordinance did not receive the authorization of the Imperial Government.

During the session of 1907-1908 the Association suffered two severe losses in the deaths of their Hon. Secretary, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, and the then Chairman of the Council, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.

Mr. Arathoon died on November 11, 1907. He had been closely connected with the Association for more than thirty years, and had been appointed Hon. Secretary in 1895. He had served the Association devotedly and well, and the Council placed on record their grateful appreciation of his services, their deep regret at his sudden death, and their sympathy with his family.

Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., late of the Bombay Civil Service, succeeded Mr. Arathoon as Hon. Secretary.

Sir Lepel Griffin died on March 9, 1908, and the Council recorded their sense of the loss they had sustained, and their appreciation of Sir Lepel's eminent services with the Association in the following words :

"As Chairman he carried out the objects of the Society with ability and earnestness, making the Association a centre at which important matters affecting India could be debated, and at which Indian students could meet Englishmen interested in the subjects dealt with. At these meetings he presided with dignity and tact, and contributed most usefully to the discussions.

"He retained his love for India to the last, and only recently took a prominent part, as representing this Society, in pressing upon the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India the claims of British-Indian subjects for more considerate treatment in the Transvaal.

"His unexpected death will be deplored by multitudes of friends in India as well as in England, and by none more than by his Colleagues on this Council."

During the year a strong Committee of the Association drew up a report, which was submitted to the Secretary of State for India, on the position of the Indian students in England, urging the desirability of some kindly supervision of their position and assistance to them in the difficulties and embarrassments of a strange country.

A paper on this particular subject, "The Indian Student in India," was subsequently prepared by Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., a Member of Council, and read under the chairmanship of Lord Lamington, who had succeeded Sir Lepel Griffin as Chairman of Council.

Dr. Pollen recalled his early friendship with Romesh Chandra Dutt and Bihari Lal Gupta—who were "Competition-walas" of his year (1869)—and spoke of the many Indian students he met when "eating dinners" at the Temple, "whose tone was in every way worthy of the best traditions of the ancient Inn." He described the existing position of Indians in London as being that of "nobody's child," "the common care that no one cared for," and as a remedy for this state of things he suggested—

- (1) The entertainment of a certain number of recognized (and, if necessary, remunerated) "Mihmandars."

- (2) The recognition of a non-official Council of Elders—heads of Indian families in London—as a consultative and controlling body.
- (3) The registration of “upper-middle-class” English families willing to receive Indians as paying guests or otherwise.
- (4) The provision of a central non-residential Club where the three Societies (the East India, the National Indian, and the Northbrook) might co-operate without coalescing or clashing.
- (5) The establishment of hostels in connection with the Inns of Court.
- (6) The discouragement of the undue influx of Indian students into England by encouraging them to remain in their own country.
- (7) Facilitating the advent to England of only those Indian youths who are likely to prove a success here, or to take full advantage of a University career.
- (8) An all-round “mending of manners” in the spirit of His Majesty’s gracious proclamation of November 2, 1908.

Dr. Pollen’s paper was followed by an exhaustive paper by Mr. Charles McMinn, I.C.S. (retd.), on “The Wealth and Progress of India,” in which he set forth many facts and dissipated many fictions. He showed conclusively by overwhelming facts and figures that the charge that England had deliberately “strangled” India’s industries was absolutely devoid of truth, and that so far as the Indian Land Tax was concerned it was moderate, being, according to the Famine Commission, 7 per cent. of the gross produce, varying from 3 per cent. in Bengal to 20 per cent in Guzerat.

In this year (1909-1910) began the issue, under the auspices of the Association, by Mr. J. B. Pennington, of leaflets or pamphlets entitled “Truths about India.” These have now been bound into a complete volume (with an index), and constitute a valuable standard work of reference on subjects of vital importance to India.

During the following year addresses were presented to the King's Most Excellent Majesty and to her Most Excellent Majesty Queen Alexandra on the death of His Majesty King Edward VII.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
The dutiful and loyal Address of the Council of the East India Association

MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the President and Council, on behalf of the East India Association, humbly beg leave to approach Your Throne with the expression of our respectful condolence on the grievous loss sustained by Your Majesty, the Royal Family and the Empire, in the death of our Sovereign Lord (Your Majesty's august Father), His Majesty King Edward the Seventh.

And we would respectfully request Your Majesty to be pleased to accept with our humble duty the expression of our loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign on Your Majesty's accession to the Throne of Your ancestors, knowing as we do that the public interests and welfare of India, which our Association endeavours to promote, will be, as they were with our late beloved King, objects of Your Majesty's and Her Majesty the Queen's continued solicitude. We earnestly pray that Your Majesty may be granted long life to reign in peace and happiness over a loyal and united people.

Signed (on behalf of the Council),

REAY, *President.*

JOHN POLLEN, *Honorary Secretary.*

June 29, 1910.

TO HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE QUEEN ALEXANDRA

The humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the East India Association.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

We, the President, Council, and Members of the East India Association, beg leave with our humble duty to approach

Your Majesty with the expression of our sincere condolence on the irreparable loss sustained by Your Majesty in the death of our beloved and revered Sovereign Lord King Edward the Seventh.

We pray God to grant Your Majesty a large measure of His strength and comfort in this overwhelming sorrow.

May it please Your Majesty to accept this tribute of our homage and devotion.

Signed (on behalf of the East India Association),

REAY, *President.*

JOHN POLLEN, *Honorary Secretary.*

June 29, 1910.

These Addresses of condolence were duly submitted and graciously acknowledged through His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

In the following year the Council heard with deep gratification of His Majesty's intention to visit India, and placed on record their confidence that the Royal visit would evoke manifestations of the inborn loyalty of the peoples of India, and would result in permanent good to the inhabitants of India generally, in whose interests the Association worked—a forecast that was fully realized.

One of the most important papers read during the session 1911-1912 was one by Sir William Chichele Plowden, K.C.S.I., on "Problems of Indian Administration." The Right Hon. the Earl of Minto, K.G., presided over the meeting, and while expressing the fear that the day was very far distant when the masses of the people could expect their interests to be fittingly represented by their own countrymen elected on a purely numerical franchise, his Lordship urged that what was wanted was Councils, and the best possible advice that could be obtained on those Councils. A Parliament was not required at all, nor even a Council elected on Parliamentary lines!

Turning to the question of the grant of commissions in the Army to Indian gentlemen, Lord Minto declared that he not only faced the question when in India, but fought it every day. He said :

"I fought this question in India over and over again ; and before I came away the Government of India, the Commander-in-Chief, and all my Council, were in agreement with me that the Commissions should be granted. The scheme was sent home, and it was my earnest hope that it would receive official sanction before I left India. I am sorry to say I do not know what has happened to it since then. I feel, however, that it would be unfair to the Government of India not to take this opportunity of saying that, as far as they were concerned, the necessity for the commissions was recognized and the difficulty was dealt with. The opposition to our proposal was at home !"

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOP- MENT IN INDIA

By SIR CHARLES H. ARMSTRONG

THE subject on which I have been asked to read a paper this afternoon is a very interesting and important one at the present time, when the Empire is struggling for its existence, and is looking to India to contribute supplies of raw materials and manufactured goods on a large scale.

The question of Commercial and Industrial Development in India is one, however, that can be discussed from various points of view, and there are, I am sure, many here this afternoon who could handle the subject very much better than I can; but if in the discussion that follows valuable suggestions are made as to the best lines on which development should proceed, I shall be more than satisfied, for the ventilation of this question will always do good, and its great importance must never be lost sight of.

My paper deals with developments in the past as well as in the future, but it only touches on the fringe of the subject, and in many ways it is, no doubt, open to criticism. As I have said, however, the subject is one that can be regarded from different points of view, and in such cases discussion is always advisable.

The war has provided India with a great opportunity, and the country is now realizing as it has never done before—and so, also, are we in this country, and our Allies—how very important India is as a producer of many necessary

things. New ideas are developing in many directions, sources of trade which have been neglected in the past are now being made a special subject of study, and works of various kinds are being started in India under the pressure of war conditions which later on will help in the general development of the country.

Trade development on ordinary lines is, however, handicapped by the abnormal conditions under which we are now living, and financial arrangements in many directions have also been upset ; but the needs of the war and of the Empire generally have made India realize the strength of her position as a great producer. It has also stimulated the activities of her people, and has made them keen and anxious to extend their business and develop their trade in all directions, and there is no reason why India should not be successful in this, for her people have brains and energy, wealth and determination, and with efficient supervision her workpeople are capable of almost anything.

In the years before the war India made great strides in many directions, and with every advance fresh opportunities presented themselves. To cope with the growing trade large sums were being spent on the railways, feeder lines were being developed, docks were being enlarged, irrigation was being extended, and many new industries were either under consideration or actually in course of construction. India, in fact, was at the threshold of a great advance ; but this was only a beginning and a preparation for a great forward movement which appeared at that time to be inevitable.

The war then came, unfortunately, and for a time there was a check, but it did not take India long to realize that in this mighty struggle she was well situated to supply the needs of the Allies. The difficulty of securing many things from this country and elsewhere has also compelled India to reconsider her position, and she is now keener than ever, and with good reason, to benefit by the changed state of affairs, and to make the most of her opportunity.

The expansion of Indian trade from the earliest days is a matter of historic interest, but I need not do more than refer very briefly to the conditions prevailing in centuries which have long passed, when the only connection of Western India with Europe was on its eastern boundaries by land, and in those days foreign trade must, therefore, have been carried on under the greatest difficulties.

In, however, the seventh century B.C. a sea trade sprang up between the Persian Gulf and India, and from the head of the Gulf caravans carried supplies into Syria and Egypt. It was not until about the first century A.D. that the Red Sea route was developed, and it was then, but by very slow degrees, that the trade spread gradually into Eastern Europe. With the arrival of the Portuguese in Southern India in the fifteenth century the foreign trade was organized and developed, and regular shipments were made to Antwerp, at that time the commercial centre of Europe.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century an English company began to trade with India, and in the year 1600, or only a little over three hundred years ago, the first English East India Company was founded. The foreign trade at that time, and for some time later, was very small, and it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that shipments increased to a considerable extent. The difficulties in those days that had to be contended with were the long sea journey to Europe via the Cape, and the great difficulty of bringing produce down to the coast from the interior of the country, as there were no railways, and the means of transport, excepting where there were navigable rivers, were very primitive.

At the time of the Mutiny, or, say, sixty years ago, there were only about 270 miles of railways in India, one section being under construction inland from Calcutta and another from Bombay, and it was largely due to the difficulties then encountered that the development of the Indian railway system on its present lines was brought about.

The great event for India, however, so far as its foreign trade is concerned, was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which reduced the voyage to Bombay from a hundred days or more to about twenty-five days, and this great change brought about a most striking development in trade.¹ At that time average imports of merchandise were valued at about 32 crores of rupees, and exports at about 56 crores, but in twenty years imports had doubled and exports had advanced over 50 per cent. In another twenty years or so (1908-9) imports had again more than doubled, and exports had risen from 88 to 153 crores. In the year before the war, when prices were on a normal level, imports into India were valued at 191 crores, and exports from India at 249 crores, which showed marvellous progress in a period of less than fifty years.

The increased wealth of the country is shown in the net imports of treasure, which for many years after the Canal was opened only averaged about 12 crores per annum ; but in the ten years previous to the war the average net import was a little over 30 crores, or, say, 20 millions sterling—and in the latter years of this period the bulk of the import was gold, which is now a very precious commodity.

If India could realize all the gold she is entitled to in settlement of her favourable balance of trade—*i.e.*, her excess of exports over imports—the figure would undoubtedly be a big one, for her trade balance at the present time is exceptionally large. The figure for the last financial year was about 60 millions sterling, of which 14 millions were due from America and 9 millions from Japan ; but free import of the precious metals under present conditions is impossible, as the world's supplies are insufficient for present needs, and this great accumulation of wealth, although earned, cannot actually be received in cash, as India would like to have it. The position, however, will adjust itself in time, and it is for India to consider how she can use this added wealth to the best advantage. More

railways, undoubtedly, more irrigation, more industries, better returns from the soil, and a better system of education, are clearly the lines on which progress is necessary.

The Indian labourer, and those even in a somewhat higher rank of life, are excellent workers, but, unfortunately, to a very great extent, they lack initiative, and if education will develop this characteristic and the inventive faculty as well, in which the people are also lacking, it will be a great thing for the future of the country. To say that the Indian is a steady plodding worker is what everyone knows ; and how often in this country do we regret that we have not our Indian servants and employees around us! But for a country's development more is needed than good and faithful service, and education on sound lines is, therefore, necessary for progress.

As I have just shown, India became a market of international importance by the opening of the Canal, and at the present time she is undoubtedly the most important producer of the British Empire. Her raw materials are wanted all over the world, and her manufactured goods are in increasing demand in many markets. Her prosperity depends upon her favourable balance of trade, but as she increases her exports of raw materials and manufactures her purchases of imported goods also increase, and as she has a population of over 315,000,000, her capacity to export and to import is, therefore, enormous. The more India can export, whether of raw materials or of manufactures, the greater will be her purchasing power, and this is a matter to which, I am glad to say, in recent years the Government of India have been giving a good deal of attention.

The people of India have, relatively speaking, few wants, but in the aggregate their consumptive power is enormous. Their first care is to provide a sufficient supply of food, and after this they are quite prepared to spend their money on clothing and other manufactured goods. In good seasons there is also a surplus, which is either

hoarded, converted into ornaments, or, as is very generally the case, invested in land or cattle.

India is mainly an agricultural country, and her greatest wealth will always come from the soil. Her people, therefore—and they are mostly illiterate—are mainly agriculturalists, and when monsoons are favourable they manage to get along very well. For some years the rainfall in India has been good, and this year crop prospects are very satisfactory; but the export trade, on which so much depends, is greatly hampered at the present time by lack of steamers, and generally by the difficulties of transport. As prices rule very high, however, great wealth is flowing into the country—or, to put it more correctly, India has large sums owing to her from the rest of the world, which will eventually have to be liquidated in gold and silver, and with these large sums she will be able to find the necessary capital—or, at any rate, a part of it—to extend her railways and her manufactures.

Let us consider her railway position for a few moments. Sixty years ago, as I have already said, there were only about 270 miles of railways in India; now there are just under 36,000 miles, and it would be a very good thing for the country if this figure could be largely increased. The railways in India employ over 7,000 Europeans and a little over 600,000 Indians, and as the trade of the country expands an increasing number will be required. Trunk lines have divided the country into well-established zones, and what is needed are narrow gauge feeder lines to bring increased traffic to the main lines, which are now in a very much better position than they were to handle larger supplies.

For two or three years before the war large sums were spent on the improvement of the Indian railway system, and a great deal of good work was done. Since the war, however, the annual grant has had to be cut down by about 75 per cent., and the railways at the present time are in a difficult position. All the same, if money had not

been freely spent upon them the position to-day would be a very serious one, especially on the Western side ; and in our military expeditions overseas the Empire would undoubtedly have been heavily handicapped if Indian railways had not been able to cope in the way they have done with the urgent demands that have recently been made upon them.

Owing to a variety of causes the development of feeder lines in the past has been slow, but now that the main lines have been brought up to date an increased traffic can be dealt with ; and experience has shown on many occasions that when once a district is penetrated by a railway, trade increases, works of various kinds are developed, and prosperity naturally follows.

Numerous projects for feeder lines are now being put forward, and many of them are well worth serious consideration ; but nothing can be done in this direction until the war is over.

These feeder lines, I may mention, are financed mainly by rupee capital, and with the immense wealth which is now accruing in India, due very largely to the war, there ought eventually to be large funds available for this very useful and necessary purpose. Capital in India for feeder railways has still, however, to be coaxed by the payment of interest during construction, and by a system which more or less guarantees a fixed return on capital, and if these two conditions are not forthcoming money, as a rule, is not readily subscribed. Development in this direction is almost without limit ; but even if the necessary capital is forthcoming, progress for some years is likely to be difficult and slow owing to the high cost of materials and to the delay there will necessarily be after the war in obtaining supplies from this country.

The position of India during the war has, on the whole, been a fortunate one, and she has, perhaps, been less affected by the present upheaval in Europe than other countries from which large supplies are drawn. Her crops

have been bountiful, the foreign demands for her produce have been large, and high prices have been, and are still being, realized. India has done much to supply the needs of the Empire, and until the end of the war she is bound to be drawn upon very freely for supplies of all kinds.

The cost of food in India has not materially increased during the war, and the people altogether are very prosperous. Wholesale prices of the ordinary supplies grown in the country are really no higher than they were, and although the cost of imported sugar has very nearly doubled, and although salt has increased 50 per cent. in value, and retail prices of many other things are also higher, the position generally is not by any means burdensome. It must not be inferred from this, however, that the cost of living to those who use imported articles has not increased, for this undoubtedly is the case ; but the cost of food to the agriculturalists is very much as it was, and in this respect the position of India is a fortunate one.

In other respects prices have certainly risen. Clothing, for instance, is more than double—in some cases more than treble—its pre-war value ; but this has greatly helped the Indian cotton mills, and very large profits are now being realized. The workpeople have not yet benefited to any material extent in this increased prosperity, but their time for higher wages will, I hope, come shortly.

The growth of the cotton industry in India is a record of progress. The first mill—the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company—was started in 1854, and seven years later the number had increased to 12, containing 338,000 spindles, with an estimated annual cotton consumption of 65,000 bales of 392 pounds each. Twenty years later there were 57 mills, with 1,500,000 spindles and nearly 14,000 looms, and the annual consumption of cotton had risen to 379,000 bales. To-day, or say at the end of 1916, there are 256 mills, containing nearly 7,000,000 spindles and over 110,000 looms. The number of people employed

is 275,000, and over 2,200,000 bales of cotton are consumed annually.

To meet the increasing consumption, and to provide also for foreign trade, India has had to increase her outturn of cotton ; and in this connection it is interesting to note that, whereas in the quinquennial period 1834-35 to 1838-39 the average annual export was only 340,000 bales, with no mill consumption, in the year before the war the total export was 3,500,000 bales, and the mill consumption over 2,000,000 bales. Comparison with a year about half-way between the periods I have mentioned shows that exports were then about 1,500,000 bales, but the mill consumption only about 200,000 bales, so great progress has been made in the last forty years.

The export in the year before the war was, however, exceptional, for our present enemies and Belgium were very large buyers ; but the heavy export I have mentioned shows, nevertheless, that India is capable of great things, and when the war is over a large demand is certain to arise again. Last year the exports fell to just under 2,000,000 bales, and Japan—a great competitor—was far and away the largest buyer, at prices which must have shown very satisfactory profits to the sellers in India.

Great progress has been made, but much greater progress is still possible, and for the additional amount which might be shipped from India there will always be eager buyers. With care in the selection of seed, and with better methods of cultivation, the land will produce more cotton than it does, and in the Canal Colonies of Northern India a better type can also be grown, which the mills in India will be able to use with very great advantage to themselves, and any surplus, if there is any, will be readily taken by Lancashire.

Here, then, is a great opportunity for expansion, for the increasing demand for cotton goods in India, in Persia, in the markets of the Gulf, including our new possession of Baghdad—which is a most important trade centre, and must

therefore remain under British control—and in many other markets near at hand, is far in excess of what the mills can now supply, and their steady or even rapid growth after the war is therefore a matter of great importance. With the large profits now being earned, if they are not all distributed in dividends, purchases of new machinery can be made in this country, and machinery of the best type is needed for satisfactory work, which we alone can supply.

The extension of cotton cultivation and the question of extending the cultivation of long-stapled varieties is now being considered by a special Committee in India, and I hope, as a result of their labours, that a satisfactory solution of this problem can be found for India and for the Empire. Money will be wanted if great schemes are to be undertaken, and if the necessary funds cannot be supplied by the Indians themselves I hope the Government of India will take up the matter with energy. The opportunity, however, is a great one for those who have command of money in India, and it is a chance which should not be missed by those who are interested in developing the Indian cotton industry, for which an ample supply of the raw material is so very necessary. With a better class of cotton the Indian mills would make rapid progress on a class of goods which would yield a better return, and this would enable them to pay higher dividends, though at the present time I must admit these could hardly be improved upon.

The mixing, adulterating, and watering of cotton is, however, a serious matter in connection with the future of the industry in India and with exports of the raw material to foreign countries ; and until the growers and distributors of cotton realize that the good name of India is an important matter, and that mixing and adulterating, and particularly the watering, of cotton are practices which seriously affect the quality and reputation of Indian cottons, spinners in this and other countries will never be able to rely upon the

uniform quality of Indian cotton in the same way as they are now able to rely upon supplies from America and elsewhere.

Cotton is not the only raw material which is frequently deteriorated in this way. Jute is also watered, and hides, oils, indigo, and ground-nuts are all freely adulterated. This question of adulteration has often been brought to the notice of the Government of India ; and from a recent publication I find that the Cocanada Chamber of Commerce had again called the attention of the Madras Chamber of Commerce to the adulteration of castor-oil, and had requested the Madras Chamber to help them with a contract form to prevent this malpractice, or with such suggestions as might help to check the fraud. It was resolved by the Madras Chamber on this information to make a further representation to the Government of India on the subject.

This question of adulteration the Government of India regards as one of very special importance at the present time, for, as they say in a recent circular, it seems probable that the war will be followed by a great competition among industrial nations for materials of all descriptions, and for products which India should be in a specially favourable position to supply. Legislation in connection with this question is a very difficult matter, and perhaps the only remedy is the realization by traders in India that these malpractices are against the interests of the country. British reputation in trade for honesty, good quality, and fair dealing is a most valuable one, and if this can only be inculcated into the people of India it would help them, I think, very considerably to extend their foreign trade with all countries. It is certainly a point for everyone who is interested in the trade of India to keep in mind, so that the pressure of public opinion may be brought to bear upon those who are guilty of these malpractices. As far as cotton is concerned, mixing and adulteration are matters which could, no doubt, be regulated ; but the excessive watering of cotton in order to bring up the weight is a very

serious matter, and is a crime which really ought to be dealt with by the civil authorities.

I have not mentioned the jute trade of Bengal and Calcutta nor the tea industry of Assam, for both are already established on a sound and profitable basis, and if more capital is needed for extensions it will be forthcoming. India supplies raw and manufactured jute to the markets of the world, and in the industry in Calcutta employs a large number of hands. Tea is also a flourishing industry, and if at the present time we could only get a larger supply in this country we should be very glad to have it; but freight is the difficulty, and to keep this country supplied with 5,000,000 pounds a week is no easy matter at the present time.

Coal-mining is also a great industry, and although the quality of Indian coal is not equal to the best, it is good enough for industrial purposes, and as mines are opened up in different parts of the country industries will surely increase. The annual production is now 16,500,000 tons, and if a larger supply could be raised every ton in all probability would be consumed, for the railways are important buyers, and mills and other works require full supplies. There is great scope for development in this industry, and the larger the output the better for India as a producer of manufactured goods.

The great iron and steel works of Messrs. Tata and Sons are a new and most successful development, and all honour is due to the late Mr. Jamsetjee Nusserwanjee Tata for his conception of this great scheme, and to his two sons, Sir Dorab and Sir Ratan Tata, for bringing it to completion. The war without doubt has helped the industry, and has enabled it to establish itself on a firm and profitable basis; but India in this time of stress would have been very badly off without these works, and her difficulties would have been very much greater in consequence. The output of steel has doubled since the war began, and is now about 15,000 tons a month. The

venture has been a most profitable one in every way, and it will continue to prosper. In this and other works of the Tata's the equivalent of about 8 millions sterling has already been invested.

I was glad to see the announcement a few weeks ago of the new Tata Industrial Bank with a large capital, which will do much, I am sure, to help the industrial development of India. Banking offers great opportunities for development, but the confidence of the people is necessary before Indian banking can be successful, and owing to reckless, or, I might even say in some cases, to criminal, mismanagement, a few years ago a splendid opportunity was lost. Indian banks were started in all directions under a swadeshi wave of enthusiasm, and a large amount of money was deposited, but, with a few notable exceptions, was gambled with by those in charge, and in a very short space of time the bulk of it was lost. A successful banker has to learn his experience, and absolute honesty is the first essential of success. Money deposited does not belong to the bank, but to the individual depositors, and the first care of a banker must be to protect the interests of his clients, and by a safe and judicious use of their money earn for the shareholders a reasonable dividend. Gambling and speculation in banking are fatal, and until this lesson is learned Indian banking will never be a success.

Another industry which is beginning to make progress is cement, and the quality produced is quite satisfactory. This new industry, I am glad to say, is well able to hold its own against imported supplies, and there is great scope for extension. Woollen and paper mills in India are also doing a satisfactory trade, and both might be extended. The production of matches has been attempted, but without much success as yet.

In connection with mining, the demand for mica for munition purposes has given a great stimulus to production, but many of the mines in Behar and Orissa have been ruined in the past owing to the primitive method of

working. Worked on better lines the output could be materially increased with the same labour force as at present, and at a reduced cost. Manganese, as we all know, is a great Indian industry; the demand has been stimulated by the war, and the trade is one that will continue and might be expanded.

It will thus be seen that India has made, and is still making, great strides industrially, and there is no reason why in this direction she should not be very successful if those who enter the field are either thoroughly experienced or are prepared to engage the necessary experience for successful work. Many speakers and writers, however, in India, when alluding to industrial development, refer only, or at any rate mainly, to the great boon of fiscal freedom which an all-wise and generous Government they feel sure must accord to them before very long. With fiscal freedom, which means presumably high protective duties, all difficulties are to disappear, and as if by magic India is to become a great industrial country, supplying the needs of her huge population. In my humble opinion, however, the view to which I have referred is a fallacy, for new industries will only flourish if they are worked by experienced and honest men, and a badly-worked industry under a protective system is only a burden on the country. With her cheap labour, and with many other advantages—one in particular being that she is a large producer of raw materials—India, as I have shown, can hold her own in many important industries, and not only hold her own, but make very handsome profits. Here and there new industries may require temporary help to establish themselves, and into this question Sir Thomas Holland's Industrial Commission is now inquiring, and I can only hope that a satisfactory solution of this question will be found.

The cotton industry to which I have referred is a most successful one already, and the protection it now receives of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—a revenue tax, I admit—is not at all

necessary. India in this matter has drifted into rather an unfortunate position, as the consumer—a man of small or moderate means—has now to pay a higher price than he need for his clothing made in the local mills. The controversy of the cotton duties has lately been under discussion, and the Indian mills have greatly benefited by the recent decision of Government.

I have said, however, that India is mainly an agricultural country, her wealth being really in the soil, and the greater the output the larger the favourable balance of trade. The question of increasing the consumption of Indian raw materials is now engaging the attention of the Imperial Institute, and several committees are taking evidence in connection with the trade in jute, cotton, wool and other fibres, food grains, hides and tanning materials, gums, resins and essential oils, drugs, tobacco and spices, oil-seeds, timber and paper materials—a long list, no doubt; but the information that is being collected will be of the greatest value, and if recommendations are made which will help to increase the consumption of Indian supplies in this country it will not only be a good thing for India, but for Great Britain and for the Empire generally.

India (including Burma) is, as is well known, the largest rice producer in the world, and much larger supplies could be shipped to this country if we cared to have them; but we are only a rice-eating people to a small extent, and this is, perhaps, because as a vegetable we do not know how to cook it. Strange to say, instead of importing all our supplies direct, we receive a large quantity from the Continent—chiefly from Holland and Germany. In a year just before the war the total amount of rice of all kinds consumed in the United Kingdom was 160,000 tons, out of which 68,000 tons were received from the Continent, and the bulk of this was undoubtedly Burma rice, shipped from Rangoon to Dutch and German ports, to be either polished there for edible use or worked up into flour and starch for sale eventually in the United Kingdom at a profit. It is

certainly strange that such a trade is possible when the rice is grown within the Empire and shipped at practically the same cost to Liverpool, Hamburg, and Amsterdam. The explanation, however, is that from the time of arrival charges in this country are much in excess of those on the Continent, and when rice has been prepared for the market it is cheaper for many towns in the east of the United Kingdom to receive their supplies from Hamburg instead of from Liverpool. We are handicapped in this country by heavy port and dock dues, by heavy cost of cartage owing to mills being inconveniently situated, and to some extent by railway rates being more than they ought to be. So far as I can see, in many instances we do not study sufficiently the needs of a particular trade, taking into account at the same time the competition that has to be faced, and we allow ourselves to be pushed out because the different interests concerned will not combine and work together for the general good. By combination and organization Germany and Japan in recent years have developed an enormous foreign trade, and if we are to hold our own we must work on the same lines. To show you, so far as India is concerned, our position in the rice trade as compared with Continental countries, I may mention that in 1900 our total imports from India were 152,000 tons, and in 1913, 129,000 tons. Continental imports were, in 1900, 431,000 tons, and in 1913, 793,000 tons, so you will see that whilst our imports from India declined imports into the Continent largely increased.

As regards oil-seeds, India could produce and export a great deal more than she does, and we should be willing buyers. To take one item only—viz., cotton-seed—the estimated production of India in 1913-14 was 1,830,000 tons, and of this less than 300,000 tons were exported, the United Kingdom receiving practically the whole of this. It is interesting to note in this connection that large quantities of cotton-seed are said to be used as food for cattle in the Punjab, whereas from a trade point of view

it would be much better to express or extract the oil, using only the residual cake or meal for feeding purposes.

For margarine we could also take increased supplies of many Indian seeds, particularly copra and ground-nuts, but of the latter crushers seem to prefer supplies from Gambia, Nigeria, and China, for the Indian native method of handling ground-nuts is injurious, and the trade in this country is prejudiced accordingly.

I am glad to say as regards margarine, in which we are all very much interested just now, that the production in this country is increasing, and out of a weekly consumption of about 6,000 tons over half is manufactured in the United Kingdom. I hope it will not be long before the whole of our needs are manufactured locally, for this is an industry we can manage very well if we like, and it behoves consumers in this country to support the British manufacturer.

In dealing with questions relating to Indian rice and oil-seeds I feel that to some extent I have strayed from my subject, but in the short paper I have read to you I think I have said enough to show that India is a wonderfully productive country, and that her opportunities for trade are immense, more particularly so from now onwards, for when the war ends there will be an immense demand from Europe and elsewhere for raw materials, and if India is favoured with good monsoons she will reap the benefit. I do not know of any country so well situated as India is at the present time from a trade point of view, and if after the war she is able to export raw materials freely she will add very rapidly to her wealth, and there will be any amount of money available for industrial enterprises. Capital, however, is only available in quantity for investment in industrial enterprises if conditions—political and otherwise—are satisfactory, and this is a question which must be borne most carefully in mind by those who profess to speak and write on behalf of the Indian people. We do not want capital to be taken out of India—incidentally,

I may mention that a quite moderate estimate of British Joint Stock capital employed in India is 656 millions sterling—nor do we wish enterprise to be checked, and if industrial expansion is really desired in India it can only be brought about by a free import of capital and by a feeling of assurance in the future. A check or a set-back at the present time would be a serious matter, and on this important point many striking letters have been received lately in this country from Indians who realize only too well that unrest and uncertainty are evils which must be avoided and fought against if India is to stride forward in the next few years as she certainly ought to do. She has, as I have said, a great opportunity at the present time, and in her own interests, and in the interests of her teeming population, I hope she will seize it, and if so we may all look forward with confidence to the future.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held on Monday, December 17, 1917, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., a paper was read by Sir Charles H. Armstrong entitled "Commercial and Industrial Development in India." The chair was occupied by the Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton, P.C., G.C.S.I., and the following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Lord Strabolgi, Admiral Fremantle, G.C.B., Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E., Sir Marshall Reid, C.I.E., Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., Lady Wyllie, Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. Owen Dunn, Miss Partridge, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. H. R. Cook, Captain Edwardes, Miss Euphema Smith, Mrs. Kinneir-Tarte, Mr. Phillipowsky, Mr. K. Ismail, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. Cowie, Mrs. Roberts, Mr. E. Benedict, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. E. V. Gurney, Mr. K. N. Das Gupta, Rev. W. L. Broadbent, F.R.C.S., Miss Sorabji, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. Wigley, Lieut.-Colonel F. S. Terry, Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Mr. I. S. Haji, Syed Erfan Ali, Mrs. Collis, Miss Burton, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Manzalaoui, Mrs. M. Moir, Mrs. Drury, Mr. Tabak, Mr. B. B. Chatterjee, Mr. Kidwai, Mrs. Bennett, Mr. and Mrs. Kotval, Mr. Panikkar, Dr. and Madam Leon, Mr. and Mrs. P. G. Pye, Mr. K. Dutt, Mr. M. R. Das, Major Swift, Mr. and Mrs. Chadwick, Mr. Ormerod, Mr. Polak, Mr. Wadia, Dr. Kapadia, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss D. M. Mitchell, Mr. Robert White, Mr. J. R. Baillie, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Phipson, Mrs. E. M. Slater, Mrs. Marshall Webb, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, before I call upon Sir Charles Armstrong to read his paper, perhaps I may be permitted to express my gratification, as this is the first occasion upon which I have been present at any meeting of the East India Association, at the great honour which was recently conferred upon our ubiquitous and energetic secretary, Dr. Pollen. No man has done more during his stay in India, and in his subsequent domicile in this country, to promote good feeling between all classes, Anglo-Indian and native, than Dr. Pollen. (Hear, hear.)

Now I will call upon Sir Charles to read his paper, and I may briefly remind you that he is a man of exceptional experience. He was on the Council of Bombay, and I think on the Imperial Council. He was Chairman of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and he now occupies the very important post of Chairman of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. I am sure we shall all listen with great attention to the paper he proposes to read. I will then make a few remarks on the subject of the paper, and will invite discussion, and I will ask gentlemen who wish to speak to send up their cards. I have the peremptory duty of suggesting to the speakers that they should not speak for more than ten minutes.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will all heartily reciprocate my opening words—namely, that we are deeply indebted to Sir Charles Armstrong for the admirable paper he has just read to us. It is a very lucid and comprehensive synopsis of Indian trade conditions as they exist at the present moment, expressed in admirable, clear language; and if it be the function of the Chairman to criticize papers which are read, I find some little difficulty, because I am in agreement with almost everything that has been said. There is no question whatever that, when this war is over, India will occupy an extraordinarily advantageous industrial position, and how advantageous that position will be I think I can best illustrate if I throw back my memory a little time. Ladies and gentlemen, I had quite a unique privilege. On thirteen different years I had to expound and bring forward the Indian Budget in the House of Commons. It is rather a melancholy function, because nobody is present except those who want to criticize it; but it is very good practice, because you have to go on speaking to an audience which may be somewhat indifferent, but you know that, if you do make a mistake, as soon as your speech gets out to India that mistake will be detected, and you will be torn to pieces.

Now at the time I was first Under-Secretary, which is nearly forty-five years ago, Indian business was in an extraordinarily different position from what it is now. There had been succession upon succession of deficits, which had been met by borrowing, and there was at that time great perturbation in the minds of Indian financiers as to how India could pay her way. Sir Charles has pointed out to you that there is a large balance of trade due to India, if you take her exports as compared to the imports, but you must recollect that India is a debtor country. She has to pay very large sums of money to those countries from whom she borrows, and, as Sir Charles points out, it is estimated that by the joint-stock banks British capital to upwards of £650,000,000 is employed in India. In addition to that, there are payments of interest on Government loans, payments for services rendered to officials who have been in India, and pensions and other similar expenditure, so that you start at once with the fact that between £30,000,000 to £40,000,000 has to be remitted from India in order that she should pay her gold obligations elsewhere. Now how does she do that? Fortunately, India

can produce an unlimited amount of raw material, and produce it cheaper than any other country in the world. It is a fact that, although there have been during the last fifty years periods which are designated famine periods in India, I do not believe that in any one single year there has been insufficient food to feed the whole population; but the question is the difficulty of transport and distribution. Many years ago the greatest of Indian Finance Ministers, Sir John Strachey, in a masterly Budget speech which was the foundation of modern Indian finance, pointed out that India could produce this enormous amount of raw material; and his great object was to encourage the export of this raw material, because he was satisfied if that was done it would enable India to pay her debts to other nations more easily, and also to maintain, what at that time was a very difficult question, the rupee at the old figure of 2s. Well, just one word incidentally. It is a difficulty which those interested in Indian finance will have to face after the war. We have had hitherto, governing our finance, the principle of Free Trade. In the innocence of our hearts we invited all nations to trade with us, believing they would not abuse the hospitable invitation which we gave. Well, we have found out, so far as, at any rate, Germany was concerned, there is hardly a case where a big German institution has been established where it has not been made the centre of propaganda and seditious discord amongst the people, and to such an extent had this become the practice that even the German missionaries and their wives were engaged in this not very reputable practice; and I believe not the least difficulty which has confronted ecclesiastical authorities, both in this country and in India, has been what to do with the wives of missionaries where those ladies have so misconducted themselves. A certain number of them are now interned. Now it is impossible, in my judgment, that we can go back to the same system as prevailed before the war. You may not have a strictly protective system, but I think we must guard ourselves against the evils of which we have had such a sad experience. (Hear, hear.)

Now just let me follow up what did happen up to the time of the war. India exports this enormous mass of raw material. Certain commodities, such as tea and jute, she exports in greater quantities than Great Britain can consume, and what she does is to sell these articles to those who want them—tea to the United States, short staple cotton, tea, and jute to Germany—and she transfers her debt to those countries, and those countries pay that debt to England by shipping goods here, and in the case of Germany the only goods that Germany can ship are manufactured. Therefore you will see that if we put an end to the existing system of free exchange, and put limitations upon it, it may make it harder in certain cases for India to remit annually the treasure necessary to pay her debt, as she would be excluded from the same free dealing as she had in the past with certain of our enemy countries.

Now it is rather curious that here is Sir Charles reading the paper in which he says that the main cause of the extraordinary development of Indian industry and Indian exports during the last thirty or forty years has been the increase in railways. When I was Under-Secretary

of State, no less a person than Mr. John Bright, the great Orator, suddenly made a violent attack upon the building of railways in India, and it gave us a great deal of trouble, because he was a man of such authority that it was necessary for the Government to take notice of what he said. We ascertained and found out that he had been got hold of by a well-known irrigation engineer, Sir Arthur Cotton, who was so obsessed by the success of certain irrigation works that he could not contemplate the possibility of railways being of any use at all as compared with water carriage. We appointed a Committee, and the report was so conclusively in favour of railroads being extended that the Government of India acted upon that report; and from that date there has been a steady progress of railroads, and this has tended to revolutionize Indian finance and enormously extend Indian resources. Now I quite agree that what we want is a large extension of the small feeder lines. India produces this enormous mass of material, and it gives to the great railroads very long trains, because there are only a limited number of big ports of disembarkation; but I think the more money that can be spent in building small railroads, the better will that expenditure be repaid. With regard to the likelihood of these railways being constructed out of money provided from Indian resources, my knowledge is a little old, as it is thirteen years since I left the India Office; but in my days the great difficulty of getting Indian capital was that those who had the money in India found the most profitable method was to advance to the agriculturists, because they got better interest, and I am afraid that so long as there is that difference there will be considerable difficulty in getting large investments into railroads, or for internal industries. Of course, if the Government were to set up large local banks for the purpose of helping the occupiers of land, that would bring down the rate of interest, and possibly induce those who are possessed of money in India to invest it in railways.

Now, Sir Charles, there is one point you did not dwell upon. There is no Government in the world that has so good a balance-sheet as regards its national expenditure as the Government of India. It has practically no dead-weight debt. Since the war, of course, there has been borrowing for military purposes, but up to the date of the war the assets which the Government were steadily acquiring almost counterbalanced its debts, and this is due to the fact that India has spent for the last fifty years nearly the whole of its borrowings in railways and irrigation works which have paid so well. Therefore India is in a very favourable position so far as regards taxation. And there is another rather curious feature at the present moment. There is a very ticklish and sensitive article—I was almost going to call it "she," because it is so sensitive, and so attractive, and so difficult to handle—namely, the rupee, because the rupee jumps about in a most extraordinary way. All the time I was in the India Office our one endeavour was to coax the rupee to stop up at rs. 4d. Now the great difficulty is to prevent the rupee from getting above rs. 4d. The demand for silver is such that the rupee is worth considerably more than the old scale rate of rs. 4d. Of course, that cuts both ways, but it

will be an advantage to India hereafter that the standard of our currency has appreciated rather than depreciated. On the other hand, as Sir Charles knows, a rising exchange tends to stop exports, whereas a fall tends to increase and accelerate them.

Nothing has pleased me more than to see the development of certain industries in India. It is quite true that wages have not risen simultaneously with the prices, but as a matter of fact a rise in prices always precedes a rise in wages, and wages follow rather slowly afterwards. As the prices fall wages sometimes remain at their old standard, but I have little doubt that wages will begin to rise in India. I have read with great satisfaction an account of Messrs. Tata's works. In India there is an almost unlimited supply of the very best class of ironstone. The difficulty in my day was that, although there is considerable coal in India, it is not such as will smelt this exceptionally hard ironstone; but no doubt science will gradually overcome that, and if, as I expect, these works do exceptionally well, after the war I hope to see a great development of the steel and iron industry in India. Never was there a truer saying than that "necessity is the mother of invention." We have been forced to do all sorts of things we never thought of before, and to our amazement we have succeeded, and we are doing things now at a profit. Though I have been a free-trader all my life, I have always found that the drawback of Free Trade is that people are apt to attach too much importance to cheapness, and if they can get a thing a little cheaper than at home they prefer to get it elsewhere. Now that feeling is on the wane, and I think the experience we have had and the dangers we have passed through through supineness, by letting foreign nations monopolize industries which are vital to our industries, will prevent us from again falling into the same error.

There is one other matter I should rather like to deal with. It is a matter I used to give a good deal of consideration to at the India Office. In India there were at one time undoubtedly certain native manufactures of metal, muslin, glass, and cotton goods which have, without question, deteriorated. Now India seems to me to open up great opportunities for the use of electricity as a motive-power. As you know, nearly the whole of the Mysore gold-works are worked by electricity. The great advantage of electricity as a motive-power is that you can distribute it. If you rely on steam you have to have your factory, and all your hands working together more or less; but by electricity you can divert the current, and bring, where you have skilled labourers, the motive-power to their cottages and to their homes; and what I have always hoped is that, if electricity becomes developed in India, the natural aptitude of the craftsmen in India in metal-work and weaving will receive encouragement, and that you may be able to slowly develop the artistic industries both in metal and in cotton and silk, which will have a special value. India has one advantage over Europe as regards colours: she has possession of the most magnificent natural dyes, which all experience shows are more lasting and pleasanter to the eye than the artificial mineral dyes.

•(Hear, hear.)

Now just one word more. The instincts of India unquestionably are in favour of Protection. When I was a young man there was a great fight going on between the extremely orthodox free-traders, the Cobdenites, and Mr. John Stuart Mill and his followers. Mr. John Stuart Mill said it was legitimate for any country to protect infant industries, and the Cobdenites said : "No, that is fatal." Now it seems to me legitimate, and almost necessary, for a country, if it is confident it can produce certain articles, and it is only fair, that it should give those infant industries an opportunity of usefully rearing themselves, and to enable them to hold their own against their older and more mature antagonists. And in that case I do not think anybody will object if Protection of that kind is applied in India, or if India takes care to preserve to herself certain industries that are necessary to her national existence. But I should be sorry myself if India were to adopt an attitude of uncompromising Protection against British goods, and other goods imported from different parts of the Empire. I think myself we shall come, after this war, to something like preferential trade. (Hear, hear.) It will not be a very easy thing to work, but that is no reason why it should not be attempted. I think the good feeling that exists throughout the British Empire, and the manner in which all parts have responded to the call of the mother country, is very remarkable, and one wants to weld together that good feeling in closer bonds. In India I was Chairman of the Mesopotamia Commission, and I was very much struck by the opinion of almost all the non-official witnesses that, if the Government had made an earlier appeal to the people of India, the Indian community would almost to a man have responded, both in the way of releasing her great man resources, and also in converting and developing her various industries for the purposes required by the war.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I think, so far as India is concerned, that we may look forward with confidence to a great development of industrial prosperity in that country, and I hope that with the development of industry and improvement in the material conditions of the great masses of the people there will spring up likewise a kindlier and better feeling between Great Britain and that priceless portion of her Empire. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.)

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE said it was a great privilege to have Lord George Hamilton in the chair at that meeting, because he knew that his lordship had, in the course of his distinguished career as Secretary of State for India, taken a keen interest in the subject which Sir Charles Armstrong had treated in his comprehensive and instructive lecture. (Applause.) They had copious evidence of what he said in the masterly speech of his lordship to which they had just listened. The facts adduced by the lecturer -doubtless- proved that in the matter of railway expansion and in the growth of cotton manufacture, as also in the production of raw material, in India there had been satisfactory progress in the past, and he had made some valuable suggestions regarding further developments in those respects in future. But the vital need for India's future prosperity was industrial development, so that her

people might be able to manufacture and derive legitimate profit from proper manipulation of the produce of their soil. Sir Charles had said in one part of his paper that India's "manufactured goods were in increasing demand in many markets." He should like to ask him what were those manufactured goods. [Sir C. Armstrong here said : "Cotton." (Laughter.)] Sir Mancherjee proceeded : Yes, cotton ; but nothing else worth mentioning, and for such cotton manufactures as were made there the market was in India, and scarcely anywhere outside. But her abundant produce of seeds, hides, bones, grains, and innumerable other articles were all bundled out to other countries in the raw state, and she derived no benefit, such as any other civilized country unfailingly would, by further skilful treatment of them. (Applause.) And the reason of that was, there was no system of scientific and technical education yet inaugurated in India. That was a deplorable fact. There had been quite a series of lectures recently delivered in many societies regarding the commercial relations of India with Great Britain and allied countries after the war. Almost all of them dwelt upon the prospect of raw materials being supplied by India in yet larger quantities in future to those countries, to the exclusion of Germany and enemy countries. In passing, he might observe that he and everybody in India would heartily welcome the displacement of the German and other enemy nations by the United Kingdom and our Allies in the advantages that accrue from commerce with India. (Applause.) But it should not be forgotten that in any such process India had a right to have her own interests primarily safeguarded, and that could only be done by the adoption of such measures as might enable her in future to derive the fullest advantage of her bountiful natural products by turning them first to her own use by scientific and industrial operation. If in the future adjustment of "after-war trade" India's share was to be confined to the supply of raw materials and produce, and she would have to limit her demand for manufactured articles to sources within our Empire and allied countries, she would be hit both ways—her exports would fetch a reduced return, and for her imports she would have to pay more than if she was left free to traffic with all the markets of the world. (Applause.) That was a problem of considerable difficulty, scarcely admitting of immediate solution ; and to the unfortunate backward state of industrial development in which she had been left so far was primarily due this unpleasant situation. She had every desire, as she had the undoubted right, to collaborate with the other parts of the Empire in the promotion and protection of inter-Imperial economic interests, especially as against the competition of enemy countries, but until her administrators and her people make strenuous efforts, by overtaking her industrial backwardness, to enable her to turn her natural products to the greatest possible advantage, she will be incapable of bearing her proper part in that patriotic endeavour. (Applause.)

Lord LAMINGTON said that he wished to associate himself with the remarks made by Sir Mancherjee in respect to the paper, and also with his congratulations to the Chairman. He owed him a good deal, because

when he was Secretary of State for India he received the Governorship of Bombay, which covered many of the best years of his life. With regard to Free Trade, he said that before the war he never could credit for a moment that Germany would establish such a system of espionage as had been revealed. He used to laugh at those who said spies were rampant in this country ; but he thought, amongst the horrors that Germany had perpetrated, nothing was worse and more discreditable than that during perfect peace she should have perpetrated such a system of espionage, to the detriment of those countries where she was permitted to settle. Quite apart from any economic question, the recurrence of any such practice must be guarded against in the future. Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree referred to the point that after the war India would not be allowed to trade with enemy countries. He did not know that that had been laid down as a *sine qua non*, but he imagined she might not be allowed to export goods to enemy countries. Another point raised was that it was very unfair to India that she exported raw materials instead of manufacturing them in India, but surely that was rather the fault of the Indians themselves, and not a question of Imperial policy. The increased number of cotton-mills owned by Indians was, moreover, a proof that progress was being made, and that Indians were coming forward to develop their industries. Then with regard to the increase of railways, he remembered, when he was Governor of Bombay, projects were put forward for light railways, particularly in Sind, but he did not think they received proper consideration at the hands of the Government. The Government wished to keep the good feeder railways themselves, and hand over the bad ones to private enterprise. However, he thought these things would be rectified in time, and Indians would receive the advantage of putting their money into projects of their own. With regard to training of skilled labour in India, he thought a good deal had been done. He remembered a manager of some cotton-mills a long way from Bombay saying that, although labour was very cheap, the cost of running was cheap owing to water-power being utilized, he would rather the mills had been situated in Bombay where the labour was far more skilled. India was essentially an agricultural country, and people seemed to think there was an inexhaustible supply of Indian labour, but that was not the case. In Bombay it was very scarce. With regard to wages, the Chairman thought they had not risen, but in his opinion wages were mounting up. It was very satisfactory to know that commodities had advanced in price very little, whilst the purchasing power had increased.

In conclusion, he would like to say that he echoed heartily the last paragraph of the paper : that if one thing more than another was wanted, it was security. Great political changes were adumbrated for the future, and he could not help thinking that if a lot of the political talk could only be diverted to dealing with such matters as the prevention of adulteration, and to the housing of the Indian people, a great benefit would accrue to the Indian population, instead of putting before them a kind of pleasant generalities. They all hoped that an improved condition in

India would be the result of the continued British rule in that Empire.
(Hear, hear.)

Mr. CHADWICK said that they all were very grateful for Sir Charles Armstrong's able and thoughtful paper. The public expression of the opinion of experienced and successful Indian business men was especially valuable at a time like this, when so many were looking forward with confidence and hope to great economic and industrial advances in India. He would only refer to one or two points. Recently he had been in Russia, France, and Italy with regard to Indian trade, and one of the most general criticisms he heard about Indian products turned upon matters of purity, quality, and cleanliness. All merchants in Petrograd, Marseilles, Genoa and Milan anticipated an exceedingly large demand for tropical produce after the war, not only in the raw state, but also possibly for products after a certain stage of manufacture, such as oil instead of oil seeds, but in all things purity and quality were essential. Thus, to get oil on to the Marseilles market against a very high protective duty it was absolutely essential that it should be beyond all doubt pure. Anything in the way of adulteration was fatal to the reputation and credit of Indian trade. In regard to tropical trade, India stood in a very strong position. Yet she had to face increasing competition—e.g., from Brazil, Nigeria, and other parts of Africa; but, on the other hand, India had great advantages, established relations, railways, and an industrious and intelligent population. There was to be a big opening for all these tropical countries just after the war, and it was the desire of everyone that India should make the best of the opportunity, but to do so they must put upon the market goods which were absolutely pure. As a matter of fact, these complaints about quality were often made without full appreciation of the difficulties which exist in India; it was not always a reasonable complaint against India, because, when they had a product produced by a number of small scattered farmers, which ultimately had to be placed on a distant market, it necessarily passed through many hands in the process, and it was exceedingly difficult to prevent the different grades and qualities from getting mixed. When they got a better grade or quality, it was exceedingly difficult, when the chief market was 6,000 or 7,000 miles away, to get the benefit of the enhanced price back to the local farmer.

If there happened to be a mill in the district capable of handling such produce and willing to give an enhanced price for quality, improvements in methods of production were greatly facilitated. As a matter of fact, Agricultural Departments in India had not infrequently found that in the initial stages of improvements local factories were often in a position to give greater encouragement than purely merchant houses, for the very simple reason that it is often not worth while for large merchant houses to handle small quantities of special qualities. He did not wish to be misunderstood. Merchants had repeatedly again and again, at a loss to themselves, handled small quantities of special quality, and by standardizing forms of contract had very greatly levelled up quality; and he wished it to be quite clear that, although whilst abroad he had

heard frequent complaints about the quality of Indian produce, he also as frequently heard that in most of our main crops steady improvements had taken place. But these questions of quality and purity, both in raw materials and in manufactured goods, are vital to insure a permanent and developing trade; and whilst strong merchant houses are essential for keeping India in touch with the world's needs, efficiently managed local industries should often be in a better position, with profit to themselves, to foster an improvement in production, and so further the reputation and therefore the market of Indian produce. In all these discussions of Indian trade there was another point which he would like to see examined critically, fairly, and impartially, as it was above all desirable that facts should be kept steadily in view. It was frequently said that India mostly exported raw materials and imported manufactured goods. That was correct. But he had heard the statement so put as to convey the meaning that India exported raw materials and bought back the same materials manufactured. He very greatly doubted whether this was true of anything but a very small proportion of India's imports. In 1913 the total value of imported manufactured goods was about £97,000,000, of which textiles accounted roughly for nearly £50,000,000, and steel, iron, railway goods, engines, and machinery for almost another £30,000,000. These two classes thus cover the bulk of India's imports as far as manufactured goods are concerned. Something like 80 per cent. of the textiles come from Lancashire, where, as is common knowledge, little Indian cotton is used. In fact, in most of the cotton goods imported into India, India is buying material produced in America, and a class of goods which cannot be made economically and easily from the grade of cotton mostly grown in India. In the iron and steel goods, although there may be some Indian manganese or wolfram in some of it, the bulk of the articles are obviously made from the raw material of some other country, for, thanks to the Tatas, India does not export pig-iron. The question of manufacturing such articles in India would seem to turn on improving the quality of our crops and in developing further our natural resources; and when that is done there will still be a surplus of tropical raw produce which, if improvements in quality and handling are made, other countries of the world will for ever continue ready and anxious to buy.

Mr. ERNEST BENEDICT said he had had a good deal to do with workmen in India, and he agreed with what had been said about their capabilities; but they were very like the English workman in that, unless they were given a good house and enabled to live well, they would not get on. If some of the Indian magnates would turn their attention to the state of their workmen, especially in Bombay, they would find the men would rise in the social scale, and, as a matter of fact, Messrs. Tata had proved that down to the ground. The workmen were a great factor, undoubtedly, and they should be educated with sympathy and with fellow-feeling. One point, which had not been touched upon was the value of co-operation. That was a very important thing, because it brought the men together and helped them to think for themselves. That was

the best way to educate India and Indian workmen, but as long as they kept the workmen down India would never make great progress.

Mr. T. J. BENNETT, C.I.E., in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman and lecturer, said they had heard a good deal about the industrial development of India. Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree had spoken frankly with regard to his views on that point. No doubt they would hear him again preaching the same gospel, but if he could preach it in India as well as in this country it would have a double advantage. If they were going to have an industrial awakening in India, it was a matter of congratulation that they should have firms of the character referred to. He referred especially to the great Tata undertaking. That was not a transplantation to the soil of India of the old capitalist industrial system as we knew it in this country, with its hard, unsympathetic reliance upon the theories of political economy. Those great works were being conducted, not merely with a view to making a profit, although they were making a magnificent profit, but with a kindly regard for the well-being and the comfort of the minds and souls as well as the bodies of the workmen engaged in them. (Hear, hear.) Not only had the proprietors provided decent houses, thereby setting a splendid example to the mill-owners of Bombay, but they were supplying them with healthy recreation, and opportunities for education and self-improvement; and they had ready to hand in India an example which should be followed in that great work of reconstruction which they were expected to set going in England after the war.

In conclusion, he would ask them to express their gratitude to Lord George Hamilton for presiding, and to Sir Charles Armstrong for the excellent paper he had read.

This was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he thanked them very much for the compliment. They had had a very interesting discussion, and he was particularly pleased with the suggestions made by Mr. Chadwick and Mr. Benedict. A very able man who had made a large fortune in the Colony had said to him what the two preceding speakers had practically endorsed: that if they wanted to have successful wholesale exportation of products it was essential that there should be co-operation and standardization, but those things could not be attained unless the people were more or less educated so as to appreciate their advantages. He agreed with what Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree had said about the principle underlying so much of our education in India—that was to say, it was not practical enough. If it was any consolation to him to know, he thought that same feeling was dominating a great mass of the people in this country as regards the education given here. Boys were not properly trained for the businesses in which they were to embark, and he was glad to say that science, and commerce, and a common-sense education were for the future going to displace a purely literary and classical education. They had got to give more time to action, and less time to talk. The discussion had been very practical, and he hoped that he would live long enough to see some of the beneficent results anticipated by the paper.

The LECTURER, in reply, said he entirely agreed with the point made by the Chairman, and could only hope that, with a better system of education, it might be possible to start the new industries to which Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree had referred.

The proceedings then terminated.

The Hon Secretary has received the following correspondence :

DEAR DR. POLLEN,

Sir Ratan and Lady Tata desire me to express to you their great regret that they were unable to be present at Caxton Hall on Monday last to hear Sir Charles Armstrong read his paper on Indian trade.

I am sorry to say that Sir Ratan is still far from well, and this fact, of necessity, prevents their accepting many engagements.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

H. TREBLE.

Mr. G. OWEN DUNN writes : " Having read Sir Charles Armstrong's interesting review of the commercial and industrial position in India, I desire to express regret that no mention is made of the recent commencement of a chemical industry there. Chemistry is rightly considered to be the basis of all industries, and it is an example of the way science is neglected by us that in a review of this nature the word is not even mentioned. The author recognizes that "education on sound lines" is necessary for progress in the development of the country, but stress might well have been laid on the necessity of extending and perfecting technical education, and especially encouraging the study of science, which is at the bottom of all sound industrial education."

Sir ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL writes : " Dr. Pollen has invited me to add to the report of the discussion on Sir Charles Armstrong's admirable paper the gist of a few remarks which years and weather debarred me from being present at the meeting to make.

" The urgent requirements of the war have compelled the British Government to make a new departure by placing at the head of various new departments prominent expert leaders in industrial administration. One of Lord Curzon's most successful reforms in India may have inspired him to urge on the Cabinet similar changes at home. When in 1901 I went from Madras to Simla to take charge of the portfolio of Public Works, including railways, Lord Curzon at the first interview which I had with him—it was in the garden at Viceregal Lodge—explained to me his scheme for removing railways (of which there were over 30,000 miles) from the charge of the Public Works Member of Council, and entrusting this great charge to a board of railway experts created for the purpose. There could be but one feeling with regard to so salutary a change, and in due course, after inevitable delays, the Railway Board was created, with Colonel Sir Frederick Upcott as its first chairman. There was one flaw in the change—the railways lost their own personal

representative in the Viceroy's Executive Council, and thus lost an important advantage, especially in the discussion on the Budget, when the member had to defend the Budget assignment for railways from the claims of the Military Department for military lines at the extreme north-west of the Empire, and of Manchester merchants, who clamoured for a railway from Burma into China at the extreme south-east. But this flaw has, I believe, been recently rectified by a ruling that the chairman of the Railway Board shall be entitled to be present in the Executive Council whenever railway affairs come up for discussion.

"Now there is one other portfolio in the Government of India that stands specially in need of an expert head. It is the Department of Commerce and Industry. Members of the Indian Civil Service who reach the Viceroy's Executive Council have usually had experience in a good many branches of administration, but of commerce and industry, unless they have been in the Finance Department, they usually know as little as the Public Works member knew of railways, and the member for Commerce and Industry is fortunate if he can claim to have become an expert before his tenure of office expires.

"The comprehensive and illuminating paper read by Sir Charles Armstrong illustrates the value of expert knowledge in all that relates to commerce and industry. It is, of course, very difficult for the Government to obtain the services of the leaders and experts in these branches of human endeavour for a period of five years. They cannot leave their responsible positions for such a time with the certainty of regaining them when their official services are dispensed with. It may be necessary to assign a pension to the retiring member, as has been done in the case of the legislative member. Meanwhile, a wise step has been taken in appointing that able scientific expert, Sir Thomas Holland, to be chairman of a Commission to inquire into the possible industrial developments of India."

THE INDENTURED LABOUR SYSTEM

Turning now from the Dominions to the Crown Colonies, it would seem that Sir Douglas Owen has fallen into the same error as that underlying the Report recently issued by a Conference of the India and Colonial Offices, and now being examined in India, making certain recommendations in favour of what is described as a scheme of assisted emigration from the great Dependency to certain of the Crown Colonies.

It will be remembered that, upon the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in the early thirties of last century, some of the tropical Colonies found their industries paralyzed by a lack of labour, as the emancipated slaves, rejoicing in their new-found freedom, would no longer work for their former owners. Recourse was, therefore, had to the good-will of the Indian Government, and the indenture system was devised, came into immediate operation, and was subsequently extended to many other parts of the Empire, as well as to certain foreign Colonial possessions. After many vicissitudes, necessitating various inquiries, commissions, reports and modifications, public opinion in India at last became so exasperated by the revelations that continued to be made, showing beyond doubt that the system had reduced the Indian populations in the different Colonies, to which they had been sent under indenture, to servile conditions, and had given rise to grave immorality and enormous hardships, that Lord Hardinge's Government strongly recommended the early abolition of the system, in a despatch dated October 15, 1915. Owing to renewed agitation in India in the early part of 1917, when it was feared that a prolongation of the system was contemplated, Lord Chelmsford's Government, with the consent of the Imperial authorities, prohibited the further emigration of indentured Indian labourers during the War, and it has since been officially announced in the House of Commons that it is not the intention of the Government to revive the system after the War. But, in the interests of the Crown Colonies that were still receiving labour-supplies, and to afford an outlet

for the surplus labour-population in India, it was thought desirable to devise a scheme of assisted emigration from India as a substitute for the indentured labour upon which the Colonial industries had for so long depended. The above-mentioned Report of the Inter-Departmental Conference, which indicates a very real desire to solve what is, nevertheless, I am convinced, an insoluble problem, is the result of the official inquiry instituted for that purpose, no evidence, however, being taken. I propose briefly to analyze the Report, both as to the principles underlying its recommendations, and as regards some of the details therein contained.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE

If the Report be carefully examined, it will be found to be based upon the following assumptions :

- (i.) Emigration is a necessity for India, as an outlet for her "teeming millions."
- (ii.) The emigration of labourers from India to certain of the Crown Colonies is advantageous to India.
- (iii.) Such emigration, under the scheme proposed, will be advantageous to the labourers.
- (iv.) It will also be advantageous to the Colonies concerned.
- (v.) The immigration of Indian labour into the selected Colonies is a vital need for them.
- (vi.) The Colonies selected are the best suited for Indian colonization.

The Report also assumes—(vii.) that the scheme proposed is one of *free* emigration ; (viii.) that it completely replaces the old indenture system, from which it substantially differs ; (ix.) that all the outstanding evils of that system have been practically eliminated ; and (x.) that the economic welfare of the labourers, which seems to have been the chief concern of the Conference, has been effectively provided for. I think it can be successfully shown that none of these assumptions is valid, and that a scheme of "assisted" labour emigration from India is neither needed by nor is it in the permanent interests of any of the parties concerned.

INDIAN LABOUR EMIGRATION WITHIN THE EMPIRE

By HENRY S. L. POLAK

INTRODUCTORY

IN a recent letter to *The Times*, Sir Douglas Owen raises two questions of immense Imperial importance. These are—(i.) The relations of India and the self-governing Dominions, and (ii.) the problem of Indian labour emigration within the Empire. Save incidentally, I do not propose here to deal with the first of these questions.

Sir Douglas Owen suggests that, now that the feelings of Australians towards the people of India may be supposed to be more sympathetic, as a result of intimacies that have sprung up between the soldiers of each country on many of the battle-fields of the world during the present struggle (a view that is not confirmed by experience in Natal, after the Anglo-Boer War, when Indians and Colonists fell side by side), the Northern Territory of Australia should be thrown open to exploitation by Australian capital and under Australian direction, through the agency of Indian labour. This, of course, is no new proposition, for Colonel J. A. Fergusson, writing in the same correspondence, reminds us that, some years ago, legislation was actually passed in Australia for the introduction of indentured labour from India, for the relief of the “teeming millions” of that country, at the magnificent remuneration of

eight annas a day, and rice during the first year, after which it was to be grown by and for the labourer at his own expense, and, presumably, in his spare time. Sir Douglas Owen recommends this partial breaking away from the traditional "White Australia" policy on the grounds that the Northern Territory is crying out for a population, that there is unlimited scope there for agricultural and industrial development, that the country is climatically unfitted to bear a large White population, that we are damming back an enormous and overflowing population in India, and that the slight occasional trickles that have percolated into the "White" Dominions through "our selfish barrier," as he calls it, have created angry feelings, which it is desired to allay and avoid. Having regard to his earlier tone of friendliness, he later states, with not a little incongruity, that the "man and brother" theory, repugnant to the "White" Dominions, is equally repugnant to himself, and he therefore suggests that, in order to soothe *Australian* susceptibilities, the Northern Territory should be isolated from the rest of Australia by "a zone into and through which no coloured man should pass"; but he does not indicate how this desired end is to be achieved. I hardly imagine that India will be charged with ingratitude in rejecting uncompromisingly Sir Douglas Owen's doubtless well-meant patronage of her labouring population, especially in the light of the blunt frankness of an Australian soldier who writes to *The Times* as follows :

"It is perfectly plain that Australia will never be of any use in the Imperial scheme unless her problems are worked out in a manner satisfactory to her people. The fact that 'our Indian fellow-subjects have left their sun-hot land to come and fight and give their lives for the Empire in icy trenches, has no weight with us at all in regard to this question. • We also have left our land and our men have given their lives. And one of the things, among others, that we are fighting for at present on the Western front is a 'White' Australia.'"

OBJECTIONS

The objections to the recommendations and all that is implied by them are of a five-fold character—namely, (i.) political, (ii.) economic, (iii.) moral, (iv.) social, and (v.) religious.

(i.) *Political*

It is sometimes urged upon us that, in surveying this problem, we ought to adopt a broad Imperial standpoint. The statement is rather vague, but, so far as I understand it, I accept it, with the proviso that the problem must be looked at primarily from the point of view of the party chiefly affected ; for, if it can be shown that, all things considered, that party will suffer injury by the official promotion or encouragement of a scheme of assisted labour emigration, the Empire, as a whole, cannot be truly benefited. We have just now seen the popular Australian point of view on the subject of coloured immigration. Let us now turn to a high authority on White emigration from a British view-point. In the course of a statement made by him, on November 26 last, when presiding at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, on the subject of "Land Settlement within the Empire," the Right Hon. Mr. Walter Long, Secretary of State for the Colonies, is reported to have said :

"They could not, either by compulsion or by bribery, induce able-bodied citizens of the Empire who were wanted here to leave this country, and they ought not to try to do it. They could not control, and he did not think that it was desirable that they should control, the wishes and movements of free citizens ; and if men or women desired to transfer their energies and their intelligence and their muscles to another part of the Empire, they could not prevent them. If they meant to go, however, everything should be done to see that the conditions under which they left this country and entered the land of their choice were as satisfactory as possible, so that they could have a fair start." "

I unhesitatingly accept that statement, as applied to India, in its entirety, and claim that it supports the arguments that I am about to develop in every essential respect. At the present time, Indians, and especially Indian labourers, are not "free citizens of the Empire," and I am strongly of opinion that, even under an absolutely *voluntary* system of emigration and devoid wholly of any suspicion of recruitment or official agency, even greater precautions are required for successful Indian colonization, if deemed desirable by India, than are needed for the protection of British emigrants.

It is no more than fair that we here should regard the problem mainly from the standpoint of India. Indeed, that was the basis of the argument of the despatch of Lord Hardinge's Government, which explicitly laid it down that it was no part of the duty of the Government of India to supply labour to the Colonies. This view was concurred in by Mr. Chamberlain, in his replying despatch. But if the *Government* of India have no direct concern in providing the Colonies with a labour-supply, it is still less the concern of the *people* of India. Clearly, then, the onus lies on the Colonies, that desire to have this labour, to satisfy India that her interests have been fully considered, that she will derive an extraordinary and immediate advantage by enabling these labourers to leave her shores, and that the welfare of the labourers will be in every way safeguarded; or else, that the general Imperial necessity is so imperative, that she may reasonably be called upon to make a sacrifice, in which they are prepared to share. This onus, it is submitted, the Colonies have not discharged.

Mr. Chamberlain deplored the confusion existing in the minds of the Indian public, which persistently identifies the present issue with that of the relations of India and the self-governing Dominions. But this confusion is, unhappily, unavoidable, for the two problems inevitably merge into each other. There would have been no South African Indian question, for example, had not Indians been sent there for years under indenture. It is worth noting that, when the late Mr. Gokhale went to South Africa, in 1912, he was popularly

described as the "coolie king," just as Mr. Gandhi, before him, had been dubbed the "coolie lawyer." From the moment that he set foot in the Transvaal until he left the Union, Mr. Gokhale was a prohibited immigrant. To-day, by special instruction from the Minister of the Interior, even the most distinguished Indian is excluded from the Union as an undesirable immigrant on economic grounds, though, apparently, the barrier is raised to enable Japanese commercial travellers to enter and to carry on their trade. The prohibitive legislation of Natal was adopted by Australia, and the humiliating treatment to which the present Maharaja of Navanagar was subjected some years ago, when on a sporting visit to that country, is still lively in the Indian memory. The most eminent Indian may be excluded from the Commonwealth because he cannot pass an impossible education test in, say, Choctaw. Canada has followed suit, and the exclusion of Indians from British Columbia, because they do not and cannot come by a direct steamer from India, remains a fact that cannot be ignored; for it gave occasion for the squalid and dangerous *Komagata Maru* episode. The existence of a large Indian labouring population in Fiji, with all the attendant evils that have been so vividly portrayed by Messrs. Andrews and Pearson in 1915, has been used in New Zealand and Australia as an awful warning to those Dominions, where, as Sir Douglas Owen reminds us, the "man and brother" principle does not find favour. To apply Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's appropriate language, this scheme appears "to be based upon the assumption that what Indians want is a 'coolie heaven.'" India refuses, however, any longer to be regarded as a "coolie" country. She refuses to be held up as an "awful warning" to other parts of the Empire. She refuses to be treated as an inexhaustible reservoir of cheap and servile labour for exploitation by foreign capitalists, primarily looking to their own enrichment.

But it may be said that the conditions in the four Crown Colonies selected for this experiment are essentially different from those obtaining in the great Dominions. With the loosening of the bonds of tradition, and in the absence of customary

social sanctions, however, the Colonial-born Indian populations, whether in the Dominions or the Crown Colonies, subjected to the pressure of an alien environment, uprooted from and deprived of the inspiration of national institutions, tend, from generation to generation, to become denationalized, and their energies are thus largely lost to the Motherland, of which, as a rule, they know nothing at first hand. The Report, under the heading "Political Rights," appears to contemplate equality of political and municipal rights for the Indian immigrants; but such a community, almost wholly unorganized, and, in the main, composed only of labourers, cannot possibly hold its own in relation to a White community, possessing a superior organization, and representing principally the master class, whose normal interests are bound to differ radically from those of the Indian immigrant population. The Colonial Administrations are naturally reluctant to place themselves in antagonism to those interests which, very influential at the centre of the Empire, represent persons of the same race, status, and civilization as the Colonial officials themselves. In these circumstances, equality of citizenship would seem to be largely a theoretical formula, incapable of practical application.

(ii.) *Economic*

Would this scheme be of economic advantage—(a) to India, (b) to the Indian emigrants, and (c) to the Colonies concerned?

(a) It is true that some parts of India are overpopulated; but it is equally true that other parts of the country are very sparsely peopled. The population density of India varies from 1,852 per square mile in parts of Cochin, to 1,293 in the twenty-four Parganas District of Bengal, and to 6 only in Baluchistan (Cd. 7377), of 1914. It is true that some occupations are overcrowded in India; but it is equally true that other occupations and industries are crying out for labour. The fact is that India cannot afford to export labour. On every occasion that the matter of the abolition of indentured labour has been debated in the Imperial Legislative Council, the economic

objection to allowing Indian labourers to be specially recruited for service abroad has been raised. The Report contemplates and even encourages the continued recruitment of labour for foreign service. But when industries and agriculture within the country are starving for labour, it seems absurdly quixotic to help outsiders to obtain it. Already, in South India, there is a strong movement to prevent the recruitment of so-called free labour for Ceylon and Malaya. If any form of emigration stands in need of stimulation and official help, surely it is what the late Justice Ranade called "internal emigration," so that the empty places may be filled, so that the poverty-stricken masses of India may find useful and healthy employment in the growing industries of the Indian Motherland, without being driven to the doubtful expedient of expatriating themselves. It ought not to be impossible for India to do for her sparsely peopled territories what Japan is successfully doing for hers. Apart, however, from these considerations, what is the problem that actually has to be solved? It is how to provide for the 7,500 Indians who annually went to the four selected Colonies before the War, and whose numbers have since been considerably reduced. Will it be seriously contended that India cannot absorb this minute handful of people in existing industries, if an attempt to do so be intelligently made? Why, if the worst comes to the worst, they can just as easily emigrate to Ceylon or Burma, if, as a *voluntary* act, they desire to leave their homes, without undergoing the inconveniences of an enormously long journey to reach their destination.

(b) What will be the economic advantage to the emigrants?

The Report recommends certain advantages, some tangible, others rather nebulous, principal among which is the bribe of a minimum wage. It is notorious, however, that wages tend to remain at the minimum, for those already there, as well as for those who may come after, when the employer is sure of securing a constant supply of relatively cheap labour from outside. It is the natural tendency of cheap labour to underlive and undersell the more expensive, and for the price of labour, consequently, to seek the lower, rather than the higher, level, par-

ticularly when the labour itself is not organized for economic self-protection. The normal tendency, with the stoppage of labour importation, is for wages rapidly to reach a higher level, approximating to the fair economic wage of labour in an open market, as happened in Natal, when the introduction of indentured labour from India was, as an act of retaliation, prohibited by the Indian Legislature. That apart, however, in what way will it help to fix a minimum wage, if the maximum hours of labour or the daily task be not also fixed? What is to prevent the unscrupulous employer from trading upon the absence of the latter provision to extort more work from the labourer, and so reduce him once again to a condition of economic helotry? With the present demand for labour in India, and having regard to the relative cost of living there and in the Colonies, is it not probable that the Indian labourers would receive practically the same economic advantage—and possibly something more—by remaining in their Motherland, and seeking employment where their services are in greatest demand? That blessed word “emigration” is far too freely invoked as a solvent of problems that are often much more readily soluble otherwise, whilst the new and unnecessary problems created by emigration itself are usually ignored.

(c) Do the Colonies need this immigrant labour? Will it be to their economic advantage to get it? There are at least three, and possibly four, parties to be considered. These are—(i.) The existing Indian population, (ii.) the non-Indian coloured population, (iii.) the resident planters on a small scale, and (iv.) the great absentee corporations, represented by resident managers. It has already been shown that the first class can only suffer in status and in economic position by the continued introduction of fresh gangs of their countrymen working at a lower wage, and thus tending to bring down their own wages. As to the second class, there is ample evidence that they have the strongest objections to this constant influx of foreign labourers. The four Colonies concerned are Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, and Fiji. From the first three strong protests have been sent by bodies representing or speak-

ing on behalf of local coloured labour against this continued importation of cheap Indian labour. They are to be found in the third volume of the Sanderson Committee's Report (Cd. 5194) of 1910. It is also known that the existing coloured labour population has already commenced to emigrate from at least two of these Colonies to more favourable labour-markets. Surely these people are entitled to economic protection. They have only the asset of their labour and industry to dispose of, and they have the first right to consideration in their own home. As to Fiji, the bulk of the land is owned by the native Fijians, and Indians there can presently be provided with land only by despoiling the former. It may be noted, incidentally, that, as the Indian labourer is habitually called "coolie," and the Fijian has discovered that the native name for "dog" has the same sound, he begins to look down upon his Indian fellow-colonist with some contempt, and it can hardly be to the advantage of either that further contingents of Indian proletarians should be artificially encouraged to emigrate to Fiji, and thus help to increase racial ill-will.

Both the third and fourth classes stand to gain from obtaining a constant supply of cheap labour. But that is admittedly not the *summum bonum* of British rule in India. The interests of these two classes conflict not only with those of the Indian immigrants, but also with those of each other. Assuming, however, that they need labour for the development of local industries, is it necessary to import it from India? The answer is emphatically No. Jamaica, since 1913—that is, from before the War—has managed to do entirely without the importation of Indian labourers. She has, besides, an enormous non-Indian coloured population to draw upon. In British Guiana, with an Indian population of 137,000 in 1915-16, only 1 in 19 was under indenture. In Trinidad, with an Indian population of 120,000, only 1 in 15 was under indenture in 1915-16. Jamaica can clearly do without Indian labour importation, and, as Lord Hardinge's despatch shows, it would hardly appear difficult for British Guiana and Trinidad, relying upon their existing Indian and non-Indian coloured populations,

to provide locally for their normal industrial expansion. Fiji alone may seem to stand in need of a further labour-supply. But here, again, there is an Indian population, apart from the native Fijians, numbering about 60,000, of whom only one-sixth are serving indentures, and independent observers are of opinion that the natural increase of the present Indian population, the offer of judicious inducements to the native Fijian population, and the use of labour-saving devices, will solve the local labour difficulty. In any case, after the recent revelations of the horrible conditions that, at least as late as 1915, prevailed in the islands, it is hardly probable that India's sympathies will be engaged on behalf of employers, of whom the most important are a great corporation directed from Australia, from which Indians are excluded, and another from British Columbia where resident Indians may not even take their wives and families.

The fact is that, so long as the Colonial employers, whether resident or absentee, have been able to secure constant renewals of their Indian labour-force from outside, they have rarely troubled to see that the conditions of employment were satisfactory, either economically or otherwise. Death-bed repentance, whilst always impressive, is not always convincing. For years these employers have seriously underpaid their labour, whilst often making immense profits for themselves or their shareholders who have never known or cared to inquire into the circumstances so intimately affecting the lives of those whose toil has provided them with cheerfully-accepted dividends. If, now that the flow of Indian labour is stopped at its source, they find that they must look elsewhere for a labour-force to provide their incomes, they cannot fairly complain, and they will have to make the best use they can of their local labour-supplies and of labour-saving devices, thus following the example of the controllers of the gold and diamond industries in South Africa, and the Natal employers of indentured labour when their supply was cut off.

(iii.) *Moral*

The Report provides for the maintenance of the system of recruitment in India, under what are described as certain safeguards. Those who are familiar with the various systems of recruitment are of opinion that there is no way of protecting the Indian peasant, usually a very ignorant person, from the tortuous devices of the unscrupulous recruiter. The report seems to contemplate the creation of a class of recruiters who are not unscrupulous. Its framers are singularly optimistic as to the effects in the future, as contrasted with the past, upon ordinary human nature of a pecuniary stimulus, based upon payment by results. The break-up of families under such a system is inevitable. It is true that the Conference would prefer and hopes to see recruitment by families, but the recruiter knows how much easier it is to recruit an individual than a family. The recruits are bound to include a very large proportion of individual men, and these will certainly accentuate the already grave moral evil existing in the selected Colonies, and especially in Fiji.

(iv.) *Social*

It is well known that the basis of Indian social life is neither the individual, nor even the family, but the village community. To gather together a number of families heterogeneously from all parts of India, having, so to speak, no common denominator, remove them from their familiar surroundings and customary social sanctions, and set them down promiscuously, ill-assorted, and haphazard, in strange surroundings already tainted with the poison of indenture, to live a new life, without the means of organizing for self-protection, in a land far distant from their native country, is simply to court disaster, as in the past, and to destroy, in effect, the sanctity of the Indian family life.

(v.) *Religious*

For obvious geographical reasons, the Indian emigrants are necessarily deprived of their customary religious consolations,

and the encouragement upon which they are accustomed to rely from their spiritual guides. Such things, when resulting from a State-aided and officially guided system such as that now proposed, cannot be contemplated with equanimity. From the Indian point of view (and I say this with no desire whatever to detract from the fine work done with much self-sacrifice by various missionary bodies), it must arouse the gravest suspicion and alarm to know that, if the emigrants are not to be allowed to degenerate in course of time and in the absence of the traditional influences that have guided them in their Motherland from time immemorial, they are bound to become the objects of Christian missionary effort, and thus be gradually weaned from the great religious systems that nourished their ancestors.

PROPOSED SAFEGUARDS INADEQUATE

In a brief paper such as this it is impossible to criticize the Report in detail. But one or two further objections still remain to be noticed shortly. The protection suggested, by the provision of open dépôts, is likely to fail of its purpose. The recruiters have reduced to a fine art the "bamboozling" of simple peasants and the misleading of their relatives and friends, and it will be impossible, in practice, to prevent this in great part. Moreover, of all the persons, whether interested or disinterested, who will come into contact with the intending emigrant before he leaves India, not one will necessarily have any personal knowledge of the conditions obtaining in the emigrant's future home, and the proposed delivery to him of the written statement of the material advantages and conditions of his employment there will not be of the slightest use to him until after his departure.

There is, too, a somewhat sinister significance in the fact that the protectors of Indian immigrants, to be provided by the four Colonies, are, as heretofore, to be Colonial officials, not responsible to the Government of India, though the appointment of Indian Government officials has been pressed for for years by all who have studied the requirements of the situation.

Nor even at this late day is it contemplated that the protectors of Indian emigrants in India shall be selected from men of Indian blood, chosen for their insight into the peculiar psychology of the Indian cultivator and their familiarity with the systems of labour recruitment.

PROPOSED EMIGRATION *NOT VOLUNTARY AND SYSTEM NOT FREE*

It is clear that the system of emigration now proposed cannot properly be described as a *voluntary* one, for it is extremely unlikely that, of their own free-will, Indian families or individuals will, in the future, any more than in the past, desire to emigrate to far-distant lands, when remunerative employment nearer at hand is available. So long as the artificial stimulus of official agency and the nefarious systems of recruitment are employed to promote emigration from India, it cannot have the sanction of public opinion there, nor is it of a voluntary character.

As to the nature of the system now put forward, it is equally not *free* labour, for the recommendations specially provide that, for the first six months of the labourer's life in the Colony, he is to be under a modified form of indenture, as he is handed over to an unknown employer, in whose selection he has no voice, and whom he cannot leave during that period, save in an exceptional case (of which he is not to be the judge), with the consent of the Colonial Protector of immigrants. Past experience shows how frail is this reed, and, in principle, though not in intensity of injury, the new "*assisted*" labour is but the old indentured labour writ small. If we examine the salient features of the indenture system, so lucidly described by the late Mr. Gokhale, when moving his historic resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council, in 1912, urging the abolition of the system, they will be found to number six, of which all but one are retained in this new scheme. That, in itself, will suffice to condemn the present proposals by thinking men in India.

CONCLUSIONS

It is stated that the object of the recommendations of the Conference "will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies, to train and fit them for life and work there, and at the same time to afford a supply of labour essential to the well-being of the Colonies themselves." I hope that I have succeeded in showing that the adoption of the Report will have no such consequences. It is singular and significant that the Colonies selected for this interesting experiment are not those which may have been recommended for Indian colonization by well-informed Indian public opinion, having regard to what, after careful investigation, have been determined upon as the probable best fields for independent Indian enterprise, but those four Colonies which have been, until they were prohibited from doing so in the early part of 1917, in the habit of indenting upon India for their labour-supply. The primary purpose of this new scheme, therefore, far in advance of any previous proposals though I frankly admit it to be, is clearly not "to encourage Indian settlement" in those Colonies for the advantage of the Indian settlers, or "to train and fit them for life and work there," which would be a laudable and benevolent object, but "to afford a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the Colonies themselves"—or, rather, to give indirect State-aid to a small minority of their inhabitants—and to certain absentee financial interests, to the exclusion of the real advantage of the vast majority of their resident populations. All else is of purely secondary importance. The conclusion is thus irresistible that, if the labour requirements of the Colonial employers had been met otherwise, this Conference would not have sat, or the present recommendations have been made. Their acceptance is, in my opinion, impossible.

What Indians want, if emigration from India be at all desirable or feasible (and of an entirely voluntary nature) on a scale of any magnitude, is not merely an Indian labour settlement,

the bulk of whose product and profits would be enjoyed, as Sir Douglas Owen candidly proposes, by White overseers and White capitalists, but an Indian Colony, in the fullest sense of the word. The Indian position is admirably summarized by Mr. Yusuf Ali in the following trenchant phrases :

" Indian opinion is growing more and more restive at the talk of 'subordination,' 'supervision,' 'control,' 'tutelage,' or any other terms that may be used for that purpose. The only kind of scheme which will be acceptable to Indian opinion will be one in which Indian communities abroad can form settlements on a free, self-governing basis, in which labour, capital, control, and policy will be, actually or potentially, in Indian hands, with free rights of citizenship internally, and a complete recognition of the principle of reciprocity externally."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, February 11, 1918, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper was read by Henry S. L. Polak, Esq., entitled, "Indian Labour Emigration within the Empire." The Rt. Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C., M.G., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Lord Strabolgi, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhowmaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Roland Wilson, Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Lady Kensington, Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. Nicholson, J.P., Mrs. Drury, Mr. S. K. Engineer, Mr. B. B. Chatterjee, Mr. M. K. Rez, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. S. Arumugam, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Polak, Mrs. Das, Mrs. Collis, Lieut.-Colonel Terry, Rev. A. E. Davies, Mr. L. R. Wijeyesekera, Mr. K. N. Das Gupta, Sahibzada Aftab Khan, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Rev. F. Penny, Mr. Moos, Mr. G. Adams, Mrs. Ernest Rosher, Mr. Zahuruddin, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. A. C. Sircar, Mr. D. Ritchie, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Mr. N. C. Khudkar, Mrs. DeBar, Mr. Ryan, Mr. Mohini M. Dhar, Mr. Teckchand Hiranand, Mr. and Mrs. Kotval, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Captain S. Edwards, Mr. K. Ismail, Mr. J. K. De, Mr. P. R. Chari, Mr. P. C. Ghost, Mr. Sorabji, Mr. Lester, Mr. Ranosen, Mrs. Wigley, Miss Wade, Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Rev. P. M. Aldous, Mrs. Haigh, Miss Hatton, Miss Millar, Dr. Kapadia, Mr. J. MacIver, Syed Erfan Ali, Mr. V. Emm Rajakarier, Mr. F. L. Fanseka, the Misses Fiohawk, Mr. and Mrs. R. S. Dantra, Mr. Grubb, General Chamier, Mr. Singh, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Miss Corfield, Mr. E. W. Perera, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I will first of all call upon Dr. Pollen to read some letters.

The SECRETARY then read letters of apology from Lord Hardinge, Lord Islington, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, High Commissioners at Australia House, and Sir George Ferley.

The paper was then read, and received with applause.

The SECRETARY : With his Lordship's permission, I will read these letters which have been written in connection with the paper.

*From Sir Alfred Sharpe, K.C.M.G., formerly Magistrate in Fiji, 1885-86 ;
Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, British Central Africa ;
Governor of Nyasaland, 1907-10.*

February 8, 1918.

DEAR SIR,

I am obliged to you for sending me Mr. Polak's paper on Indian Labour Emigration. I have always been interested in this subject, having been five years in Fiji, and afterwards in Africa.

I shall be in town next week, but not in time for your meeting at three on Monday, otherwise I should have been glad to be there.

Yours truly,

ALFRED SHARPE.

Should you think my opinion of any interest, it is as follows :

1. Is it, or is it not, the case that India has a surplus population, which it would be advantageous (*to themselves*) to find a " colony " for? If it is *not* the case, then the whole matter falls to the ground at once.

2. There are two kinds of Emigration (*a*) as indentured workers; (*b*) as free emigrants, to be provided with land and to be started with financial help by Government as farmers and settlers. It is, I think, clear that whatever may have been the case in the past, in these days (*a*) is undesirable. *If Indians wish to emigrate, (*b*) is the only system.*

3. In case Indian emigrants are settled as free colonists abroad, it must *not* be in a country which is "colonizable" by whites—that is to say, where white farmers can permanently settle and bring up their families (*e.g.*, Australia, Natal, Transvaal, etc.). It must be the tropics.

4. The whole question appears to me really to be, Does India *wish* for a " colony "? If she does, then there *are* suitable countries—*e.g.*, Uganda, etc. (I know Uganda well), where such colonies could be formed, and where districts could be reserved.

There are, of course, many other points, too lengthy to be gone into in this note.

CADE HOUSE,
HEATHFIELD,
SUSSEX.

February 8, 1918.

MY DEAR POLLEN,

I had hoped to attend the discussion on Mr. Polak's paper, but local business will keep me here.

While not denying some weak points in the scheme of the Government of India, I do not like the suggestion that the labourers in India are to be discouraged from emigration because "industries and agriculture within the country are starving for labour." This looks like an attempt to prevent the labourer from taking his supply to the best market. I

sympathize with the dislike to the representation of India by the labourer only, and I should be prepared to prevent emigration to any colony which was not willing to accept Indian immigrants of other classes. Official regulation of emigration agencies seems indispensable. To abandon the ignorant villagers to the irresponsible wiles of unscrupulous recruiting agents would be cruel to them and hurtful to the State.

I cannot agree with the proposition that Indian labourers should be allowed to emigrate only to Indian colonies where the government and the capital are in Indian hands. If the Indian labourer is willing to go elsewhere, what right is there to prevent him? Why should his economic interests be sacrificed to the political views of a section of his fellow-countrymen? By all means let there be an Indian Colony, and let it be so attractive that the labourer will prefer to go there. But let him choose.

With all its drawbacks, the old system of emigration provided opportunity, often utilized, for obtaining a modest fortune, and introduced backward and ignorant men to new ideas. Truly, they ran the risk of being de-Hinduized. But Hinduism must not expect to avoid conflict or to abstain from missionary effort.

In short, I am reluctant to shut out the labouring classes from suitable markets for labour.

Yours sincerely,
F. C. GATES.

25, SUTTON COURT ROAD,
CHISWICK,
LONDON, W. 4.
February 10, 1918.

MY DEAR POLLEN,

I am so sorry that urgent work prevents me from coming to Mr. Polak's lecture on "Indian Labour Emigration within the Empire" on Monday. There is no doubt that the question is a very important one, and requires careful handling on the part of the statesmen in this country, in India, and in the Empire at large. There are many points on which there are differences of opinion in India, but on this point there is none. Indian opinion unanimously demands that the conditions of Indian labour outside India shall be consistent with the self-respect of the Indian people. The corollary—viz., that Indian labour in India itself shall also be put on an equitable basis—does not fall within the limits of the paper, but would no doubt command the assent of Mr. Polak. I very much regret that I shall not be able to hear his valuable paper. May I request the favour of your sending me a copy?

Yours sincerely,
A. YUSUF ALI.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think there can be any doubt that you have all been interested in the paper, as certainly I was myself; and I think you have all been interested to hear those letters read, because they are the beginning of the discussion which I hope is

going to take place. I am not going to add to the discussion myself, because really I cannot speak with any authority. Except for a very short while in Madras, most of my time in India was spent in Bengal, where really one looks on the question from a rather different point of view from that of the rest of India. I never met a single Indian in Bengal who did not wish to see indentured labour done away with. I was not in the least surprised to find that was their view. It was the view I should certainly have held myself if I had been an Indian, and the view which I do hold. I went to India holding that view, and nothing I have ever heard has made me draw back from that view.

Before I went to India I was in Australia, where I heard a great deal about a "White Australia," and I entirely agree with the view Mr. Polak holds that it is useless to suppose that Australia is going to go away from its ideal of a White Australia. I sympathize with Australia in that view. I do not say that Australians are always going to act in the way they do now towards persons who are a little different from themselves in complexion; but the way I look at it is this: I think the ordinary Australian does not pretend to know very much about India. But he thinks he knows—I am talking of the ordinary average Australian with whom I used to discuss the matter—he thinks he does know something about Indian indentured labour. He used to believe that India wanted that indentured labour to exist, and he used to say: "If India wants that there should be that sort of labour, then I do not want to have Indians here." That was the view of the large majority of Australians, and I think it was a very reasonable view. I know that certain Australians who were friends of mine—most of them highly honourable gentlemen—and who were doing their very best to make money for themselves (I do not blame them for that, for I suppose most of us do our best, although some of us are not quite so successful), and who would have done their best to make money for me if I had been a shareholder in their businesses, wanted to employ indentured labour. I do not wonder at it in the least. From their point of view I sympathize with them too. I know that these men recognized that other Australians who were not shareholders in their companies, and not in a position to want to employ indentured labour for themselves, did not sympathize with them in the least. I have spoken to many men who were interested financially in indentured labour in Fiji—that is the only part I know anything about, and I only know about Fiji indirectly from what I was told in Australia—and I found that those men were not the least surprised that their fellow White Australians who had no financial interest in indentured labour took the view that they did, or that, at any rate, they did not want that sort of labour in Australia. I think that is undeniable, and if there are any of you who want to do away with or modify the feelings of Australians on the subject of White Australia as far as regards India; if any of you look forward to a time when Indians shall be allowed to go backwards and forwards to Australia with the full consent of Australians—well, it is no use your thinking of that as long as indentured labour leaves India. I feel perfectly certain of that. I do not think the average Australian

is the least likely ever to welcome the free ingress of any people, some of whom go out as indentured labourers. They may be wrong, but that prejudice, if it is a prejudice, or that well-founded opinion, if it be a well-founded opinion, exists, and I do not think it is the least likely to be modified.

Now I have said enough for my own part, except that I hope there will be some discussion, and I hope those who take a different view from that which I hold—and I shall not point out where I differ from the lecturer, although I do on some points—will put their views forward and give us their reasons, because, as has been said at the beginning, “a reasonable, quiet statement” is a most desirable thing, and I think discussion from every point of view is even more desirable.

I ought to say what I forgot to say at the beginning, that it was the intention of Lord Reay to have presided at this meeting, and it was at his suggestion that this paper has been read. I am sure we are all sorry he cannot be here. As some of us know, he has quite recently undergone a somewhat serious operation, and I am sure we are all glad to know that he is now out of danger. (Hear, hear.)

Sir VALENTINE CHIROL said, after the words of the Chairman, he felt rather in the position of the old woman who, when asked her opinion about a sermon she had heard, replied : “It was a fine sermon, but he has just taken the words out of my mouth.” He wished to approach this question not so much from the point of view of the lecturer as from the point of view of the Empire—i.e., of that Federation of British States in which we all hoped to see India play a conspicuous part. He agreed with the Chairman that if they wanted better relations between Indians and the peoples of the Dominions they must try to remove all questions which tended to create friction. Mr. Chamberlain had said they should not confuse the two questions of indentured labour and Indian immigration generally ; the two questions were inseparable. When one considered what a very small proportion of Indians the question of indentured labour really affected, he very much doubted whether that question would have aroused the enormous interest it had aroused if it had not been connected in the minds of Indians with the far-reaching question of immigration generally. It was the larger question of the relations between India and the Dominions in regard to this matter that had stimulated public interest and made them alive to the importance of the smaller question of indentured labour. When he was a member of the Royal Commission on Public Service he found that Indians were asking that British subjects from the Dominions should be excluded from Public Services in India. The question of Indian immigration was a question upon which some of the worst spirits in India found a most fruitful soil in which to sow the seeds of sedition. It was a question which must be solved gradually and in the course of time by a conciliatory attitude on the part of both sides, by negotiations between the Dominions and the British Government and the Government of India. It was not a question capable of being settled from one day to another, but this country had it in its power to prevent the indentured labour question at

any rate from again assuming importance and causing the bitterness it had caused in the past. (Hear, hear.) He could not understand how two Public Departments at the present moment could imagine that under any circumstances this system might be revived. It seemed to him the only interests which could be served were infinitesimal in comparison with the harm it was calculated to do. (Hear, hear.)

In conclusion, he would like to correct a little misapprehension in the terms in which the lecturer referred to Mr. Gokhale's visit to South Africa. He had had something to do with that visit, because Mr. Gokhale was good enough to consult him as to going to South Africa, and he advised him strongly to undertake the journey, because he felt sure that even if he did not attain the whole of the objects he had in view, his visit to South Africa could do nothing but good. He was able in some ways to facilitate his journey, and he knew from him how much he appreciated the great consideration and friendliness with which he was received by the English people in South Africa; and he also knew from friends to whom he had given Mr. Gokhale letters of introduction what a very great pleasure and advantage it was to them to have had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of so distinguished and intellectual and high-minded an Indian gentleman. (Hear, hear.)

Sir ROLAND WILSON said he had only come for instruction, and he had very little first-hand knowledge of India, but he had listened to Mr. Polak's address with great admiration. The only doubt in his mind was with regard to the conclusion—namely, that assisted emigration should be altogether stopped except under conditions which at present he supposed were not feasible. One might draw harrowing pictures of the mischief resulting from a particular course of action, but unless one knew what the alternatives were we were not in a position to say whether it should be stopped or not. What he wanted to know was how the conditions of the poorer classes in India compared with the conditions they were subjected to in the Colonies under the system of indentured labour, and, arising out of that, how far it was possible to put those impoverished Indians who thought of emigrating under the present system into a condition of full knowledge of what they were going to, and how far it would be possible if they were disappointed to bring them back without loss. As a general principle, prohibitory legislation was always to be avoided until all other alternatives had been tried and had failed, and he would therefore like to know whether there was no practical alternative.

Surplus population was rather an ambiguous term. It meant a population above some standard, but above what? Was it above the average population of other countries, or above the means of comfortable subsistence? According to the former standard, India, in comparison with the United Kingdom, was very considerably underpopulated. But the real question was how many people there were in India below what was called "the poverty line," and who did not see their way to improve their position except by emigration. They ought to be very careful how they prevented what might possibly be their only outlet from worse misery. Then there was the point that if they remained in India they might be

even worse exploited than if they left India. He supposed there was a class question in India as elsewhere, and he did not know if there was any guarantee against the possibility that the high-class Indians might be in some degree influenced by the desire to get the cheap labour for themselves. They should try to apply to this system the utmost possible degree of publicity, to secure that the conditions of labour in the various Colonies were thoroughly understood, and that that knowledge filtered down to those who had to make the choice. In the next place, they should consider how far the British Government was in a position to guarantee and to enforce suitable protection; and here he thought they must draw a sharp line between the Crown Colonies and the Dominions. In the Crown Colonies this Government ought to be able to watch the interests of the immigrants, and to see that they got fair play. The matter was fully in our own hands, and it was only a question of whether we acted with sufficient energy in seeing that the planters were not allowed to exploit the labour that came in. In the Dominions it was otherwise, because, if we were to guarantee protection to Indians who had emigrated, we should be undertaking what was not in our power to fulfil. For any purpose like this their independence was absolute, and therefore we ought not to undertake to guarantee in any shape or form good treatment of Indians in the Dominions. That was entirely a matter for them to consider. Personally he did not agree with the "White Australia" cry; he thought it was a mistake, but it was not for us to interfere. At present all we could do was to hold our hands, and say we could not advise emigration to the Dominions. It was for them to say what the attractions were, and for the Indians themselves to say whether those attractions were sufficient.

LORD LAMINGTON: I fully share the views pronounced by our Chairman with regard to the question of a White Australia. Coming down to the other points raised in the paper, I think we are all in agreement with Mr. Polak that indentured labour is a mistake even in regard to the Crown Colonies. If you finally dispose of that on that basis, there remains only the question of Indian emigration. I understand from Sir Valentine Chirol that he is opposed to any Indian emigration, as also is Mr. Polak, but I think that is rather too sweeping. The questions of indentured labour and voluntary emigration are really very far apart, and indentured labour might be disposed of as being infinitesimal. I have no idea myself what the numbers are, except as stated in the paper (the numbers of voluntary emigrants I don't know). In any case I cannot see why it should be deprecated that Indians should go to those countries where their own kith and kin are in very large numbers, and where they would be practically at home with them, and where they would find means of practising their own religions; I think it would be a great deprivation, unless there should be something very strong to be said against it, that there should be any obstacle put in the way of voluntary Indian emigration. Of course, they should be properly cared for in these Colonies, and they should be perfectly free people. I agree with the lecturer that the demand for labour in India is so great, and, with regard to the point raised by

Sir Roland Wilson as to whether they would better themselves by remaining in India, I think it should be left entirely to their own discretion. I suppose they would not go unless they were satisfied that they would better their condition by going to these Colonies. If the demand for labour has been so great, there can only be special conditions which would induce Indians to leave India at the present time.

With these few remarks, I am very glad indeed to have had the opportunity of hearing this paper, and I believe that Mr. Polak has usefully ventilated a subject which on the whole will be of great interest to the people in this country and in India.

The Rev. P. M. ALDOUS said that his connection with this great problem came from a knowledge of South Africa for some years. He was glad to testify that Mr. Gokhale was well received on his visit to South Africa, which occurred whilst he was there. He would thoroughly like to endorse what the Chairman had said, because his words fitted in with the experience of anyone who looked on this problem in South Africa from a dispassionate point of view. He would like to say he had been most intensely interested in the paper. It was most illuminating, and its high tone and wisdom gave one the desire to go away and think over it very carefully. He had an old friend out in India, who had worked a good deal as a missionary, called Andrews—a man who was loved by those who were non-Christians. He was, he thought, mentioned in the paper. He felt that the paper gave them great food for thought, and showed a way out of the problem which was very helpful. He thought it was emphatically a question for the people of India themselves. It was a revelation to him to know that India could do with the whole of its own people. If so, it was not necessary to use any influence to get them to leave their country. On the other hand, he felt he was doubtful about saying that they should not be allowed to leave if they wished to do so; it was essentially a question for those on the spot. As a clergyman who had worked for many years overseas, he said that he thoroughly sympathized with Mr. Polak in what he said on page 14. Much as he would like him and all men to be what he (the speaker) was—that is, Christians—he felt that it was necessary for them to watch against any sense of injustice amongst the people of India. They ought not to be put into a position, nor encouraged to get into a position, where they might feel they were unfairly the objects of missionary enterprise.

Mr. BENNETT, in proposing a vote of thanks to Lord Carmichael and to Mr. Polak, said they welcomed Lord Carmichael for this, amongst other reasons: he had satisfied their conviction that every statesman who had held high office in India ought to join the Association within twenty-four hours of landing in England, and should accept the first opportunity that offered itself of coming to preside over one of its meetings. (Laughter.) The paper that Mr. Polak had read had evidently met with the warm appreciation of the audience. He himself had been the more interested in it as he had met Mr. Polak a little more than twelve months ago, when he had the pleasure of hearing him speak at Lucknow from the Congress platform. Mr. Polak on that occasion showed his accomplishments as a

bomb-thrower as well as a speaker, for a confidential letter which he read in the hearing of 6,000 people created as much sensation as would be caused in this peaceful audience if some one were to read a confidential communication from M. Bolo to M. Caillaux. (Laughter.) He hoped Mr. Polak would not misunderstand him (the speaker) if he said that he had listened to him on the present occasion with vastly more pleasure than on the occasion referred to. He had dealt with a subject the importance of which could not be exaggerated, and it was not sufficiently realized how intensely the people of India felt on this subject of immigration. Anyone who had recently been in India would confirm him in saying that people who showed no interest whatever in ordinary politics had manifested a depth of feeling in regard to this question which had been shown in connection with no other. That is why he felt there was a danger that people in this country were not sufficiently alert to the intense feeling about this matter in India, and he did not think justice was likely to be done to that feeling if the settlement of the question were left exclusively in the hands of Departmental Committees in England. A Committee nominated by the India Office and the Colonial Office was not the best authority for saying the last word about it. In India at this time there was a revived self-consciousness and sensitiveness amongst the people which had to be taken into account. In Bombay recently a great meeting of women was held to protest against this system, and in view of the reluctance of the women of India to thrust themselves into prominence, this was most significant. In conclusion, he hoped they would pass with acclamation the vote of thanks to Lord Carmichael for presiding, and to Mr. Polak for his admirable paper. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. NICHOLSON said that he had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. He was quite sure they would give it a very warm and cordial reception—first of all to the Chairman, for presiding, and for the lead he had given in the discussion which followed the reading of the paper. He could not add very much to what had been said on a subject which must appeal to everyone. It was a matter of Imperial interest, and it was a most important matter that would have to be dealt with after the war, when they were able to consider these questions quietly and seriously. The difficulties were very great; one was the difficult question of colour, which affected the people of Australia and other parts of the Empire; but that question had got to be faced. The colour question must no longer be a bar to free intercourse between all parts of the Empire. That was one of the most difficult questions they had to overcome, but no doubt, by ventilating the subject, as it had been ventilated to-day, they would go a long way towards finding a satisfactory solution.

The LECTURER : My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I came here to-day expecting to merit the V.C., or the Albert Medal at least, because I did not expect the views that I have propounded would be so acceptable as they have proved to be. It is a matter of great encouragement to find that that is so, because I can do without the V.C. or the Albert Medal, but you cannot do without the retention of your sense of honour, and this you can only retain by putting an end to this horrible system of labour exporta-

tion from India. I am not objecting to voluntary individual emigration in a spirit of enterprise, but I object to its being systematized by recruitment, so that it comes under some kind of official organization, as if Indian labour were a marketable commodity for export. That is what is highly objectionable from everyone's point of view, and particularly from the point of view of yourselves and myself as British subjects, people who are proud of the highest ideals of the Empire, and who do not like to see the Empire dishonoured by this kind of system.

Sir Valentine Chirol seems to have thought that some misapprehension might be aroused by a casual sentence in my paper in regard to Mr. Gokhale's visit, and I fancy the Rev. Mr. Aldous had the same feeling. As I had the honour of being the first person to announce his visit to South Africa from the Congress platform at Calcutta in 1911, I am hardly likely to have wanted to do him any injustice. On the contrary, I know that very many of my friends, and he also, felt that they had built up a very fine basis of friendship with him during his visit, which did an immense amount of good. But I would like to say that the popular feeling, as distinct from the particular feeling of individuals in regard to Mr. Gokhale, was that he was a "coolie" leader, because you must remember that in South Africa the generic term for Indians is not "Indians," but "coolies."

Sir Roland Wilson has asked what would happen to the 7,500 people if they were not allowed to go to these Colonies. Well, apart from the fact that very many of them are duped into leaving their ordinary occupations in India, there are many other ways in which they can be used. With a population of 315,000,000, there would not be much difficulty in absorbing these 7,500. If they must emigrate, however, Ceylon is next door, and Burma is a part of India politically, and there are other parts to which they can go. With regard to what is meant by surplus population, I have a map here, from the atlas of the Imperial Gazetteer of India, which shows that three-quarters of India has a population density of less than 200 per square mile. Only one part of India is really congested, and that is the Ganges Valley. The rest of India is susceptible of carrying a greater population than it does with proper distribution, and it ought not to be difficult to absorb these 7,500 people in various parts of India. It is a fact that many industries are clamouring for labour. Take the great Tata organization, of which some of us heard a good deal the other day. After three or four years of enterprise, from a small village-community at Sakchi of about 300, they now have a population of something like 30,000 to 40,000, and in a few years time they estimate that they will have a population of 150,000, so that it ought not to be difficult to absorb these few people in some such industry as that. It must be remembered that there is no recruiting with them. Tatas do not send round recruiters, but they pay their people decently, and give them decent conditions of life. They come on to the market, and pay their workers the open market rate of wages, in addition to which they offer material advantages which enable them to get the pick of the labour market in India.

The name of Mr. Andrews has been mentioned. We do not fully appreciate what we owe to Mr. Andrews for his self-sacrificing mission to Fiji, in 1915, in company with Mr. Pearson, with the revelations he made of the conditions there. Even now those conditions have not very materially improved. I see in the *Western Pacific Mail* that there is a leading article showing that a Government employee, an Indian, who had been maimed for life, had been given the magnificent sum of £2 10s. as compensation for the loss of his complete activities. That indicates the value attached in Fiji to the life of an Indian labourer. Mr. Andrews really did a great service in making these revelations, and we are in honour bound to see that his efforts bear full fruit. I agree with Sir Roland Wilson that the mere fact of having Indian protection is no absolute guarantee that the labourers will get the best possible treatment. They certainly do not get it under the present system of protection, and I say that the educated Indian, who is in a position to see the system in the clearest light, is quite as good a man as anybody else to protect the Indian labourer if he should go abroad. It should not be assumed that he will be no better than the Colonial protector, and he certainly ought to be given his opportunity. In any case the protector should be an Indian official.

In conclusion, I should very much like to thank you for what has fallen from so many people here to-day, and also for the kind vote of thanks.

The CHAIRMAN : Someone said it was my duty to come and preside at such a meeting as this. Well, it is a very pleasant duty, but now my duty is to close the meeting.

The proceedings then terminated.

HOW INDIA HELPED TO STEM THE TIDE

By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ALFRED TURNER, K.C.B.

THE publication of "The Indian Corps in France,"* the authors of which are the Right Honble. Sir Frederick Smith, the Attorney-General of to-day, and Lieut.-Colonel Merewether, C.I.E., of the Indian Army, was most timely and necessary in justice to the splendid deeds of the Indian Corps in France, over which the fog of war has floated far too long, owing to the extraordinary secrecy which has prevailed since the beginning of the war as to the doings of our heroic armies in the field, and as to those of our Navy on the deep, and which has led fertile and timorous imaginations to conjure up all sorts of circumstances and situations that have never existed. The people of Great Britain are, as a rule, level-headed and non-emotional, and can bear the news of success and even of reverses without any display of hysteria. Take, for instance, the sensational placard which appeared on a Sunday afternoon in August, 1914—"Can the British Army be saved?"—which could only mean that it was exceedingly doubtful whether it could be snatched from the clutches of the encircling Huns. No feeling of alarm or depression was expressed; it only

* "The Indian Corps in France" (dedicated to H.M. the King-Emperor), by Lieut.-Colonel J. W. B. Merewether, C.I.E., and the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Smith, with an Introductory Chapter by Earl Curzon of Kedleston. John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.

steeled those who read it to the thought that though the war was going to be far more serious and difficult than up to that time had been supposed, Germany must be fought to the bitter end. This memorable Sunday was one of those days during the memorable retreat from Mons to Le Cateau, when our "contemptible little army," the small Expeditionary Force under Field-Marshal Sir John (now Lord) French, held back the huge hordes of Von Kluck's Huns, who, blooded with the slaughter of Belgian women and children, were rushing, as they thought, victoriously and irresistibly on Paris, there to perpetrate similar crimes and atrocities. In this instance, for some reason that it passeth the wit of man to discover, the censorship departed from their usual course, and allowed a message from a newspaper correspondent at the front to be published and spread broadcast, which on people made otherwise than those of Great Britain might have had a most depressing and alarming effect.

"The first seven divisions,"* whose glorious deeds have been so admirably described by Lord Ernest Hamilton in his work with that most appropriate title, by their heroic resistance to the flowing tide of the enemy, saved Paris, blew to the winds the claim of invincibility of the German Army, and enabled the French Army to come up on the left and give the enemy their severe defeat on the Marne. Never in the whole history of the world have more glorious deeds of valour been performed against such monstrous odds and such a perfectly overwhelming strength of artillery. The world saw that in spite of forty years' preparation, which had been hurried on with feverish activity for the last decade, the bragging Hun was no match whatever for the British soldier, though every circumstance was in his favour, and though he outnumbered him five to one. But, as Lord Ernest Hamilton writes: "The first Expeditionary Force is no more, and

* "The First Seven Divisions," by Lord Ernest Hamilton. Hurst, Blackett, Ltd. 6s.

of the bronzed, cheery men who sailed in August, 1914, one-third lie under the sod of France and Flanders."

As the records of the Greeks at Marathon and of the 300 Spartans at Thermopylæ have lasted up to to-day, and will last till the end of the world, so will the deeds of that small but incomparable Expeditionary Force be handed down to posterity for endless years as those of men who sacrificed themselves to save their country from the hideous barbarism which threatened the world.

Terribly weakened and shaken as the British force was, it was called upon to do further deeds of heroism side by side with our glorious French Allies, against the ever-increasing hordes, whose efforts were now directed on Calais, since they had failed to rush Paris. Reinforcements were unavoidably long in coming to their relief; the Territorial force, the conception and organization of which were due to Lord Haldane and his Army Council, to whom the deepest gratitude of the Empire is due, had to be mobilized, and Lord Kitchener's new army was in embryo. Then came the time when the Indian Force played its heroic part in the salvation of the Empire, and in thwarting the base and treacherous projects of Germany, who has accomplished nothing of that which she set out to gain by going to war. The contemplated sudden conquest of France in preparation for that of England has resulted merely in the crushing of poor little Belgium and the occupation of some French territory.*

The Indian Corps, under the command of that most distinguished soldier, General Sir James Willcocks, consisted of two divisions, the Lahore and the Meerut, under Generals H. B. Watkin and C. A. Anderson, which embarked at Kirachi and Bombay respectively on August 24 and September 21, 1914. The first troops to land on September 26 at Marseilles, where everything had been provided and made ready for them by the advanced party under Colonel T.

* Since this was written, the amazing collapse^o of Russia, due to the infamous revolution, has placed her neck under the foot of the Hun.

Fraser, which had worked with the greatest skill and energy, were the Lahore Division and part of the Indian Cavalry Corps. They were greeted with wild enthusiasm by the French people, and remained at Marseilles till September 30, when they were entrained, and arrived at the place of concentration, Orléans, on October 3. Leaving Orléans on October 18, they arrived at the Front on October 20, and immediately after took their share in the first battle of Ypres, where the Germans time after time attacked in huge masses, with partial and temporary success here and there. The Indians, who lost heavily, especially in officers, vied with their European brothers in gallantry, and caused terrible losses to the foe, showing that man for man they were superior. The Lahore Division further took a substantial part in the bloody battles of Givenchy, Neuve Chapelle, Festubert, and Loos, in all of which it gained fresh laurels, and added to its noble work in the service of the King-Emperor.

The Meerut Division disembarked at Marseilles on October 11, and finished its concentration at Orléans on October 22, arriving at the Front on October 29. With it were the Indian Princes the Maharajas Sir Pertab Singh, Jodhpur, Bikanir, some of those distinguished Chiefs who one and all gave proof of their great loyalty to the Empire in the hour of her danger. Germany had, in her arrogance and ignorance, long looked for a wholesale mutiny and rising in India, believing that Great Britain was involved in serious difficulties, and to this end she had long worked with her usual treachery, spending money broadcast in bribery. Her pains and her money were expended in vain, for, with the exception of a battalion at Singapore, which was heavily bribed by German agents there and assured that Admiral Von Spee's squadron, afterwards destroyed by Admiral Sturdee at the Falkland Islands, was at hand, and also a large number of transports with German troops, no Indian troops proved false to their salt. The mutiny at Singapore was serious enough—many Europeans were

murdered—but it was quickly suppressed, most valuable aid being given by the marines and bluejackets from the warships of our gallant ally Japan, whose services in this war have been invaluable in the Far East and in escorting our troops, Indian and Colonial, to Marseilles, and in holding the Eastern seas.

The Meerut Division arrived at the Front on October 26 and took over a portion of the line; an attack was made on them by the enemy the same night. The division took a great part in the battles of Neuve Chapelle, Festubert, and Loos, and everywhere won honour and renown. The number of decorations bestowed on the Corps gives an idea of what their services were. The Victoria Cross was awarded to Naik (Corporal) Darwan Singh Negi, to Rifleman Gobar Singh Negi, Sepoy Khudadad Khan, Rifleman Kulbir Thapa, Subadar Mir Dast, and to the British officers Lieutenants De Pass (killed) and J. G. Smyth. A very large number of other decorations, from the Bath to the Order of British India, were worthily bestowed, to give a list of which space fails me; but I have said enough to show the valour of our Indian troops. The first of them landed on September 30, 1914, and the last embarked at Marseilles for other theatres of war on December 26, 1915.

It was felt that they could not be called upon to go through another terrible winter in France; many had doubted the wisdom of bringing, at the beginning of winter, Oriental troops into such a climate, under circumstances quite new to them, to undergo such terrible hardships as were inevitable in fighting so far away from home, against the most bloodthirsty, savage, and treacherous soldiers of the strongest, best prepared, best organized army that the world ever saw. Some 500,000 men, British and Indian, have, as stated in the book, left India since the war began, and Indian troops have fought for the Empire in France, Egypt, at Aden, on the Suez Canal, in the terrible and ill-judged Gallipoli exploit, in East and West Africa, and in

Mesopotamia. Utterly unprepared in every sense for such a war, the Empire has been saved by the devotion of her sons, coloured as well as white, who with their blood have redeemed the errors, neglect, and blindness of politicians, many of whom, had they had their way, would have reduced our armed strength by land and sea, and so given us over an easy prey to the most ambitious, cruel, and malignant power ever heard of in history.

The casualties among the Indian troops were enormous. The two Indian Divisions which landed at Marseilles in September and October, 1914, numbered about 24,000 men. Probably reinforcements arrived to make good the wastage of war; of this I have no record. The casualties of the Indian units were :

	Killed.	Wounded	Missing	Other Deaths.	Total.
British officers	150	294	49	3	496
" other ranks	4	34	—	9	47
Indian officers	103	336	50	6	495
" other ranks	2,345	14,221	3,148	661	20,375
Total ...	2,602	14,885	3,247	679	21,413

Such losses have the Indian troops suffered in the service of the King-Emperor and Empire, for the honour and integrity of that Empire, and for the preservation of those that dwell in these Islands from the horrors of a German invasion. We all know now what that means; we know of the unspeakable crimes of cruelty and bestiality committed in Belgium, France, and wherever their trail can be followed; we know that they have promised that when they invade us the crimes they have committed in other countries will be nothing to what they will perpetrate on our people. Let us ever bear this in mind, and offer our grateful thanks to those who have preserved our people from these brutal Huns, and let us pray that the union of West and East may be firmly and for ever cemented by the blood that

both have shed so freely side by side fighting in a glorious cause.

It is many years since I served on the North-Western Frontier of India with Indian troops ; among them were the 15th Sikhs, who have fought so valiantly in the present war against the enemies of humanity. In those far-off days I formed the highest opinion of them. In 1913 I was in North Borneo, where I inspected the Military Police Force, some 800 strong, which is composed of Sikhs and Pathans, most of whom had served in the Indian Army. This force has done admirable work in suppressing risings among native tribes from time to time, and is highly disciplined and efficient ; it is a good sample of Indian troops.

I cannot do better than conclude this article by quoting the following from the introduction of this book, by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, one of the really great Viceroys of India, who, to the great regret of that country, resigned his position, because, with the true eye of a statesman, he fore-saw the disadvantages and disapproved of certain changes in Army organization, which pleased a few and displeased the vast majority in India, British and Indian. Lord Curzon writes :

“ That this record should have been compiled seems entirely right and just. That it will stand forth as one of the most radiant chapters in the glorious history of the Indian Army is certain. That it will act as a stimulus to the martial spirit and loyalty of India for generations to come cannot be doubted. Nor will it be less a source of congratulation to the readers that the Indian Army will, in more ways than one, receive a well-merited recognition of its great achievement.”

THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM

By A. MONTEFIORE

HISTORICAL ENTRY

THE manner in which General Allenby entered Jerusalem is—next to the capture of the Holy City itself—the most significant feature of this terrible war. Curiously enough, however, the great event has attracted comparatively small attention, and the only reason which can be assigned to this almost apparent indifference is that all the great nations are in the throes of agony, inseparable from every terrible conflict. The capture of Berlin, however much to be desired, would doubtless rend the throats of all allied peoples, and some neutral also—nay, more, from the Germans themselves, other than the Junkers; but from the point of view of historical interest, it would pale into insignificance compared with the capture of Jerusalem. The event would prove nothing more than a nine days' wonder, Germany would be on her knees, and the world would then go on its way as it did after the Napoleonic era.

In the case of Jerusalem this cannot be said. Ever since the dark ages, Jerusalem has been a city apart from all others. It has never been regarded from a materialistic standpoint. Even in the heyday of its prosperity, commercialism was never a feature. If its Temple was latterly used for abominable purposes, it was not because of any industrial proclivities, but rather through the casting away of the primary *raison d'être* of the existence of the Holy City—religion.

THE HOLY CITY—FAITH

Take religion away from Jerusalem, and nothing of interest remains. This cannot be said of any other city in the world. It is true that Jerusalem on more than one occasion has been almost divorced from religion, but never quite. Just when it seemed as if the last hope had gone of saving religion for the world, miraculously a turn of events occurred and "divorce" was averted. Appalling as is the slaughter in this present war, nothing could ever have been so appalling as the slaughter of religion. Jerusalem stands for religion, and religion is faith—faith in the sense that prevents people from being swayed from their belief in God when the silver lining of the clouds is entirely obscured.

Unconsciously, General Allenby acted with faith in his capture of Jerusalem. From a military point of view, his duty was to have captured the Holy City in the least possible time and with the least possible loss of life of the troops under his command. Instead, however, he took circuit action so as not to damage a single stone of the greatest historical city in the world's annals, and crowned his triumph by entering the city on foot, not in the manner of a conqueror, but with reverent step and mien, which had their reflection in remarkable native outbursts of joy. If—God forbid!—the Germans had captured Jerusalem, it would have been over the dead bodies of women and children, with ruin and devastation scattered in their wake. The natives, too, would have fled at their approach, as if in a flight from leprosy; but, as is now known, the natives flocked to greet General Allenby and his brave troops with unfeigned joy, bestrewing their path with flowers. There, again, the natives showed their faith in the future, realizing as they did that by General Allenby's capture freedom had come to them at last.

UNIQUE CAPTURE—SIGNIFICANCE

Too much importance can never be attached to this aspect of the capture of Jerusalem. It is an object-lesson to the whole world which no theorizing nor argument can ever undermine. For nearly two thousand years Palestine has been under the heel of conquerors. Each has given way to the other by force of arms, only differing in degree and time ; but here is the unique and wonderful phenomenon of Palestine being captured by the British, and offered by them to the Jews to be their future national home. Only the duller intellect can fail to realize the full significance of this action, foretold by Moses four thousand years ago, and amplified by the utterances of other prophets. Four thousand years is a very substantial period of the world's history, but certainly more than sufficient to demonstrate the reality of and necessity for faith. It is an indispensable factor in human existence, and its cultivation is the greatest need of the hour.

Since the second fall of Jerusalem, the Jews have gone through sufferings and hardships unparalleled among any other peoples. Only faith has pulled them through it all. Since the early advent of the Jews, numerous nations have come and gone. The Canaanites, the Amorites, the Jebusites, the Hittites, the Perizites, the Amalakites, the Assyrians, the Egyptians of old, and numerous other races are as extinct as the gods ; but despite the fact that the Jews have been scattered all over the world, they alone among those ancient peoples have survived. Nothing but faith could have pulled them through. Many Jews during their dispersion have seceded from their people. In their cases, the loss of faith was responsible for their secession. Secession from faith is not a difficult task. On the contrary, it is wonderfully easy of accomplishment. It is adherence to faith which is difficult, but nothing worth achieving in life is easy.

FAITH—HISTORICAL SURVEY

Less than six months ago, few people would have dared to assert that within a few weeks such a momentous declaration by the British Government as “ Palestine for the Jews ” would have been possible, and yet the declaration is now a matter of history. True that its real significance has not yet been grasped, but time and events are marching on nevertheless.

To understand this significance, it is necessary to appreciate public sentiment in the days when Abraham first declared his belief in God. Only Faith could have enabled him to confront the whole world alone in his belief, and also during the ten great trials of his life ; but even he had his periods of doubt, notwithstanding, particularly when he withheld from Pharaoh and Abimelech the fact that Sarah was his wife. Judgment, however, must not be too harsh upon Abraham for this delinquency. It must be borne in mind that in those days men and women cohabited with the beasts of the field, and brute force was paramount.

Faith animated Jacob when he went to sojourn in the land of Egypt to meet his long-mourned son, and faith animated Joseph when by his foresight he saved the world from a terrible famine. If faith had been the guiding star of British statesmen, Joseph’s example would have been emulated before the war, with great profit and appreciation. Faith inspired Moses when he organized the great exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt, and by his courage he thus taught the world the first great lesson in the struggle for freedom. If democracy had only realized sooner how much they owed to Moses for his great blow to tyranny, civilization at the present time would be on a firmer and better basis.

DECALOGUE TRIUMPHS OVER MOLTEN CALF

Moses, however, with all his greatness, staggered under his burden, and for a moment lost faith when he smote the rock for water ; but so great is the value of faith to mankind that God, in order to emphasize this fact, punished Moses to a degree which, cursorily, seemed out of all proportion to his offence, by preventing him from entering the promised land. What this denial must have meant to Moses few people could possibly realize, but it had a dramatic effect upon his followers in binding them for all time to the observance of the Decalogue and the Levitical Laws, at a period when it seemed as if these laws had been burnt in the Molten Calf at the foot of Mount Sinai. Since then, time and again, the Molten Calf has come into being, and just when it seemed that God and Faith had given place in worship to the Molten Calf, a great upheaval has taken place, and has continued until faith has once more come into its own.

In all these great upheavals, Palestine has proved the central magnet to all civilized peoples, and by its magnetism has served to arrest the maddening crowds from social extinction.

As an agricultural region, Palestine has no great attraction. It has no great known mineral deposits. There are climes and soils far better and richer than those of Palestine, but none have the magnetic attraction of the Holy Land. Although situated, as it is, in the centre of the world's map, most of its great cities have gone to wreck and ruin. In many parts its neglected soil has become a barren waste, little better than the Sahara. During the past forty or fifty years many geologists and agricultural experts have pronounced the land as being practically beyond redemption for practical development, due firstly to the poor production which the Arab natives obtain from the soil under their cultivation, and secondly to the organized effort on the part of a German colony to reclaim barren soil. The cost of an irrigation

scheme was also considered prohibitive, and that, combined with Turkish misrule and the lack of transport facilities, were sufficient to proclaim Palestine unfitted to support a large population. Faith was no guiding factor in these calculations. Man's knowledge alone prevailed.

MATERIALISM WITHOUT FAITH NEVER SURVIVES

But if faith was absent in these calculations, it was present in another. About twenty years ago there began to be organized and fanned into flame the dormant hopes of a return to Palestine by many Zionist Jews. Numbers of Jews did not, and even now do not, share this hope, but despite their opposition, the Zionist Movement has grown into a formidable body, and at last they have had the incalculable satisfaction of a British Government declaration which has found a spontaneous echo throughout the world.

Even while agricultural experts were pronouncing the doom of Palestine's future, and even while the German colonists in Palestine were experiencing their blasted hopes, a body of Jews banded themselves together, and after vicissitudes that would have discouraged giant optimists, these Jewish colonists succeeded in establishing themselves on the land—the majority of them lacking even elementary farming knowledge. At present there are forty-five Jewish colonies flourishing in Palestine—a living testimony to the triumph of faith, in contradistinction to man's materialistic searchings, which have failed.

But if the restoration of the Jews to Palestine is an indisputable triumph for that people, it should not be supposed that the Holy Land and its wonderful historical object-lessons are for the benefit of that much persecuted people only. They will be merely the custodians of the land of their forefathers, and having regard to their ancient heritage it is only right that they should be entrusted with its future development.

PALESTINE FOR ALL PEOPLES

Palestine, however, is for all peoples—a central beacon for the light of faith. There every race will find its salvation in spirit and draw from it inspiration and hope until such times as civilization will have blended all races into a oneness of purpose culminating in that universal brotherhood of man to which end let us pray that (through Palestine) come it may—aye,

“ It’s coming yet for a’ that,
That man to man, the world o’er,
Shall brothers be for a’ that.”

THE WITHERED ROSE

(AFTER JAMMI)

SWEET object of the Zephyr’s kiss,
Come, rose, come courted to my bower ;
Mine eyes’ delight ! thou garden’s bliss !
Come and abash yon flaunting flower.

Why call us to revokeless doom ?
With grief the opening buds reply.
Not suffered to extend our bloom ;
Scarce born, alas ! before we die !

Man having passed appointed years,
Ours are but days—the scene must close !
And when Fate’s messenger appears,
What is he but a Withered Rose ?

IKBAL ALI SHAH.

MILITARY NOTES

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

ON COUNCILS OF WAR

A COUNCIL is an instrument for dividing authority and for evading responsibility, and as such is favoured by the politician and condemned by the soldier. Napoleon never called a council of war, nor did Wellington ; Clive consulted one once, and only once, and if he had abided by its decision we might never have become the rulers of India.

The military policy of the Quadruple Alliance is not directed by a joint council, but by the German General Staff. The methods of Autocracy and of Democracy in the prosecution of this war are in striking contrast. In Germany the military authorities take charge, and the civil power plays second fiddle ; in Britain the civil authorities are at the head. When things go wrong in Germany, they change their Chancellors ; when things don't seem to be going right in Great Britain, we change our Admirals and Generals.

WAR AIMS

The unexpected always happens. The almost unbelievable and yet irretrievable collapse of the military power of Russia has changed the whole political situation in Europe. Germany has now gained all that she hoped to gain by the war. She went to war to break the power of Russia and to frustrate the schemes of the Panslavists, who dreamed of establishing a great confederacy of all the Slav nations under the hegemony of Russia, and of liberating the Poles, Czechs, Ruthenians, and Croats from the Austro-Hungarian yoke. Germany, on the other hand, aimed at extending

her sway over the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula, with a view to opening a road into Asia. The first step towards this end was the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in violation of the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin. The next step was the Austrian attack upon Serbia in 1914, which led to the inevitable intervention of Russia and gave Germany the desired opportunity for declaring war. Thus the war had its origin in the mutual antagonism of the Teutonic and the Slavonic nations, and their rival claims to supremacy in South-Eastern Europe. Germany only attacked France because she knew that France would come to the help of Russia, and she only attacked Belgium because through that country lay her easiest road for attacking France. The strategic plans of the German General Staff were designed to crush France by a smashing blow, involving the capture of Paris (the intervention of Great Britain was not expected, nor provided for), to be followed by the concentration of the main German and Austrian armies on the Russian frontiers.

What has happened is exactly the opposite of these expectations. France was not crushed, owing to two unexpected factors : the resistance offered by the Belgians and the aid afforded by the British. But Russia has fallen, not from the blows of the enemy, but from the feebleness of her rulers and the folly of her populace. Their conduct reminds one of the madness of the Jewish factions, as related by Josephus, fighting with each other like devils in the streets of Jerusalem while the Roman legions were thundering at the gates of the city.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES

For a time, at least, the Empire of Peter the Great is dissolved, and its fairest provinces have passed into the hands of the Germans, who will claim, as they did in the case of Alsace-Lorraine, that they are only getting back their own. For these provinces were conquered and colonized by the Teutonic Knights, the Schwerdt-Brüder, or Brethren of the Sword, who after the failure of the

Crusades directed their zeal and their energy to the conquest of the lands and the conversion of the souls of the heathen Wends and Livonians. These four provinces of Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, and Estonia, were inhabited by the Letts and other aboriginal tribes who had been pressed back by the Slavonic invasion to the shores of the Baltic Sea. They became hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Knights, who Christianized them at the sword's point. But the Poles in the south and the Swedes in the north disputed the right of the Knights to the possession of their booty, and it was from Sweden that Peter the Great wrested the Baltic provinces after he had defeated Charles XII. at Pultowa. The aristocracy and the middle classes of these provinces are German by descent and speak the German language, and therefore will not object to the transfer of their territory and their allegiance from the Czar to the Kaiser. For two centuries they have been loyal subjects of the Russian Crown, and they furnished a large proportion of its best officers to the Russian army, as the names of Todtleben, Kaufmann, and many others, testify. But latterly they have been alienated by the stupid policy of attempted Russification inaugurated by Alexander III., and they are quite ready to fall into the arms of Germany. As for the Letts, who form the mass of the population, they are already accustomed to the domination of German masters, and it will make but little difference to their lot under which flag they serve.

The Germans, having once got these lands into their possession, are not likely to resign them, and they thereby become masters of the Baltic, and can isolate Russia altogether from the outside world, for all access by way of the south is in the hands of Germany's obedient vassal, Turkey. It may therefore be expected that Germany, having got all she wants on her Eastern front, will be more anxious than ever to finish the war on her Western front, where she cannot hope for any decisive success or any territorial aggrandizement, and where all that she is now fighting for is the retention of Alsace and Lorraine. It is possible that

another revolution in Russia might bring into power a party with an anti-German policy ; but the disunion of the people and the disorganization of the army would prevent any resumption of effective hostilities.

Some people hold to the opinion that Lenin and Trotsky are honest fanatics ; others suspect that they are paid by Germany to betray their nation and their country, and that their feeble opposition to the German demands was simply a mask designed to blind the eyes of the Russian people to their treachery. One can only say, if they are not traitors, they must be fools.

THE JEWS AND PALESTINE

Jericho has fallen to the blast of British bugles, as it fell three thousand years ago to the blare of the ram's-horn trumpets of Joshua's army. General Allenby's forces are now within two hundred miles of Damascus. Should he continue his victorious advance northward, and General Marshall at the same time move up the Euphrates Valley, the converging columns would meet in the neighbourhood of Aleppo ; but the evacuation of Armenia by the Russian army will set free the whole military forces of the Ottoman Empire for the defence of Syria, and we should require a considerable accession of strength to defeat them.

The newly raised Jewish battalions of the London Regiment have been sent to reinforce General Allenby's army in Palestine, where it is hoped they may emulate the fame of their Maccabean ancestors. They are composed mostly of Russian and Polish Jews, and many, if not most of them, are unacquainted with the English language, a fact which adds materially to the difficulty of training them. They have the rooted dislike of the Jewish conscript to military service, but experience in the British army will probably change their views in this respect. The British-born Jews, for the most part, prefer to serve in English regiments, preferring the company of Christians to that of their own coreligionists of foreign extraction.

THE GROTESQUE IN CHINESE ART¹

BY GERALD WILLOUGHBY-MEADE

IN placing the following notes before the members of the China Society, it is necessary to explain that the writer has not lived in China, and is not an expert in art criticism. It has been deemed advisable, therefore, to be very careful in the statement of matters of fact, in the hope that those present may find it worth their while to discuss—and amend, where necessary, with some forbearance—the writer's conclusions.

The first impression created by much Chinese art-work upon the unaccustomed European eye is one of "grotesqueness." I shall ask you to accept the word "grotesque" in its commonly used sense, as meaning "whimsical or humorous in line," as implying a deliberate use of exaggeration or distortion, with a view to evoking an idea or emphasizing an impression.

I propose, further, to attempt some justification of this feeling on the part of the European, and of the fanciful use of their graphic powers on the part of the Chinese artists themselves, and to offer reasons for doing so.

What are the Chinese laws of design, and how do the Chinese obey them? In the works of Hsieh Ho, as translated by Professor Herbert Giles, they are thus expressed :

1. Rhythmic vitality.
2. Anatomical structure.

A paper read before the China Society at the School of Oriental Studies, London, on February 28, 1918, Lieutenant R. L. Hobson in the Chair.

3. Conformity with Nature.
4. Suitability of colouring.
5. Artistic composition.
6. Finish.

To make these more generally intelligible, Mr. Laurence Binyon has paraphrased them as below :

1. The spiritual rhythm expressed in the movement of life.
2. The art of rendering the bones or anatomical structure by means of the brush.
3. The drawing of forms which answer to natural forms.
4. Appropriate distribution of the colours.
5. Composition and subordination, or grouping according to the hierarchy of things.
6. The transmission of classic models.

We are given to understand that these six canons are of vital moment to all Chinese art-workers, although laid down chiefly for the guidance of painters. Different translators expand the sixth law in slightly different senses ; some would make it responsible for the ultra-skilled copying of stereotyped subjects or designs, others for technique in its generally accepted sense. The latter, in effect, is what it amounted to, as the recognized method of acquiring technique was to copy the great masters assiduously.

We can hardly even glance at these axioms without realizing how differently Asia and Europe have approached the problems of line and colour. We are at once prepared for an entirely alien point of view.

*At the outset it will be noticed that the canon of "suitable colouring" stands fourth on the list, yet to us the obvious thing is that the artists and craftsmen of China have been great colourists, even when they have seemed to us to break every other law of design.

Have we not all heard the legend of the Emperor who required his potters to reproduce the "blue of the sky after rain"? And how pieces of such pottery, broken and

scattered, were gathered up, to be mounted and worn as jewels? What other potters in the world have given us such blues, such reds, and such yellows? What fabrics, tinted and embroidered, have ever been treated with the daring yet faultless taste of the Chinese workers in silk? The discovery and manufacture of *cloisonné* alone should suffice to bring home to us the importance of colour to the Chinese. When we consider the endless patience and ingenuity which must have been expended in preparing and compounding the various metallic earths; the laborious pulverizing, painting, baking, polishing, and other processes gone through, in order to fill the minute chambers and channels wired on to a jar or vase with a brightly and harmoniously tinted design; when we contemplate this aspect of the work only, we are astounded at the tireless devotion, the heart-breaking drudgery, lavished in the cause of—colour.

On this subject there is no need to dwell any longer; but one may remark that a grotesque effect is much heightened by a superb colour contrast, and that fine tinting will often redeem a design, in our eyes, from ugliness, and make it merely quaint.

Another canon, a very important one to European artists—namely, “correct composition”—appears fifth on the list. But it is evidently thought much of by the Chinese also. Their way of arranging the component parts of a design is sufficiently well marked to catch the most untrained eye. We can see that it is intentional, even when we disagree with it; it may appear perverse, but it is clearly not due to clumsiness or carelessness.

A very little thought and observation will serve to modify this feeling of disagreement.

Ernest Fenollosa did not hesitate to describe all art as “harmonious spacing.”

He wrote these words after having devoted a lifetime to the arts of China and Japan, and after having examined, as Commissioner to the Japanese Government, numberless Chinese and other art objects in different parts of that empire; but one

does not require to have his enthusiasm and his vast experience to see how right is his *dictum*. The co-ordination of the colour and form masses, of the darks and the lights ; the empty spaces and the depicted objects in the design ; the elimination of the non-essential and the accentuation of the symbolic—all of these, I submit, are embraced by the term “composition.” And it is only of recent years that the wisdom of the Chinese artist has become known to us through his mastery of this branch of training.

Prior to our learning—or rediscovering—through him, the value of empty space, and of subduing the non-essential in design, our Western canons of composition did not save many of our masters from a restless, overcrowded manner, especially in the handling of the human figure. Dr. Bushell, curiously enough, in his “Handbook of Chinese Art,” criticizes the celebrated Han relics for their close and evenly crowded composition, and attributes their faultiness to the “primitive” horror of a vacuum. Modern British painters of the spectacular school, please note !

On this subject I propose to make a few observations later.

But what has all this to do with the “grotesque”? I submit that good composition may be, and generally is, a most powerful instrument for the presentation of a “grotesque,” inasmuch as it sets off and builds up the leading object of the design ; it gives strength and savour to ugly or even to bad drawing. By the judicious use of empty space, by suggesting, hinting, and understating generally, we get whimsicality of balance as well as of form ; we get emphasis as well as oddity.

One can now briefly turn to the first and greatest canon, the law which lays down strict attention to “rhythmic vitality.”

In Chinese art this will be found to be the supreme and universal criterion ; the others^{*} are subsidiary, and may sometimes be disregarded.

A design, whatever its subject, must show a justness, an equilibrium, a balance of forces, as in a living thing. Our

monster or demon, our fungus or rock, must embody an equation of oddities, a congruity of form, of position, and of symbolic meaning, sufficient to endow it with personality, even possibility ; the artist's idea is thus made clear and communicated to the spectator. By this means the weird and the impossible are animated by an uncanny life of their own ; they are made to give—apart from skilful composition—the impression that they are the offspring of a living mental image. In this sense, and within these limits, they become convincingly real. In view of what the critics have said upon this canon, I need not pursue the topic.

The sixth canon, which may be paraphrased as “the acquisition of correct technique from classic models,” is found to be obeyed in the victories gained by all classes of Chinese artists and craftsmen in successfully wrestling with refractory and fragile media ; in their amazing patience and manual skill ; and especially in the facility of draughtsmanship and profound intuition in colour arrangement already touched upon.

In connection with our present subject it may be remarked that the following of classic models keeps before the Chinese artist many strange and terrible conceptions of the early mythology, beast and demon forms of various kinds, an overpowering incentive to “grotesque” work.

The second and third canons, “anatomical structure” and “conformity with Nature,” bring us face to face with our subject.

Why, to the European eye, are these principles less regarded than any others, with so many “grotesque” results ?

The reasons, I believe, are numerous and far-reaching ; the results are, to a large extent, inevitable, and rightly so. Much Chinese work is, and should be, to us, “grotesque.”

Members of the Society who heard Dr. Steele's lecture on “Animism” will remember that the perception of a kind of spirit or vitality in almost everything is still a notable Chinese characteristic. No mythology or folklore of the world is richer in “monstrous”—that is, portentous or symbolic—animal forms.

As examples let me mention merely some of those referred to in another publication of the Society, "Symbolism in Chinese Art," by Major W. Perceval Yetts.

We have the *K'uei*, a conventional dragon-form found on the bronzes of the Chou Period, this creature being supposed to exercise a restraining influence against the sin of greed.

Then there is the *t'ao t'ieh*, translated by Dr. Legge as "glutton," standing for an embodiment of, and warning against, the vices of sensuality and avarice.

A kind of primitive dragon without horns or scales, the *ch'ih lung*, is still frequently reproduced.

The *t'an*, designated by the character for "avarice," is painted on the screen-wall in front of *Yamén*, no doubt as a warning to officials.

The phœnix called *fêng* or *chu niao*, a modified pheasant, associated with warm sunshine and abundant harvests.

The unicorn, *ch'i-lin*, a quadruped difficult to connect with any known animal. It was believed to appear on excessively rare and very auspicious occasions, and to show absolute benevolence to all living things.

The white tiger, who presided over the western quarter of the heavens; the tortoise entwined with a snake, the northern emblem; the three-legged crow, imagined to dwell in the sun; the poodle-like lion, a semi-Buddhist animal, guardian of the law and of sacred edifices; the dragon-horse, and more especially the many varieties of true dragon, must be cited.

Dragons are so important that perhaps I shall be forgiven for making a brief catalogue of those most frequently represented, which I shall borrow from Mr. Henri L. Joly's quotation of Gould's "Mythical Monsters."

The information given by the latter is translated from a Chinese encyclopædia. Thus:—

Four Dragon Kings are rulers over the four seas.

The Celestial Dragon presides over the mansions of the gods.

The Spiritual Dragon ministers to the rain.

The Earth Dragon marks out the courses of the rivers.

The Dragon of Hidden Treasures watches over the precious metals and stones buried in the earth.

Then we have the Dragon of Good Luck ; White, Fiery-Red, and Striped Dragons ; River-Dragons, two of whom were slain by a certain disciple of Confucius for trying to rob him of a valuable gem while he was crossing the Yellow River in a boat.

The list might be prolonged from other sources, but enough has been said to show what an inexhaustible store of subjects for odd and fantastic treatment is afforded by mythological monsters. Throughout the range of Chinese arts and crafts we meet dragons, varying much in beauty of line, but always spirited and fantastic in treatment. As an embodiment of the powers of water—the beneficent rain, the devouring sea, the awe-inspiring storm ; as a deity, a mascot, a badge, or a pictogram—everywhere we find the dragon : surely the very apotheosis of the “grotesque” !

How deeply and widely the dragon tradition has influenced Chinese life is shown even in landscape-gardening. The zigzag bridge is supposed to typify the dragon ; trees and shrubs are trimmed into the shape of dragons ; ponds are laid out in reptilian shapes ; the trunks of dwarfed and warped trees are likened to dragons. Other grotesque effects, in door and wall, are largely animistic ; evil spirits are said to be baffled by unexpected screens and devious paths ; they are exorcised by suddenly coming upon the pious but threatening effigies of guardian genii.

Grotesqueness, here, is more than an artistic fashion : it is almost a prayer.

This branch of the subject brings us to folklore as generally understood—another prolific mother of “grotesques.”

The late Sir Laurence Gomme enunciated a theory of the origins of folklore which seems to explain much that has hitherto been a puzzle. The chief sources of popular legend, in his view, are animism, upon which we have briefly touched

already, and the contact of races of different or unequal culture.

The Chinese people are of mixed origin, but their neighbours, however allied in blood, have for many centuries been civilized in a different and generally a much inferior degree. They and their neighbours alike have always been profoundly animistic in thought, although the forms of spirit-worship have developed differently ; for example, in Burmah, Siam, and Thibet. Confucius, as one might expect, disapproved mightily of such unbecoming puerilities. "Respect the spirits, but leave them alone," was his motto. Elsewhere he says that "Thought without learning is perilous," an axiom which has been interpreted as a warning against the indiscreet or indiscriminate practice of *yoga*, but in the writer's opinion is much more likely to refer to magical or spiritualistic reveries, considering the time in which he lived. Either way he emphasized the unknown or unknowable nature of the superphysical world.

Lao Tzū would have had the populace ignorant of all things that did not affect their physical well-being ; he would have had them indifferent to people who dwelt close at hand—close enough for the barking of their dogs to be heard !

What, then, could we expect the Chinese people to believe of neighbours whom they considered to be not worth knowing ?

The result, in China, as elsewhere, has been the unmerciful caricaturing of foreigners in popular legend. If they are wise or powerful, they are "devils" ; if they are barbarians, they are *man*, a character whose radical means "vermin." Many members will have seen Hokusai's "Mangwa," which embodies a collection of pictures showing what was the popular belief in Japan until recent years about people living in "foreign parts." Many of these types seem to have been founded upon a celebrated Chinese compilation of the fourteenth century, entitled "An Account of Strange Nations." Hokusai shows us men with immensely long legs or arms ; with yard-long ears ; with wings and beaks ; with tails ; with one arm and one leg only ; with detachable heads or hands, which fly about at night ; men with a third eye ; men with no

abdomen ; pygmies ; dog-headed and horse-legged men ; and so forth.

The "devils" of Chinese folk-mythology are by no means the purely spiritual intelligences to which we give the name in Europe. Devils marry and have children, are wounded and die. They are cunning, but can sometimes be deceived by the simplest trick. In fact, they are no more than uncanny, uncouth, grotesque people ; and, as such, how attractive a subject must they be for a facile draughtsman who is devoid of nerves and fond of his joke !

To put it briefly, folklore owes most of its vitality, if not its very existence, to animism and to ignorance of *other* folk ; and from both of these sources we get the "grotesque" in various forms.

Let us remember, too, the poverty of the general population. The mass of the people work hard all day and every day for a very modest living ; they leave school too young to carry away with them a sufficient stock of written characters for comfortable reading. Cheap and plentiful as books are in China, many people have no time and no money for books. What the non-reading population can learn, then, must be by way of oral tradition, from players and story-tellers, and from pictures and carvings of unmistakable meaning.

Here, then, in a ready market for exaggeration : humour, pathos, fear, in the strongest of colours and with the broadest emphasis.

Those who saw the charming production of "The Yellow Jacket" in London in 1913 can realize this to some extent. The most naïve exaggerations and the most "grotesque" devices were used to carry along the action ; the stage accessories were of the crudest description, and at times hindered rather than helped the play, from our point of view. The effect, to use Lafcadio Hearn's phraseology, was "of a startling and exceeding queerness" ; to feel that it was not utterly "grotesque," one would have to be contemporary with Shakespeare, and to see plays as he produced them.

The love of the marvellous, being universal, will be found

among the Chinese to the same extent, at least, as elsewhere. In fact, one might expect it to be more pronounced. Beneath the grave, impassive demeanour inculcated by good manners, the Chinese undoubtedly conceals a very intense nature, a capacity for the most violent emotion, and an imagination teeming with the weirdest fancies. His language is rich in superlatives and in words expressive of emotion ; and if art is, after all, self-expression, must one not expect to find that a man possessed of a highly emphatic tongue will be inclined to overstate his impression when his brush is in his hand ?

The Chinese attitude towards calligraphy—widest-known and most respected of the arts of China—tends to foster, in its own way, a leaning towards the “grotesque.”

The written characters, in their origin, are quaintly abbreviated pictures, and in popular tales it is related that they partake of the soul of the writer. Sometimes they come to life of themselves. Line has rhythmic vitality here if anywhere ; if “the letter killeth,” it does so by absorbing the life of the writer. The weird fascination of trying to write Chinese with the brush *more sinico* must be experienced to be understood. The characters have a certain structural quality, an odd kind of personality which no alphabetic script can possess, and are truly “grotesque.” (Incidentally, they are a great strain on the memory and upon a normal European wrist, and one’s best efforts look woefully lopsided and uneven when compared with the handwriting of a native-born Chinese.)

The Taoists have been, in certain ways, the arch-priests of Chinese “grotesque” art.

As quietists and contemplatives, their influence showed itself in the ascetic sobriety of colour notable in the work of the great Sung masters. They believed that their sages, by retiring to the wilds and living on weird and unnatural food, could attain a certain physical immortality, like the gnarled trees and jagged peaks with which they foregathered. Hence they are portrayed as wrinkled and seamed like oak-bark, and datelessly old, placidly gazing at the cloud or the waterfall, considering the grace of the flying stork, or the

shimmering of the moon upon a mountain lake. The lonely traveller is said to have come upon them suddenly, in the fastnesses of the hills, rooted like ancient trees, or looming, ghostly, through the mists. In subjects such as these the power of whimsical line has been so demonstrated by the great masters that it were almost frivolous to speak of their achievements as "grotesque." It would be like laughing at an iceberg or a sandstorm. The underlying idea is allowed to modify outward form to an extent which is sanctioned by Chinese convention, but not by ours; this, perhaps, is a fairer way of putting it.

In the later and baser forms of Taoism—forms which Lao Tzü would have scornfully disowned—in the child-like legends of alchemy, magic, and divination, which have grown around the great thinker and his disciples, we have a fruitful source of marvellous subjects for the graver and the brush. With these the indigenous and hardy products of the old animism have joined hands, receiving, later, a stimulus from the tantric or thaumaturgic side of Buddhism.

There is no room in a brief note of this kind to do justice to the effects of Buddhism upon grotesque art in China.

From one point of view it might be said that Buddhism completely overshadowed, if it did not displace—at any rate in the heyday of its glory—the "grotesque" element altogether.

The form of Mahayana Buddhism, that of the "Great Vehicle," which took root in China, is familiar enough to most members of the Society. Practically, certain of the Bodhisattva became personal gods; and the worship of these, with the keeping of the five Buddhist commandments, corresponded roughly with the services and moral laws of Christianity. How far the influence of the Syrian missions brought this about will, perhaps, never be known; nor can we tell, until much more research has been made, how far the translations and paraphrases of the Pali canon evoked, in the palmy days of the early Buddhist Emperors, philosophic commentaries and disquisitions, such as those which grew around the writ-

ings of Confucius and Lao Tzū. In the twentieth century, we are told, the Buddhist knows little, and cares less, what this or that Pali text may be twisted into meaning ; the *sūtra* is practically an incantation ; the prayer-wheel and the gong are magical devices of a protective character.

It must be noted, however, that the Græco-Indian art, as it is generally called, which came in with Buddhism, set before Chinese artists many models of great spiritual and physical beauty, especially in the figures of Amitabha and Kuan Yin. The fervour of the missionaries and converts gave a mighty stimulus to Chinese drawing and modelling, and the best European critics do not hesitate to rank the Græco-Buddhist school with those of Umbria and Florence before the Renaissance.

The "grotesque" is conspicuously absent.

It may be said that *composition* as well as subject was materially influenced by Buddhism, and we may very likely owe the delicacy and vigour with which empty space is used in Chinese art to Buddhist thought and feeling. There is a Mahayanist *sūtra*, translated by Max Müller in the "Sacred Books of the East," which embraces the following remarkable passages :

"Form is emptiness ; and emptiness is form."

"Emptiness is not different from form ; form is not different from emptiness."

"Perception, name, concept, and knowledge, are also emptiness."

Without going into the philosophy of these statements—the proposition that nothing really is anything—one cannot help remarking that a favourite *sūtra*, such as this is said to be, would be likely to carry considerable weight in a community which owed so many of its artistic impulses to Buddhism. A doctrine of emptiness could express itself admirably in faintly sketched mountain forms, fading into a misty, limitless sky ; in the waterfall, leaping down from a lonesome precipice to lose itself in a cloudy hollow ; in the sense of solitude, of helplessness in the spectator, as he is forced to realize that

the mighty crag, the impetuous flooded river, are, after all, "the baseless fabric of a vision."

This dignified, if somewhat pessimistic aspect of Buddhism is brought home to one in Chinese and Japanese art as it never was in the actual birthplace of the Buddhist movement ; and, however false its interpretation of the universe, it was grand and gloomy, but never grotesque.

On the other hand, we have Buddhist work dealing with the four Deva Kings ; with Yama, Judge of the Dead, and the sentences promulgated by him ; with imps, *prētas*, and other ghosts, and devils of every kind.

With characteristic elasticity, Buddhism, on reaching China, swallowed, undigested, animism and Taoism alike, having incidentally picked up the demonologies of Northern India and Tibet on the way. The law of Karma embraced in its wide meshes every type of possible and impossible being ; the continuity of "Becoming" incorporated gods and devils, men and stones, ghosts, immortals, fairies, what you will. Any person or thing could be transmuted into any other thing or person, given time enough and the working of destiny.

Granted this attitude of mind, and nothing could be too great or too trivial, too sublime or too grotesque, to figure in Buddhist art. There was nothing insignificant about an insect : the frog was as important, in the chain of causality, as the ox. Further, keeping before us this point of view, the human form lost rather than gained in beauty and dignity of treatment through the effects of Buddhism as understood and practised in China. While the religious statues, from being hieratic, became by degrees dry and formal, the delineation of purgatorial scenes and of many-headed and many-handed images, and the illustration of Indian and Thibetan legends, once more let loose the instinct for the "grotesque," the whimsical and caricaturing tendencies of the Chinese race.

The effect of Buddhism, then, was twofold. In the beginning we find serene and dignified statues and lonesome landscapes, devoid altogether of anything grotesque ; later with the action and reaction between Buddhism and the older

beliefs, the goblin humour of the Chinese artist reasserted itself, finding a wider and richer field of fancy than before.

One must guard oneself, of course, against too easy generalizations. The measuring eye of the European is keenly sensitive to, and intolerant of, any distortion of fact. We are realists in art and engineers in handicraft : exact in the chemical formula or the steam-valve as in the topographical landscape or in the statue of the philanthropist, attired in his thick shoes and misshapen Victorian trousers. The farther we get from our own standard of visual accuracy, the greater is our tendency to see caricature where none is meant. In very primitive art there is doubtless the utmost good faith on the part of the craftsman, and the gravest appreciation on the part of the observer, with respect to an image or picture that would only please a European child under five years old. To talk about the "grotesque" in West African, Polynesian, or Mexican art would be absurd ; each of these sprang up and flourished in societies where the standard of criticism was low. A high level of craftsmanship and—in Mexico, at any rate—a fine sense of mass and proportion may have been arrived at ; but there could hardly be said to be any evidence of humour or exaggeration or distortion of line where there was no higher law of line to break away from.

It has been said that the Veddas of Ceylon never laugh, as their language is too clumsy and undeveloped to joke in ; this is no doubt an exaggeration, but it illustrates my meaning.

To come higher up the scale, there are many curious, even "grotesque," devices in the history of art intended to get over one difficulty alone—that of representing a three-dimensional object on the flat or in low relief.

The Assyrian winged bull has three front legs, so as to look correct either endwise or in profile ; the eye of an Egyptian, drawn in profile, sometimes extends almost to his ear. Indian and Persian pictures often give a kind of bird's-eye view, in the same composition, of events which happened years apart or at distant places.

The Japanese print-designers of the later schools lengthened and twisted their human figures, to the detriment of their beauty ; but we now know, from photography, that their eyes were quicker and more accurate than ours in watching and recording the flight of a bird or the gallop of a horse.

In the highest non-European art we have to expect, as I have mentioned above, alien conventions ; and a great authority, writing, I think, of Utamaro, says, "One must frankly accept his conventions properly to enjoy the beauty of his work."

We must be careful, then, in considering Chinese or any other non-European art-objects, to recognize that our standard of culture is not the only standard ; that our conventions are not the only conventions ; and that what strikes us as exaggeration, caricature, or humour does not postulate any wish to produce a "grotesque" on the part of the artist.

The conservative influence of religion may, with due reservations, be touched upon here.

For example, we are given to understand that the Mexican sacrificial knives had still to be made of stone long after metal weapons were in common use ; the Greeks and Romans cherished grotesque old idols while they produced the most perfectly proportioned statuary. Do not many of our present-day artists in stained glass imitate the bad anatomy of the early Middle Ages, thus giving the impression that ecclesiastical buildings and objects are peculiar to a bygone period ?

How much more, then, in China, where tradition is so powerful and precedent is so scrupulously followed, must we expect to find the incongruous and the archaic side by side with the highly developed work of great masters ?

Dragons, monsters, and demons strictly conformed to tradition, while landscape-drawing, flower and bird delineation, and all the applied arts, were gradually climbing to the highest levels of taste and execution.

It is a truism that the greatest and best art impulses in history have been religious impulses, Christian or otherwise ; but it is equally true that art is at a great disadvantage when

it has to be used as a vehicle for abstruse and mysterious lessons addressed to the ignorant or the worldly-minded. An improbable-looking picture or statue may become associated, by long usage, with an allegory or a moral lesson, but when that allegory or precept does not form part of our own spiritual equipment, the expression of it, to us, becomes "grotesque."

This is dangerous ground. The deadly error of rating art above religion made the European Renaissance, in the long run, a curse rather than a blessing to art itself. The great anatomists and colourists of that school rioted in their own powers, and made every subject subserve their decorative sense ; they fed their souls upon obsolete myths, and enslaved their judgment to the half-understood tenets of the Ancient Greeks, a race who lived in a different age and climate from their own. The result, as we all know, was monotony, insincerity, vulgarity, and often absurdity.

This cult of so-called "classical" ideals acted like a narcotic upon the judgment of those few who, up to very recent years, tried to study and sympathize with the artistic aims of non-Mediterranean peoples. The idea that any art not Greek could be good was accounted rank heresy ; and if anything beautiful could be found in the Continent of Asia it was unhesitatingly assumed to be Greek, or due to Greek influence. Such "criticism"—if one may dignify it with the name—is still to be found in many Continental books on the Far East ; and it has had not a little to do with the use—and frequent misuse—of the word "grotesque" in Western Europe.

One is naturally tempted at this point to review some of the many speculations upon the indifference of Chinese artists to the human form *per se*, and their frequently "grotesque" handling of it.

Most Chinese artists have as much opportunity as the Greeks had of studying the nude. The spare but well-knit coolie is in evidence everywhere, scantily clad, and getting the very most out of his muscles in the exercise of his daily

toil. But if he ever was studied, as a problem, there is little evidence of it. The peasant, in a European picture, is always handsomer and better proportioned than the real toiler could possibly be; the Chinese boatman or tracker, on the other hand, is often a striking figure, climbing cliffs like a cat, or steering—tense with vigilance and muscular strain—through a dangerous rapid. But where do we find his picture?

The commonest theory is that Chinese artists find the human form too symmetrical to be interesting, and certainly no other school in the world, except the cognate school of Japan, has ever had so keen an appreciation of the value of unequal spacing.

Another theory would attribute to Buddhist influence the treatment of the human form as being neither more nor less important than any other phase or semblance of being.

With a choice of subjects ranging from gods and demons to stones and grasses, we also find that the human form, as a subject of art, was deliberately classed below landscape in the writings of Chinese critics of rank.

Kuo Hsi, as translated by Professor Giles, says that “landscape is a big thing; figures can be taken in at a glance”—a point of view, by the way, which sets Chinese art (with that of Japan) in a class utterly by itself. Sages, hermits, abnormal or supernatural beings, might symbolize a thought or a quality; men, as such, signified but little. .

A human form, therefore, when used for the purpose of expressing an idea, was compelled to assume a shape or attitude associated by long usage with that idea, and the result, in our eyes, is “grotesque.”

How far Western artists are “grotesque” in making endless anatomical studies, and then forcing more or less mutilated ideas into *them*, it is not for me to say; perhaps this point will receive some attention in the discussion.

Whatever may be the true explanation of this belittling of the human and glorification of the non-human element in Chinese art, there is reason to think that, like other sources of the grotesque, it is a racial peculiarity.

The Koreans and Japanese share it to a very large extent ; but to the European Primitives, the Græco-Bactrians, and the other Persian schools, landscape was merely a background. The Greeks have left us human figures of matchless beauty, and spirited, life-like animal forms ; but where are their landscapes ? The Egyptian portrait statues and idols are the most sublime and imposing in their way that have ever been produced, and their work in two dimensions demonstrates a keen and delicate sense of colour and form, but their attempts at landscape are the veriest diagrams.

Of recent years prehistoric Iberian sculptures of great vigour and dignity have been unearthed in Spain ; the subjects are mostly human figures with ornamental head-dresses. Their meaning is unknown, but they are utterly European—almost modern—in feeling.

The bone-caves of France have yielded a few pictures of the late Stone Age, human and animal forms, highly realistic in drawing, scratched upon mammoth ivory. But in Greece, Egypt, Spain, and Neolithic France alike, fidelity to actual life is the hall-mark. Few risks are taken, few tricks are played at the expense of the human figure. Some Greek masks—very feeble productions beside those of Japan—and a few symbolic animals, or animal-headed men, as in the late Egyptian caricatures, are the only grotesques we find.

Certain of the greatest Chinese artists, on the other hand, have not left a single picture of a human being ; the work of others is represented only by quaint and whimsical studies of aged men or monsters.

The idea that such men could not have drawn or carved fine human forms is, of course, preposterous. The early Buddhist religious works are proofs of their power. The birds, fishes, and flowers of the best schools are as real as they are dignified ; the men who drew them could have drawn anything they had a mind to.

Even in the relics of Han art left to us we have truly naturalistic horses and birds ; but the human figures are often deliber-

ately distorted, though whether for mythological or merely decorative reasons is not quite clear to the writer.

In two words, Western art lends itself to the "literal" and Far Eastern art to the "literary"; and if the thing drawn by the Chinese artist does not express his idea without alteration, he simply alters it until it does. Thus, for good or ill, his treatment tends, of necessity, towards the "grotesque" in many instances.

The influence of Confucianism has probably helped, in spite of itself, to strengthen this characteristic. The standardizing of all mental life for many centuries on the basis of the "Four Books," the worship of precedent and the monotonous struggle for existence, have stamped an amazing uniformity upon most aspects of Chinese life. The result has been a natural reaction, in all matters not connected with agriculture or the Government service. The human mind cannot feed exclusively upon moral maxims and the movements of the rice market; the imaginative side of life grows more vigorously the more severely it is pruned and disciplined.

And here one must pay a well-deserved tribute to Chinese grotesques.

Compare them with Greek satyrs or with only too many of the Hindoo idols. These are embodied sins, foul and degraded; the Chinese devil or monster is merely ugly, in a quaint, clean, wholesome way.

I will go further, and will venture to say that a well-balanced, healthy school of artistic expression *ought* to have a grotesque side, and generally does. *

Returning for a moment to Europé, we find fantastic creatures twisted into capital letters in the manuscripts of the eighth century, and curling and wriggling down their margins. We find Gothic gargoyles and brackets, carved wood choir-stalls in churches and monasteries, teeming with weird monsters; heraldic brasses and stained windows; sword-hilts, candlesticks, drinking-cups, in strange pseudo-animal forms. In the peasant art of Eastern Europe and Scandinavia, in the mystery-play of the fourteenth century, and the

puppet plays of all time, man will have his joke, and will give it artistic expression if he be a healthy man at all.

The one outstanding exception in European history is, of course, the work of the various so-called Renaissance schools. But the Renaissance produced mere artificial foppery—in idea, at least. It was a sham pagan movement, engineered by sham-pagans, and, as an art impulse, has long been quite dead. Copying, especially the copying of things the artist does not quite understand or believe in, is always fatal.

Much might be said, no doubt, on the question of the “grotesque” in *dress*; but this is a mighty subject, and I do not feel competent to attack it.

European costume is so full of gross absurdities that he would be a bold man who called *any* vagary of fashion or any aberration of taste in an Eastern nation a “grotesque” mode.

Fashions in dress must have changed with time, in China, as elsewhere; but the early evolution of a loose, full-sleeved coat, under which either sex can wear as much or as little as a wide range of temperature may necessitate, would seem to have had a standardizing effect upon clothing generally.

On this head I hope to learn something from other members in the discussion.

There is no doubt that humour, quaintness, and fantasy, especially in art objects, are difficult things to write about, and unsafe to dogmatize about. Where the artist and his spectator are of different races and periods of culture, the allusion is often missed. The joke, then, hangs fire, or else the serious subject appears intentionally funny. It has been necessary, therefore, in these few notes to dwell upon the weird, the abnormal, and the monstrous—things which, of themselves, may have been serious enough as originally handled, but partake, nevertheless, of the whimsical or “grotesque” in too many respects to exclude the hypothesis of deliberate distortion, exaggeration, or caricature.

An attempt has been made to draw a parallel with other schools of design in support of this contention, and to show

that sincerity of expression and photographic accuracy in externals are by no means synonymous. I hope, in making this effort, that I have not ventured out of my depth, and that I have not been tempted to try and prove too much.

To conclude, Chinese art is the outcome of several impulses—from within and from without—acting upon a mixed race over a long period of time. It has taken numberless materials, and used most of them with consummate skill ; the hardest stone has yielded to the simple tools of the Chinese craftsman ; the most delicate lacquer, porcelain, and ivory work have left his fingers—objects so frail that you instinctively wonder how they could have been held and worked without crushing them. He has excelled in landscape, in pottery, in enamel ; he has carved Buddhas as large as lighthouses, and incised minute pictures in the inner side of crystal snuff-bottles.

Daring and correct, however, as the great Chinese art-workers have been in the use of colour, powerful as they have been in composition, the one outstanding feature of all their work has been this—facility in the treatment of line. Freedom, even license, in the use of line may not always please the eye, especially of a European ; but it is not the failing of a tyro : it is the whim of a master. To say the least of it, no man who does not know his tools well will dare to juggle with them.

The grotesque, then, holds a considerable place in Chinese art. For the reasons given, I submit that it holds that place rightly ; it expresses a national peculiarity ; it meets a national need ; it shows itself as the outcome of a national gift. It evidences skill, perseverance, and humour ; it evidences a cheerful recognition of the shadows of life, as well as of its highlights ; it provides a foil to the drab poverty and cast-iron etiquette of everyday existence ; it preserves from oblivion numberless traditions valuable to the student and the historian. May one not be permitted to exclaim, “ Soon may it revive, and long may it flourish ! ” ?

For the material of the foregoing paper I must express my deep gratitude to the writings of men who have given years

of patient study to this and allied subjects. Many of them are members of the Society ; all of them are too well known to us to stand in need of my poor appreciation.

I will particularly specify Mr. Laurence Binyon, who was to have been our chairman of to-day, and Dr. Lionel Giles, our Secretary ; Professor Herbert Giles, Dr. Bushell, and Mr. Henri L. Joly ; Ernest Fenollosa and Rhys Davids ; Ernest Strange and Lafcadio Hearn ; and a number of writers on anthropology.

For the lantern slides I am indebted to Lieut. R. L. Hobson, our chairman, to Mr. Binyon, and to the Director of the British Museum. The two gentlemen first named have placed at my disposal pictures otherwise inaccessible ; the Director of the Museum has lent some slides from the Museum archives, and has very kindly allowed others to be prepared from the negatives of British Museum picture-postcards. To all I propose a hearty vote of thanks.

As regards my own observations and conclusions, I can only hope that they may evoke one of those interesting and fruitful discussions which have always crowned the efforts of contributors to the transactions of the China Society.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

THE CHAIRMAN (Lieutenant R. L. Hobson) regretted to have to announce that Mr. Laurence Binyon was unavoidably prevented from taking the chair. He did not think any introduction of the lecturer was necessary. Mr. Willoughby-Meade had long been a student of Chinese art, to which he devoted a good deal of his spare time. How profound and how productive that study had been the Society would now have a good opportunity of judging.

Admiral FREMANTLE, in response to a special appeal by the Chairman, said : I have great pleasure in making a few remarks, but am not in the least competent to say anything of much importance, except that we have all been extremely pleased with Mr. Meade's lecture. I entirely agree with the Chairman that this lecture must be the result of a very profound study of Chinese art, but what strikes me is that that art is so much more advanced and so different from what we have been accustomed to associate with China. When I saw the adjective "grotesque" I expected to see grotesque figures. In my early days I remember that my grandfather brought home some dragons and dogs and heads of animals, all of which were extremely grotesque and rather frightened me then. But I saw nothing of this description in the lantern-slides, and am at a loss to account for the fact. We have been shown some really artistic figures which are a great contrast to those figures I saw in my youth. I hope the lecturer will explain how it is we have had such a very different presentation of the subject from what I, as one of the ignorant, had been led to anticipate.

Mr. WILLIAM GILES said : The lecturer made many references to the Chinese dragon which, I think, we may sum up by saying that it is a dragon of the elements. It is a curious thing that whereas in the West the dragon came to be synonymous with the devil, in the East the dragon is essentially good. In our legend St. George kills the dragon, which is regarded as a praiseworthy deed. We Westerners have placed the human being on a higher level. With regard to the representation of animals in art, I would say that people who can represent animals can represent anything. There is not a single feature in the human being which the animal has not to an even greater extent. Everything is grotesque that we do not understand. A century ago people were reluctant to go into other countries. But now that they travel more they discover that culture is not

confined to their own country. It is the philosophy of these things we ought to study and not the details.

Mr. PAUL KING gave an amusing account of a crocodile which was discovered in the Yangtse in 1904 by Mr. George Sundius, then British Consul at Wuhu. He thought that the Chinese crocodile was undoubtedly the prototype of the dragon.

Mr. GEORGE JAMIESON moved a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for an exceedingly interesting paper. The Society was much indebted to him, and looked forward to the pleasure of reading it in print.

Mr. WILLOUGHBEY-MEADE, in the course of his reply, said that he had purposely refrained from dealing with the monstrosities which the first speaker had mentioned. They would have formed too violent a contrast to the good work which he had had the opportunity of putting before the Society, and would perhaps have led many people to think that Chinese art and the grotesque were synonymous.

The CHAIRMAN : I should like to say with regard to the opinion expressed by Admiral Fremantle that the explanation is that for centuries we have been familiar with Chinese art in its minor forms only, particularly the applied arts. Although often very beautiful in themselves, and showing wonderful workmanship, these productions of the minor arts are in no way comparable with the great and serious works of the major arts of China such as painting and sculpture, of which Mr. Meade has shown some admirable illustrations. They do, however, serve abundantly to illustrate the grotesque elements of Chinese art, and naturally so because their ornament is most commonly of the conventional order which tends universally to the grotesque and whimsical. The great gulf between the greater and lesser productions of Chinese art is very apparent in these familiar objects, but a careful study of Mr. Meade's paper will materially help us to bridge it over.

Mr. A. L. TOWNSEND moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried by acclamation.

"RUSSIA'S AGONY"

REVIEWED BY BARON HEYKING

Formerly Russian Consul-General in London.

IF one compares the books written about Russia in Great Britain five years ago and before that time with those now found upon the bookstalls, one is struck by the great change which has taken place for the better. In the past, with few exceptions, English literature on the subject of Russia suffered from lack of reliable information, positive knowledge, and sincerity, and was often enough tainted with bias and patronizing snobbishness. By-and-by the standard of such books was changed from superficiality to solidity, from vagueness and inarticulation of purpose to well-defined outlines of political thought, from a purely descriptive style to the convincing phraseology of the specialist. This evolution has received a further confirmation by a very valuable contribution from the pen of an Englishman, who has spent his childhood in Russia, and has up to the present been entrusted with the responsible task of being the Petrograd correspondent of *The Times*.

The merits of the book are, first of all, its reliability, based upon trustworthy information gained by an almost life-long close connection with Russia, and a conscientious observation of her people and vital interests. There is no trace of the flippancy with which Russian affairs have been reviewed in other literary efforts concerning the country ; on the contrary,

* "Russia's Agony," by Robert Wilton, with illustrations and maps. Publisher: Edward Arnold, London, 1918. Price 15s. net.

the author brings to bear on his subject earnest endeavour to be just, exact, and explicit—even profound. His political persuasion is well defined in his love of Russia and the Russian people, in his grief for the disasters which have befallen her and his hopes for a brighter future.

The most interesting and opportune part of the book is the author's opinion that, notwithstanding all weaknesses in the Russian nature, all failures in her last campaign, and the tragic mistakes in her struggle for freedom and progress, she will finally overcome all difficulties, and become a land of wealth and prosperity, of personal liberty, and free institutions—one of the greatest nations of the world. This side of the question is of the utmost importance, as the present crisis has brought about the despair of her friends, seriously affecting their active assistance for Russia, of which she is sorely in need at this present moment.

"Russia's Agony" may, therefore, be acclaimed as a very foothold towards the resurrection of that country, and we hope that the author may be able to see his best hopes realized one day, and give us yet another volume, entitled "The Redemption of Russia."

A further merit of this book is its very fluency, ease, and comprehensiveness and attractiveness of style, making the reading of it a real pleasure. The wealth of detail and information compiled in a painstaking manner make the book a welcome compendium for easy reference. But it is not altogether free from misconceptions, of which some examples may be quoted without detracting from its general intrinsic value.

There is no reason to doubt the story of the chronicler Nestor, that some Slavonic tribes inhabiting Russia called Rurik to rule over them, in the same way as the Poles chose some of their kings from abroad; but the legend of the three brothers, Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor, should be abandoned in the light of philological knowledge. In the Scandinavian language Sineus means "his house," and Truvor "his followers." This will explain why only the descendants

of Rurik are known to exist, and there are none of "Sineus" and "Truvor." It would also be more correct not to speak of the Letts as of Mongol origin, nor to accept the old Prussians as belonging to a Slav tribe, for they were of the family of Lithuanians and Letts, who were also Aryans. It would be well to make a distinction between the Germans who came to Russia from Germany and the people of Teutonic descent inhabiting the Baltic Provinces, an independent State, conquered partly by Russia from Sweden and partly from the Kingdom of Poland. The author says that "the danger of German propaganda had long ago arisen in another quarter. The Baltic Provinces were ruled by German barons and burgesses. The former descendants of the Teutonic knights . . . but they lost few, if any, of their feudal rights and privileges." All this is rather misleading. The barons and the burgesses of the Baltic Provinces cannot be called Germans, since they have nothing to do with Germany. And, then, why should not these barons and burgesses of Teutonic descent rule their own provinces? Their ancestors founded the State some seven hundred years ago, Christianized it, and created there all that made life worth living; but these same barons can scarcely be said to be the descendants of the Teutonic knights, because these knights—or rather, fighting monks—were sworn to the vow of chastity. The author would also be in some difficulty to substantiate his words that "these barons had lost few, if any, of their feudal privileges." They have had no more rights than the rest of the Russian nobility, with the exception of certain fishing and shooting rights, which, after all, have no bearing upon their political status. It is erroneous, therefore, to identify the influence of the Baltic nobility and *bourgeoisie* of Russia with those of Germany. The inhabitants who were called upon by their sovereigns to serve Russia, not for their own personal advantage, but for the benefit of their country, ~~always~~ had to contend against the jealousy of the Moscovites, who tersely referred to them as "Germans"; but this sort of jealousy cannot exist in the mind of an Englishman writing on the subject of Russia, and

his judgment should accordingly be clearer. The author admits that the Baltic barons were "efficient, honest, and clannish," and officers bearing German names fought well; but he fails to emphasize their steady influence in favour of law and authority, their conscientious work, their talent for organization and administration, which were of great benefit to a country like Russia. He mentions that at first "the high commands in the army were largely in the hands of generals bearing German names. Two years later they had been weeded out." This was not fair to Russian interests, for these men were a most reliable element of the Russian army, which fact has been testified by innumerable proofs. At the moment of writing my eyes fall upon an account in the *Observer* of March 17, from Commander Locker-Lampson's despatch, in which he writes :

"At one point a Russian officer, Baron Girard (presumably from Estonia), with a handful of supporters, held back thousands of demoralized fugitives by physical and moral force."

In discarding their own subjects bearing German names in the army, civil administration, and industrial establishments, Russia did herself a terrible wrong. These men simply could not be replaced. Their absence was one of the reasons of the quick degeneracy of the Revolution into rapine and anarchy. That Russia has for the present moment lost the Baltic Provinces is a very severe blow, not only because of their political and economic value, but also on account of their population, which gave to Russia gifted generals and invaluable men of trust and industry.

The English have no quarrel with the Baltic provinces. Before the outbreak of war there was a brisk trade going on between Great Britain and Libau, Riga, and Reval. It would appear, then, that, from the point of view of British interests, it is advisable to regard them as friends. . .

Another preconceived idea of the author's is found in the assumption that Germans exercised great influence at the Court of Nicholas II. However, the author recognizes a true Russian in the Emperor; and it can hardly be contested that

Nicholas II. tried, during the whole of his reign, to emulate his father, Alexander III., who was one of the most anti-German rulers who ever occupied the Russian Throne. It is a matter of fact that Nicholas II. never intended to conclude a 'separate peace with the enemies of the Entente : the unprejudiced opinion of such an authority as the British Ambassador, who had an intimate understanding of the Emperor's state of mind, testified that the ex-Tzar was not a traitor. But, what about the Empress Alexandra? She has been accused in the Russian Press of having had a secret telegraphic correspondence with the Kaiser, but this has been since disproved. Her correspondence with the Tzar, carefully examined by some leaders of the Revolution, has not revealed the slightest partiality for the Kaiser, whom, on the contrary, she professed to dislike so much that she refused to see him in the days prior to war, and had to be specially persuaded to do so by the Tzar. It is true that the ex-Empress Alexandra was unpopular with Russians, but there is not sufficient proof that she considered the Kaiser to be "a real friend," as the author indicates. The languages in which the Imperial family conversed were Russian, English, and French, but not German.

The concluding chapter of the book is of special interest. The Russian peasant is acknowledged to have "no consciousness of 'statehood' or even of 'nationality,' except as an expression of lay or ecclesiastical lordship." This explains why the Revolution spread and degenerated as soon as the Tzar had been forced to abdicate ; and it also gives the key to the prospects of a regenerated Russia, which may be reconstructed upon the two buttresses—the authority of religion, and a personal ruler in conjunction with popular representation in one form or another. But whether Russia shall be, ultimately, a monarchy or a republic, the main issue is to be found—as Mr. Wilton so rightly puts it—in the necessary decentralization of the previous Empire and the development of local self-government, which is one of the great and lasting gains of the Revolution.

At the end of his book the author "thinks it his duty" to mention prominent British and Russian men who have worked to bring "Great Britain and Russia together." Among the names cited there are omissions. For instance, it is due to the memory of the late Russian Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, Count Benckendorff, not to omit mention of the devotion with which he applied his energies to the cause of the alliance, and there are, of course, Mr. W. T. Stead and many others.

THE WRECKERS

BY MADAME OLGA NOVIKOFF

IN future history, whatever other attributes may be claimed for the Kaiser, he may undoubtedly be allowed to have attained pre-eminence as a "receiver of stolen goods," because Russia has certainly been stolen with the aid of lies and deceit. No future palliation will ever succeed in erasing from his character that indelible stain.

For surely it must now be clear to everyone, in every country, that Great Russia's territory has been stolen from its people by diabolic craft, and made over by disgraceful surrender to an unscrupulous foe.

Lest we forget, it is useful even at the cost of repetition to chronicle the past events. The first gigantic lie propagated by the present usurpers was that our Emperor had voluntarily abdicated his throne, and had forsworn the oath which he gave as anointed head of the great Orthodox people. The falsehood was quickly followed by a series of others, the objects of which were again to mislead the public in Russia as well as abroad. Our country was assured that the Emperor's abdication was not due to an attack upon his personal autocracy. - Indeed, so certain of this was the Emperor himself that he designated his brother as successor and provisional ruler, as was then publicly announced. In the meantime the whole of Russia was promised a year ago that her representatives would be asked immediately to meet (which naturally would mean a Zemsky Sobor), and express

their views on the changed position of affairs, and this not for the first time in our history.

For in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—in fact, up to the time of Peter the Great—the Government had been accustomed to appeal for opinion and advice to a consultative body in which were represented the clergy, the nobility, the merchant class, and even some of the peasant community.

But the ultradespotic Peter, in his zeal for drastic reforms, abolished both the Zemsky Sobor and the Patriarchate (*vide* “The M.P. for Russia,” vol. ii., page 352). And I must add, in passing, that by these measures Peter the Great became almost hated by the Slavophil party, whose motto was “Greek Orthodoxy, Monarchy, and Nationalism.”

But let us again come to more recent events. I have already dilated upon these in previous writings, but memories are short, and repetition may on that ground be excused. Already some of these events, although so recent, seem almost difficult to realize. The abolition of the police ; the opening of prison doors for the release of even the worst criminals ; the free use of alcohol (after a two years’ period of prohibition) ; the institution of the so-called “Soviets,” with ill-defined powers and duties, but whose despotic activities, backed by large sums of mysterious origin, consisted in demoralizing the Army and the Navy, who were bidden to disband to their homes, where free grants of land awaited them ; the general throttling of the patriotic Press, and punishment of honest protest by imprisonment and death ; and, finally, the crowning enterprise, the attack on the Greek Orthodox Faith, and wholesale robbery of churches, banks, palaces, museums, private residences, and even schools. As an accompanying serenade to this scene of action we have had the songs of MM. les Assassins on freedom, equality, and justice !

Thus has chaos reached ~~its~~ apogée. How can a country whose representatives have cast aside all principles of religion and morality be expected to entertain even the most elementary notions of common honesty, including obligation to pay the country’s debts ?

Now, naturally, we come to the question, Can nothing be done? and what is to be done? and when? To me the answer seems wonderfully clear. Endeavour by all possible means to replace the present usurpers by people who recognize not only the common duty of repaying the moneys borrowed for continuance of the war, but also the obligation of observing all other honourable engagements and treaties. In this way would be prevented the continued sale of stolen goods to our country's enemy.

Concentrated power, under Divine inspiration, can accomplish great and noble ends. For example, the emancipation of forty-eight million Serfs in 1862, the abolition of vodka in 1914, the recognition of Russia as Protector of the Slavonic world, the reunion of Poland, and the intended rescue of unhappy Armenia from the Turkish yoke.

Concentrated diabolic power, on the other hand, has, for the time being, annihilated Russia.

Conclusion : You English friends should, once for all, reject the lying calumnies which have been directed against our Imperial family generally, and the Tzar in particular. They have been categorically denied by Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, since his return to England. The ex-Tzar's innocence, which to us was never in question, has been further recognized by the publication of his autograph letter written on April 13, 1916, to M. Poincaré, and handed to MM. Viviani and Thomas on the occasion of their visit to the Emperor. These facts are of supreme importance, and to say that they will profoundly affect England's attitude towards Russia is no exaggeration.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

A GREAT LITERARY EVENT.*

A LITERARY event of the first importance in normal times, Lord Morley's "Recollections" lay claim to particular attention in these memorable days. If the call of the present is altogether paramount, and our leaders of to-day are tested, not by the gentler rays of the public's pre-war search-light, but rather in the white-heat of results in the grimmest struggle in our annals—survey what page you will in our island's story—it is none the less true that our rulers of the past, far from being enshrouded in the cloak of oblivion, undergo a most discriminating examination of their actions and their ideals. All of us, wherever we are placed, and whatever part we play in the great struggle, grope in the past to find an explanation for the present. "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas." When, therefore, a man whose name looms large in the history of the Victorian era, Lord Morley, lays before the English people a great literary masterpiece, we immediately are concerned, almost unconsciously, not with its artistic excellence, but with the veracity of the political ideals it propounds and the practicability of its statesmanship. If this war has been the grave of many living politicians' renown, it has also blasted the splendid monuments of not a few who have joined the silent. "Stat nominis umbra" can be written across the records of most of our pre-war political protagonists. When, therefore, he opens his introduction with the pregnant statement, "the war and our action in it led to my retirement from public life," Lord Morley throws out a direct challenge to the Allied cause and invites condemnation. This sensational *tour de force* helps the reader to realize at the very outset that he is occupied in studying the recollections of a statesman who, by his own admission, is outside the present times. He would have no place in it, for he can no other. In the judgment of many the present work is a mirror of Victorian life and politics ; others prefer to describe it as a defence of the party system. The author's object was surely neither of these, much less a defence of his own life. A thread^{*} of absolute serenity knits his pages together ; assurance is his dominant note. Thus his own actions. The habits or characters of others are not his concern. Rather, he photographs their intellects most miraculously.

On the other hand, his book reveals the grave defects of the party system as it was conducted in pre-war days. In his chapter on "Parliament" (p. 191) Lord Morley quotes Randolph Churchill as saying : "Ah,

* "Recollections," by Lord Morley. 2 vols., 25s. net. Macmillan.

but then Balfour and you are men who believe in the solution of political questions"; and although it is true that the author deprecates this cold cynicism, he proceeds on the next page: "Much of Parliamentary debate is dispute between men who in truth and at bottom agree, but invent arguments to disguise agreement and contrive a difference. It is artificial, but serves a purpose in justifying two lobbies and a party division."

We are not quite sure whether Lord Morley's view of party politics is disfavour tempered by fatalism, or complacency flavoured with irony. He certainly refrains from condemnation. We repeat that Lord Morley writes of the past; the present has led to his disassociating himself from politics; for the future he has no suggestion to offer. Is the true explanation that between the past and the present he sees such a yawning chasm that the problems of the future lie beyond his grasp? Or does he look forward to a resumption after the war of the old game of party politics, in which it is "the business of the Opposition to oppose"?

Much space is devoted—and naturally so—to the Irish question, and the stern struggle in Parliament to force Home Rule through. He rightly describes it as a memorable period in our history, and keen audiences watching it all over the English-speaking world. He calls it a dramatic period, and introduces many metaphors from the stage. It has been, indeed, a great tragedy, and realizing this "play," our minds sobered by nearly four years of war, we add with bitterness that the whole affair was an exhibition of bankruptcy in statesmanship.

Such are the thoughts that crowd in upon the reader as he peruses Lord Morley's perfect prose, and is invited to share the intimacies of pre-war political life. Most of us would yearn for those *tempi passati*—their recollection is sweet!—but when their politics are presented to us, and the feeble efforts then made to wrestle with problems infinitely smaller than face us every day at the present time, their glamour fades. The contrasting spirit of present political sobriety and national self-sacrifice is the great earnest of our future. We believe that from the crucible into which all political shibboleths and party strategies have been cast will emerge the white flame of pure patriotism. In this spirit, after the successful conclusion of the war, the British people must solve the three "I's"—Ireland, India, Imperialism.

To readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW the portions of Lord Morley's book devoted to the second of these are naturally of commanding interest. In a striking passage (vol ii., p. 170) we learn of the King's great interest in India: "His keyword is that we should get on better if our administration showed wider sympathy. He spoke with very simple and unaffected enthusiasm of all that he had seen, of the reception he had met in every quarter, and of the splendour of the task we have in hand." The chapter, "Reforms on the Anvil," is a treasure-house for the historian of latter-day Anglo-Indian politics. Soon, we trust, these reforms will become a reality, and a new Ireland and new India at last open the door to the shrine of Federal Imperialism.

RUSSIA

RUSSIAN REALITIES AND PROBLEMS. By Paul Milioukov, Peter Struve, A. Lappo-Danilevsky, Roman Dmowski, and Harold Williams. Edited by J. D. Duff, Fellow of Trinity College. (*Cambridge University Press.*) Price 5s.

At the Cambridge Summer Meeting, held a year ago, many lectures were delivered by eminent authorities on the subjects of Russia and Poland. A selection of these has been edited by Mr. Duff, who has lately translated S. T. Aksakov's autobiography. In view of their importance, it was a happy choice to secure the publication of these addresses in permanent form, with the advantage of an experienced editor to supervise their preparation for English readers. The incidence of the Russian Revolution has not, as might have been anticipated, rendered the work behind the times for student purposes, and the student will trace therein explanations of the movement then rising towards the surface.

Mr. Milioukov, whom we had the pleasure of meeting in London last year, is responsible for two addresses on the war and Balkan politics, and the Russian representative system. A former Professor at Sofia University, Constitutional Democrat, leader of the Progressive *Bloc*, and an early member of the Provisional Government, he is an authority of weight. He opens with a reference to German intrigues for Morocco and Mesopotamia, and then passes to the Near Eastern Question, which is based on inheritance of the European territories of the "Sick Man." It is interesting to read that projects for partition of Turkey go back to centuries when that Empire was in full and flourishing vigour. Mr. Gladstone said that the Balkan States would, in the first place, profit by the disappearance of Turkey. Russia claimed a strip along the Straits, but this would frustrate the Austrian push to Salonika and the German *Drang nach Bagdad*. Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, in April, 1913, grew alarmed at the entry of Slav States into the solution, and predicted a resultant conflagration, "which sets *Slaventhum* against *Germanenthum*." Mr. Milioukov concludes that

"the settlement in the Balkans, to be durable, must be based on the just national aspirations of the Balkan peoples. The Allies . . . will know how to rearrange the conditions of national life in the Balkans in order to prevent the recurrence of mutual distrust and that false principle of balance of power which is profitable only to our enemies."

In his lecture on the representative system, Mr. Milioukov relates the history and composition of the successive Dumas, and the obstacles to their success as legislative bodies. The "gilded Chamber" (Council of Empire) was from its composition of representatives of past failures and lost causes most inefficient for legislation, though it also included men of vast political experience. What ~~will~~ be the future of this body? Liberal legislation had no chances with this Upper Chamber, and the existence of the Duma did not admit of reactionary legislation, so that constructive measures were paralyzed. Mr. Milioukov is hopeful of a future Liberal policy, but could scarcely have foreseen the present perilous confusion.

Professor Peter Struve opens two lectures on the past and present of Russian economics, with a note of the indebtedness of Russia to Cambridge intellectual leaders—e.g., Sir J. R. Seeley, whose “Expansion of England” he always urged his students to master. Economic development in Russia has been of a colonial and therefore extensive character, as in America, but in Russia there is an ancient and a modern element, an amalgam of the medieval and the contemporary. In spite of serfdom there were the colonial advance and the elements of a free working-class and commercial bourgeoisie. Russia has conquered Turkey not by fleets and armies, but by the agriculturists who transformed wasted steppes into fertile areas and founded a population in the south. The eighteenth century saw the attempt to create a wholesale factory system, and foreign town craftsmen had been in Russia long before. It is little known that English enterprise started the first private factory—Vologda rope factory—where comparative observations were made of the productivity of workmen of various nationalities. Russia is practically the only large country where a high birth-rate is maintained.

“We in Russia have not yet been gripped by the individualistic rationalism so typical of countries of older economic culture which though in another form, was recommended by Malthus, but which as a real potentiality entered so little into his calculations.”

The inferiority in economic qualities of the average Russian to the Western European is explained by certain effects of the Reformation and counter-Reformation on religious ideas and practical life. Professor Struve considers that the retention of the religious spirit is a great happiness for England, and in his country the Church has worked on other lines. Russia is economically self-sufficient, but Russia and England, if the necessary energy is shown on this side, can supplement each other. In conclusion, this practical economist says that “the production of souls of a good quality” is the most lucrative national manufacture.

Mr. Roman Dmowski opened his lecture on old and new Poland by remarking that his country had been lost sight of, though the achievements of Sienkiewicz and Paderewski were generally admired, and though we were vaguely aware of the German atrocities in Prussian Poland, such as ill-usage of children for worshipping in their mother tongue. There are very few students of Polish history, language, and literature. Before the partitions the country was territorially one of the largest, and politically the most democratic. Thanks to the intellectual centres established at Paris, Posen, and Warsaw, after the insurrection of the thirties of last century, an intensive and continued cultivation of Polish thought was never broken.

“The energy, solidarity, and discipline of the Poles in the legal and political struggle, as well as in economic competition, astonished the Germans, and proved to them that the Slavs, when properly trained, are their equals, and in some respects may even prove their superiors.”

The Poles recognize that Germany is the only country which considers the problem as a whole, and being aware of the danger to Germany, it has contrived to influence the Polish policy in Russia and Austria. A

German Chancellor said that the struggle was with the whole Polish nation. Russian civilization, says Mr. Dmowski, with its triumphs in the Caucasus and Central Asia, has no constructive power in Poland, so that the barrier against German aggression must be a developed Polish civilization.

Dr. Harold Williams contributed a most instructive lecture on the different nationalities of Russia, where about a hundred languages are current. There is a close analogy with our own Empire, but Russia has her Irish, South African, French-Canadian, and colonial problems all on a vast plain without intervening oceans. Besides the Russian national movement, there were several others last century, including Lettish, Baltic Muhammadan, Siberian, and Mongol stirrings. There is a unity through it all, and the chief factor is the Russian people proper. Dr. Williams is hopeful of full liberties for all nationalities after the war.

"I believe that all the nationalities of the Russian Empire will combine, as a choir of many voices with many wonderful instruments, to sing a joyful song of conquest over the mystery which surrounds us all."

A philosopher and man of science, Professor A. S. Lappo-Danilevsky, gave a thoughtful lecture on Russian science and learning. He traced the history of thought from the days of St. Vladimir, and the influences of Byzantium, Roman Catholicism, Germany, France, and England. In the eighteenth century religious dogma was disturbed by free thought.

"This variety of influences had, however, one serious defect ; it was wanting in unity. And Russian secular thought could attain this unity only after growing independent and in this sense national."

Students of history know how, at different periods—*e.g.*, the reaction under Catherine II.—thought was stifled and repressed. In time, a sense of unity was perceived, and science and learning became national. The history of separate branches of these is worked out in a series of summaries which we should like to discuss at length. The Professor shows that Russian thought came out of many trials, firmly conscious of ideal ends, but it must be observed that the literature of the last few years had declined from earlier levels. In politics a state of chaos prevails which we trust will be resolved by the national consciousness.

F. P. M.

A POLISH HOMER.

PAN TADEUSZ; OR THE LAST FORAY IN LITHUANIA. By Adam Mickiewicz. Translated by George Rapall Noyes. (*Dent and Sons.* 6s. net.)

Many of us confine their knowledge of Polish literature to "Quo Vadis," a work which, however excellent, treats of a foreign land and is cosmopolitan in spirit. The glories of Holy Russia at her greatest are portrayed not in "the Russian novel" of the latter day, but in the pages of Pushkin and Lermontov. So with Poland. To read of her renown we must set back the clock—but rather further—to the days of the generation who knew her before the defeat of Napoleon by the Russians finally dis-

peled all hope of Poland's resurrection. "Pan Tadeusz" introduces us to this generation in the splendid setting of Adam Mickiewicz's rich imagery—the pure jewel of Poland's liberty encased in the brilliants of her son's language. Thus George Brandes, the competent international critic, writes of "Pan Tadeusz" as being "the only successful epic our century has produced." There is indeed much that is Homeric in this epic—the generous use of epithets, the descriptions of heroes in battle, in the council chamber, brave in the fray, yet tearful when musing over departed glories. The misfortunes of Poland are partly due to her geographical position. But we may add the disadvantages of an elective monarchy, the *liberum veto*, and the vendettas between nobles, almost Corsican in their fierceness. Adam Mickiewicz has written an epic true to Polish life in which Polish errors of judgment in politics at home and abroad loom large. Of the twelve books (each about twenty-five pages in length) the eleventh is the most dramatic—"the year 1812."

Thus it opens: "Memorable year! Happy is he who beheld thee in our land! The folk still call thee the year of harvest, but the soldiers the year of war; old men still love to tell tales of thee and poets still dream of thee." We have here the hopes of a whole nation in unison. Then this "Livian" flavour: "Thou hadst long been heralded by the marve. in the sky and preceded by a vague rumour among the folk. . . . Strange foreboding, as if the end of the world were approaching. . . . In the spring when the cattle were driven forth for the first time, men noticed that, though famished and lean, they did not run to the young corn that already made gay the fields, but lay down on the ploughed land, and, drooping their heads, either lowed or chewed the cud of their winter food." More in the Livian mood describing the vagaries of many members of the animal kingdom. Then the arrival of the representative of France—Jerome, King of Westphalia, *bon vivant*, truly described as the Burlesque Napoleon! Feasting and banqueting. Meantime the brilliant strategy of Prince Barclay de Tolly further south led the real Bonaparte to his doom.

We commend this great classic, too little known among us, to all who believe in a reconstituted Poland as a tardy act of political justice and an effective barrier against Teutonic ambitions in the East.

SERBIA. By L. F. Waring, B.A. With Preface by Jovan M. Jovanovitch, Serbian Minister in London. (Home University Library, Williams and Norgate.)

This useful and practical series of handbooks by eminent specialists, under distinguished editorship, now includes a timely volume on our gallant, long-suffering Ally. As Mr. Jovanovitch observes, the peaceful agricultural and pastoral ancestors of the Balkan Slavs could have had no idea of the heritage of strife which they bequeathed to their descendants. This may apply to the ancestors of Russians, Poles, and Czechs, when the growing Slav tribes spread in northern, western, and southern directions from their original home, without any ideas of later political

collisions. From their arrival in the sixth century the Serbs, whose name is also borne by the Serbs of Lusatia (Wends) though they have remained so far apart, have had to fight for unity, independence, and now for freedom from threatening annihilation. After the successful revolts under Kara George and Milosh Obrenovitch, which brought emancipation from the Sultan's rule, the country was distracted by the rivalry of the dynastic families.

It is a tragedy never forgotten by her people that the great medieval empire of Dushan, which might have prevented the advance of the Ottoman hosts into Europe, broke down through dissensions, while the finishing stroke was given at Kossovo. Serbians believe that Marko Kralievitch is not dead, but waiting his time, like Arthur of England and Blanik of Bohemia, until his country needs him. When Prilip was stormed against orders, the soldiers declared that Marko on his wondrous steed Sharatz urged them forward. Dr. Elsie Inglis, whose heroic labours for wounded Serbs hastened her end only the other day, speaks of a Serb boy who died with his country's name on his lips. A high tribute was paid to their national spirit by a Norwegian Colonel. The Bulgarians, who had acquired the designation of "Prussians of the Balkans," discounted Serbian prowess after Slivnitza, when Austria intervened against Prince Alexander, but King Ferdinand miscalculated in 1913.

The Germanic Powers found Serbia astride their path before 1914, and the present conflict was foreseen. The match to fire the magazine was the tragedy of Sarajevo. An outline is given, on the authority of Mr. H. Wickham Steed, of the plans which the German Kaiser and the murdered Archduke Franz Ferdinand discussed at Konopishte, involving the future of the Archduke's family and a rearrangement of Central Europe. The final chapters of the book relate Serbia's part in the War. "In the reconstructed Europe the South Slavs must find their own, and unite as they have long wished to unite."

F. P. M.

THE RISE OF NATIONALITY IN THE BALKANS. By R. W. Seton-Watson, D. LITT., author of "Racial Problems in Hungary," etc. (*Constable.*) 10s. 6d.

In a handsome volume, well supplied with an extensive bibliography and four maps, the King's College Lecturer on East European History presents a considerable mine of information on the remote and proximate causes of Balkan unrest, and consequently of the immediate events preceding the general imbroglio. The publishers explain that military duties involving absence from town prevented Dr. Seton-Watson from carrying his book to a statement of general conclusions, which would have been of great help for future guidance, but the value of the work is not thereby impaired. In considering the complex problems of the final settlement of the Balkan peoples after the War, it is important to remember that each of them possesses traditions which have persisted for centuries under the humiliating tyranny of the Turkish yoke, though in certain cases the term

"tyranny" must be qualified. The hasty traveller who would dispose of Balkan questions by a paper scheme can never hope to satisfy the aspirations of the rival nationalities. Beginning with Byzantium and Stamboul, and Turkey in decline, the author summarizes the history of the Serbs, Greeks, Rumanians, and Bulgars, rivalries of Austria and Russia, the Berlin settlement, the Young Turk revolution, and the Balkan wars.

History and geography must be studied closely if we are to understand the persistence of the Empire of the Turk, and "the frequent recoveries of the Sick Man from a seemingly hopeless illness." The Turk, who entered Europe in the spirit of Alp Arslan, could not assimilate the Greek, Arab, or Persian culture with which he came into contact, though when settled in old Byzantium he adopted the vices of that decadent State. Stress is laid on the distinction between Islam and the Turks, and while condemning the latter, justice must be done to the former. Shallow criticism confounds both, but this error will not be made by our readers. The position of Christianity under Turkish rule is of some interest. The Eastern Church, that of Greek and Slav *rayas*, was not the object of hostility to the Turk, to whom the Church of Rome was a religion of foreign rivals. The Patriarchate being in Greek hands, Orthodox sentiment and doctrine were prevalent, and until quite modern times a Bulgar thought and called himself a Greek. The horse-tails waved from Buda to Athens, tribute was paid to the Sultan from Ragusa to Jassy, and the Turk was not only disliked, but feared by neighbours and even Western countries.

The changed attitude of Austrian statesmen towards Prussia is marked by a note in a memorandum by Kaunitz submitted to the Empress Maria Theresa. Prussia, according to him, was "the most dangerous neighbour and secret enemy," never to be entirely trusted on any account. Much later Prince Schwarzenberg hoped to humiliate and crush Prussia, but Bismarck, who, as Sir Robert Morier declared, made Germany great and the Germans small, effected the signal humiliation of Austria. The major responsibility for the present conflict belongs to the Prussian Hohenzollern. The view of Catherine the Great with regard to Turkey and Constantinople is well known, and the reformer, Joseph II., planned their partition with her, a scheme which died with him. A Serb leader bitterly condemned German breach of faith when Leopold II. concluded peace with the Turks after the capture of Belgrade.

To-day the chief task which will confront the democracies of France and Great Britain after the War will be to prevent the formation of a new Holy Alliance for the deception of those small nations who set their faith, as one hundred years ago, in the high-sounding phrases of European statesmen.

Serbia and Bulgaria, says Dr. Seton-Watson, are in much the same stage as England and Scotland in the days of Edward I., "the first of England's lawyer statesmen." As established relations with Scotland began the greatness of England, so an understanding between Serbia and Bulgaria would improve Balkan prospects. This point is referred to later

in discussing the plans of unity of Bishop Strossmayer and Prince Michael. Jirecek supports the view that the Ottoman Empire looked like becoming Slavized. The name of Macedonia has passed into a table-dish (*macédoine*), the composite nature of which recalls the racial mixture inhabiting the country.

Macedonia has been the home of ceaseless and varying racial animosities, of rival racial and ecclesiastical propagandas, each backed, as the Christian States of the peninsula grew stronger, by its particular racial affinity beyond the Turkish frontiers.

Temporary interests caused people to change their names in succession from Vlach to Greek, Bulgarian, and Serbian, even tombstones being systematically altered again and again. Turkey does not appear to have done any better under the strangely composite Committee of Union and Progress, with leaders like Enver, Djavid, Talaat, and Riza, anything but pure Turks or Moslems, while corruption and cold-blooded murder did not die with the Hamidian régime. The spirit abroad in Turkey is compared with that long known to have existed in Hungary, under which Kossuth, of Slovak family, erected gallows for Slovaks, and declared that Croatia was not on the map. The Slovaks have become better known in England, thanks largely to Dr. Seton-Watson, who organized the Slovak art exhibition at the Doré Gallery some years ago.

We must conclude by referring students to the book itself, and the Allies will be more than ever proud of the little Serbian nation and its army, of which our author writes :

Perhaps in no other country are the relations between officers and men characterized by such a delightful blend of *bonhomie* and discipline; and competent military critics are of opinion that the Serb soldier, combining alertness and intelligence with fire and endurance, make him the equal of any soldier in Europe.

Our readers will not have forgotten that the ASIATIC REVIEW has discussed Serbia at frequent intervals.

F. P. M.

LE PANSLAVISME ET L'INTÉRÊT FRANÇAIS. By Louis Leger, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France. (Paris : Flammarion. 3.50 francs.)

The author of this work is one of the most eminent French authorities on Slavonic questions. He has written on the Slav race in general, a Russian grammar and chrestomathy, countless essays, a history of Austria-Hungary, an account of Slav mythology, and more recently the story of the Czech revival and brochures relating to the present crisis. Professor Leger's interest in the Slavs dates from the middle of last century, one of his earliest works being translations of the manuscripts then considered genuine discoveries by the Prague Librarian Vaclav Hanka. During the closing period of the Franco-German War he acted as an informal Consul for France at Prague, and aided French soldiers wandering in what they supposed an enemy country until befriended by Bohemian peasant sympathizers, who detested the Germans. Besides the pen, Professor

Leger has wielded the sword, and has taken his share of intellectual and physical battles. He stands at the side of other French savants like the late Vicomte de Vogué, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, and Professor E. Denis. The writer has enjoyed intercourse with Professor Leger in Paris on several occasions.

The volume treats of ancient and modern history, the author's knowledge of the different branches being equally thorough. We are reminded that the Serbs of Lusatia (Wenden) and the Kashubes of Pomerania are the survivors of the Slavs who in the days of Charlemagne occupied large areas of modern Germany. The names of Dresden, Leipzig, Pomerania, Zerbst, and numerous others, are of Slavonic origin. The Slovak poet Jan Kollar, when a theological student at Jena, lamented that every spot bearing a Slav name was like a monument in a gigantic cemetery. Professor Leger refers to Slavonic origins and the chronicles of Nestor, Cosmas, Dalimil, and the legend of the will of Alexander the Great, who did not come across the Slavs. Attempts to unite all Slavs were made and sometimes partly realized by Samo, Svatopluk, and Boleslav the Great. The Lusatian pastor Frenzel welcomed Peter the Great as Slavonic Tsar, and supposed that all Slavs understood the dwindling, but still living, Serb (Wend) language. There were as many differences among the Slav idioms in the tenth century as there are to-day. The Croatian priest Yury Krizhanitch was a famous enthusiast who suffered exile for his ardour on behalf of the Slav race in the reign of the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovitch. Russia at that time knew next to nothing of her Balkan kinsfolk, and the dreams of Krizhanitch were too far in advance to be intelligible to his Moscow contemporaries concerned with Western Europe.

The Chair of Slavonic Literature held by Professor Leger was originally occupied by the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, who was led aside from his real sphere by the mystic Towianski. He was followed by M. Cyprien Robert, who was succeeded by the grammarian Alexander Chodzko, and then came our author, who has for over thirty years urged his countrymen to study the Slavs and make advances to them, since the danger was on the Rhine and the Meuse and not on the Neva. Systematic Slav studies began in Bohemia in the eighteenth century, the great precursor being the Ahdé Dobrovsky, followed by the antiquary Shafarik, the lexicographer Jungmann, Hanka, mentioned above, the poet Celakovsky, and others whose labours brought them into contact with Russians like Vostokov, Rumiantsov, and Shishkov. The poet Kollar dreamed of a statue of which Russia should be the head, the Poles the trunk, the Czechs the arms and hands, with the Serbs, Lusatians, Slovaks, and others, as raiment and weapons, and wished he could live until a century later, when a glorious Slav empire would be everywhere extended, or at least rise from his tomb to behold it. Professor Leger says rightly that this ideal is far from realization, but

si nous voulons sauver le monde des appétits insatiables (*insatiabiles hiatus*) du monde germanique, c'est chez les peuples slaves qu'il nous convient de chercher la plus solide des alliances. Leur intérêt nous répondra de leur dévouement. C'est à nous à aider à l'organisation

de ce panslavisme que rêvait Kollar et dont l'avenir est solidaire du nôtre.

Lengthy chapters are furnished on the congresses of Prague (1848) and Moscow (1848), and the position of the Slavs in Austria. The author traces a scheme of organization of the future Slav confederation, but for the present the solutions must be regarded as remote. We note that for the proposed new Yugo-Slav (South Slav) State, to consist of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Professor Leger would prefer the name of Illyrian Confederation. The concluding chapter is devoted to the psychology of the Slav peoples, of whose weak points he is fully cognizant.

Leur croissance normale a été retardée par leurs voisins les Turcs, les Grecs, les Tartares. Puissent-ils aboutir à la pleine possession de l'équilibre moral, de la maturité intellectuelle.

The Allies are pledged to the delivery of oppressed nationalities, and will watch with interest their careers after emancipation. However, in our author's words, "le métier de prophète en politique est décidément un bien mauvais métier."

F. P. M.

PROPHECY, THE WAR, AND THE NEAR EAST. By G. Harold Lancaster, M.A., F.R.A.S., Vicar of St. Stephen's, North Bow, London, N. Author of the "British Empire, the War, and the Jews," etc.

This book is an ingenious and painstaking attempt to connect the prophecies attributed to Daniel in the Hebrew Scriptures with the present political situation in Europe, though at first sight it must seem highly improbable that the utterances of a Semitic prophet delivered more than two thousand years ago could find any echo in the world of to-day. These prophecies of Daniel were cited by our simple forefathers as irrefragable proof of the inspiration of the Hebrew Scriptures; here is a writer, they said, living in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, 600 B.C., who foretells the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great in 300 B.C., and gives a detailed account of the wars waged between the Seleucist Kings of Syria and the Ptolemies of Egypt in still later times. But this pleasing illusion has not survived the ordeal of criticism. Some inquisitive scholar discovered a Greek word, and a modern Greek word at that, in the Hebrew text of the Book of Daniel; and then another suggested Greek influence in the story of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, which appeared to him a plagiary from the legend of the Four Ages, Gold, Silver, Brass and Iron, of the Greek Cosmogony, celebrated by Hesiod three centuries before the era of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel. This legend of the Four Ages must be of immense antiquity, for it is common to both Greeks and Hindus, and therefore was probably current among the Aryans before the race separated into its western and eastern branches in prehistoric times. It was also observed that the narrative part of the Book of Daniel was written in Aramaic in the third person, while the prophetic sequel was in Hebrew and in the first person, and that the allusions to the Devil and the giving of names, as Michael, to angels would seem to indicate that the book was

compiled after these innovations had been introduced into the Jewish religion during their association with the Magian Persians. The theory was then advanced that these prophecies were indited as propaganda to invite the Jews to revolt against the Gentile domination, then exercised by Rome, the writer doubtless sharing in the Messianic idea which obsessed the whole Jewish nation at the time. To give weight to the predictions they were attributed to the sage Daniel, and to give colour to them events that had already occurred were narrated as prophetically foretold by him, and then, or subsequently, these prophecies by the pseudo-Daniel were tacked on to the existing narrative of the prophet's doings. These false prophecies, no doubt, were contributory causes of the revolt of the Jewish people against Gentile domination, the hopeless struggle of the brave but demented little nation against the whole might of the Roman Empire—Semitic fanaticism dashing itself to pieces against the organized power of a civilized militant State. But the prophecies of Daniel still exercise influence on the minds of theologians, and every fresh cataclysm in European history brings a fresh crop of interpretations of them, and of the similar predictions in the subsequent Book of Revelation incorporated in the Christian Scriptures. Mr. Lancaster is a painstaking and ingenious commentator, and has evolved a chronological system of collocating events which we confess we have not had enough leisure nor taken sufficient time to master, and therefore may be excused for not seeing the connection between the capture of Samaria by Sargon and the foundation of missionary and Bible societies in the dawn of the glorious nineteenth century, nor the relation of the downfall of the Kingdom of Judah to the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. But for the elucidation of these seeming puzzles we must refer the reader to the Prophetic Chart appended to the book. It seems to us that Mr. Lancaster is somewhat arbitrary in his use of the solar and lunar calendars, choosing whichever of the two best fits the theory which he is striving to establish; he also uses a third calendar of what he calls "prophetic years," which no doubt is still more convenient for his purpose. His ingenuity is of a high order, as may be judged from the following instance: The number of the Beast is stated in the Book of Revelation to be 666, and the Kaiser William was exactly 666 months old when he declared war on Russia and France in August, 1914. But he mentions this as a coincidence, not as a proof that the Kaiser is identical with the Beast, for he avoids personalities, and the Little Horns mentioned by Daniel signify to him, not individuals, but institutions—viz., the Papacy and the Ottoman Empire. We think he exaggerates the influence of the Church of Rome in Europe at the present day. That Church is the Church of the Middle Ages, and it naturally sympathizes with Germany's endeavour to restore the state of society that existed in those ages—the Divine right of Kings, the supremacy of the sword, the suppression of popular rights and of public opinion. But we see no reason to suppose that the Vatican fomented or promoted the present war. Mr. Lancaster lays much stress on the hostility of the Catholic Press on the Continent to Great Britain. The Clerical

Press is naturally hostile to England, not because the English are a Protestant nation so much as because the English ideals of free speech, free thought, and religious toleration are opposed to the spirit of Rome. The Bavarian Clerical journals were the first to inaugurate the campaign of lies and calumnies which, carried on by the German Press for the last twenty years, has culminated in the popular Hymn of Hate. During the Boer War the lies and slanders circulated by the Clerical organs of the French Press proved sometimes too much even for their *clientèle* of *gobe-mouches*. The Prussian and the Roman ideas of authority coincide, and Kaiser William would no doubt like to follow the example of Napoleon the Great and make of the Romish Church an instrument for the accomplishment of his own political designs.

Mr. Lancaster is himself chary of prophesying, but he warns us that 1934 is a very important future date—probable end of the “Times of the Gentiles,” and freedom of Jerusalem. At any rate, we are well content to leave the future in the hands of Providence. As the Arab poet at Damiri said,

“ Not in vain the nation-strivings, nor by chance the currents flow ;
Error-mazed, yet Truth-directed, to one certain end they go.”

F. H. T.

THE ENIGMA OF THE SULTAN

THE LIFE OF ABDUL HAMID. By Sir Edwin Pears. (*Constable and Co., Ltd.*) 6s. net.

It is less than a year since we have reviewed in these columns Sir Edwin Pears’ “Recollections of his Forty Years’ Residence in Turkey,” and to-day it is our privilege to discuss another equally important work by his pen—“The Life of Abdul Hamid.” In his preface the general editor, Mr. Basil Williams, offers an apology for having included this monarch in the series of the makers of the twentieth century. We do not think that such an apology is needed, considering that his long reign worked as a powerful evil which greatly helped to bring about the world war with which we are now afflicted. His misdeeds among his Christian subjects in the Balkans and in Armenia made him known as the “Assassin on the Throne” in the time of Gladstone. By his constant endeavour to get all the reins of power into his own hands he disintegrated, if not destroyed, Turkey.

In his opening chapters the author gives us interesting information about the boy Hamid which already reveals his mischievous character. He was the second son of Abdul Mejid, and, if report is true, by an Armenian mother! She died when he was seven years old. Subsequently a fourth wife of Abdul Mejid who had no child of her own adopted him, according to a custom prevailing in the Imperial Harem. But his perversity was such that only the Mother of Abdul Aziz had an influence on him. She was a fanatical old lady who liked the boy because of his tendency to superstition and his violent hatred of the Christians with whom his more enlightened father liked to surround himself. By her he was

initiated into the mysteries of magic and astrology ; soothsayers predicted of him that he would become Padishah.

In examining his reign and its fatal consequences, Sir Edwin Pears discusses at length the system of succession in Turkey. In the earlier times when the Ottoman Government was still a military despotism there may have been some reason for the custom that succession should fall on the eldest male. It led, however, at the same time to the inhuman practice of removing rival claimants by assassination. A terrible example is the act of fratricide committed by Sultan Bayazid on the battlefield of Kossova. When hearing his brother Yakub acclaimed by his soldiers for having greatly contributed towards winning the battle, he sent for him to come to his tent, and had him strangled with a bowstring. This abominable practice was subsequently elevated to the dignity of a law, and has ever since been a blot on the House of Osman.

As soon as his father died and his uncle Abdul Aziz came to the throne, the youth Hamid was viewed with suspicion as second heir to the throne ; his treatment was such as to prevent his ever becoming a good ruler. He was interned, his education stopped, and his intellect dwarfed. It is well known that Abdul Aziz, following the example of Ismael Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt, had the secret wish to make his own son Yussuf Izzedin his successor, the same who died mysteriously by his own hand not so long ago.

Owing to the influence of Western public opinion, instead of murder, internment was resorted to in more recent times for the dangerous aspirants of the throne, thus killing the soul instead of the body. When in 1875 after years of seclusion Abdul Hamid was suddenly placed on the throne in succession to his elder brother Murad, who by a similar treatment had become insane, he became forthwith the easy prey of dangerous sycophants who gave him evil advice for their own ends. The one man who might have saved Turkey was persecuted by him. It was Midhat Pasha who drew up a constitution for Turkey, somewhat on the same lines as the British. And it was for this reason that this unworthy monarch had that able Minister—saying that he infringed on his sovereign rights—first exiled, then murdered on the false accusation of having been implicated in the death of Abdul Aziz. That the European Powers at the time could not save Midhat nor prevent the massacres of thousands of Armenians before the very doors of their Embassies, will always remain an inscrutable mystery in history and a stain on their diplomacy.

Abdul Hamid's misdeeds, with hardly any redeeming points, fill page after page of the author's interesting book, and the reader breathes more freely when at last this career of crime comes to an end. His was a total eclipse, a fall never to rise again. At this present moment news reach us from Constantinople that Abdul Hamid has at length passed away. His death will create a feeling of great relief throughout the Turkish Empire, over which his presence, even from that remote place in Asia Minor—his last prison—seemed still to cast a sinister shadow.

Sir Edwin Pears tells us—and this in a most illuminating part of his book—why English influence fell and Germany's rose when Young Turkey,

after the fall of Hamid, raised her head. According to his opinion, the scales were turned chiefly through the want of sympathy of this country for the members of the new Government. In their struggle to assert themselves they failed to find enough support at the British Embassy; whilst the able Marshal von Bieberstein recognized that it was the only party in Turkey with any vitality. He cultivated, therefore, this new Committee, and many of the leading Young Turks became his intimate friends. The result was that, when war was declared, Enver Pasha and all his party was on the German side. When, moreover, our Government pre-empted the two Dreadnoughts on which the Turks had built their hopes to defeat Greece, all confidence in England had gone. Besides, we must not forget that England had become an Ally of Russia, and soon rumour was afoot that Constantinople had been promised to her arch-enemy. The arrival of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* in the Bosphorus decided the issue. For it was these German ships, joined by others of the Turkish fleet, which bombarded Odessa.

In conclusion, we cannot refrain from touching on the much-vexed question of the Caliphate, on which the author expands, and this with reference to Abdul Hamid, who, as is well known, the same as his predecessors, laid claim to that dignity. Sir Edwin Pears seems still to adhere to the old notion that the Sultans of Turkey derive their title of Caliph from the assignment made in 1518 by an alleged Abbassid Caliph to Selim I., the conqueror of Egypt. In contradiction to this, we must at once state—and this on the authority of Sir William Muir and other writers on this subject—that this Caliphate which had survived in Egypt was but a race of mock Caliphs, a mere spectre, a name without a substance. For the last of the Abassid Caliphs, Mustasim, was put to death with his son and all belonging to his house, when Bagdad was taken by the Mongols in 1258. They then experienced the same destruction as they had prepared to the Umeyad Caliphs five centuries before. This extinction of the real Caliphate is a well-known fact among the learned Ulemahs of the Moslem world. But the mock Caliph, Al Mutawakil by name, who was brought to Constantinople in 1518 by the conqueror of the Memluks of Egypt, Selim I., forfeited his claim by an unworthy conduct. He ended by being convicted and cast into a fortress in Egypt. Selim's successor, Suleiman, set him at liberty for his own purpose. It was from these unworthy hands that the Osmanli monarchs believed and made believe that they had the rights of a Caliph resigned to them. This illusory resuscitation of the Caliphate by the Memluks was but a lifeless show, and unworthy of those great and able Caliphs known under the name of Abubekr, Omar, Osman, and Ali, which constituted the so-called Perfect Caliphate. The Sultans of Turkey not being Caliphs has lately received a somewhat humorous explanation in Professor C. A. Nallinos' book on the "Ottoman Caliphate." This eminent Orientalist rightly points to the error of Europeans respecting the reality of the Caliphate, and goes even so far as to state that the resuscitation of it is due much less to the Mohammedans themselves, than

to the Christian diplomatists! European statesmen down to the present day have connived at the propaganda carried on by the agents of the Sultans of Turkey, for the purpose of inducing Mohammedans all over the world to recognize them as their Caliph. That the Turkish Sultans have acquired undue influence by this means, admits of no doubt. Another well-known Orientalist, the Dutch Professor Snouck Hurgronje, holds the same view as his Italian colleague in this matter. He states in his "Politique Musulmane de la Hollande" (Paris, 1911, p. 97) that the French Government, being apparently well informed on the question of the Caliphate, absolutely refuses to give any spiritual control to the Ottoman Sultans over her Moslem subjects.

L. M. R.

CHINESE PORCELAIN

The beginnings of porcelain in China have for many years been a puzzle for collectors and others interested in the subject; at a time not far distant it was thought that no porcelain was made before the later years of the Ming dynasty, then the date was put further back. At a meeting of the China Society some years ago a photograph of a cup of semi-translucent ware was thrown on the screen with some suggestion that it might be T'ang, or might be Sung, but nothing definite could then be said. Sarre, in a paper on the Samarra finds in 1914, called attention to the porcellaneous wares known in the ninth century, and helped thereby to substantiate the tradition that translucent ware was known of the Arabs in that period; whilst both the records of the travels of I-Tsing and the T'ao Shuo indicate that Chinese exports of porcelain bowls to India were ordinary transactions in the T'ang period (618-906). Stanislas Julien, with a bold dip into space, asserted that porcelain was known in the Han period, and now Dr. Berthold Laufer in Publication 192 of the Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago, 1917) opens the question afresh with a discussion of the porcellaneous Han wares, known as *Han ts'e* (porcelain), which he obtained in 1910 at Si-ngan-fu. These are various vessels and several shards, beautifully reproduced in the first ten plates of the book; they are scarce specimens, but one may rejoice to know that the British Museum holds a couple of somewhat similar jars found in Fuchou. A chemical analysis of the ware shows the Chicago specimens to be very similar in composition with true porcelains, its alumina, silica, and alkali contents being almost identical with a Chinese analysis of Salvetat and another of Seger. Dr. Laufer might have quoted the analyses given by G. Vogt in 1900 (Paris, *Bull. Soc. Encouragement*, v. 530-612), which are more exhaustive than those of Salvetat. The glaze is also a lead silicate coloured green by copper oxide—a kind of glaze known at very early dates, as some unpublished data of Professor J. N. Collie might show. Dr. Laufer goes from the facts of his case into a philological and historical disquisition; the subject takes him to the study of kaolin (including a caveat against confusing it with kaolinite, but it is not clear at all whether he means the crystallized $H_2Al_2Si_2O_8H_2O$, as described by W. H. Butler in the *Mineralogical Magazine*). Then glazes are dis-

cussed, with a long aside on the murrhine vases, and most of the remainder dealing with *liu-li* stone and *liu-li* glaze. This is a subject that once attracted the present writer when first puzzled by the name *Ruri* given to a Japanese green glaze, and the Chinese reference to the stone led him to think that green aventurine quartz might have been meant, malachite being hardly brilliant enough, chrysoprase usually in masses too small to fit in the description, whilst green nephrites and emerald were discarded for other reasons. It remains to be seen whether this might lead to anything; anyway, it does not seem impossible for green stones of relatively small size to be tessellated so as to form a cover 2 feet 7 inches long, with a metal framework, as easily as if glazed pottery was used, and with a more decorative effect. The present writer may perhaps be excused if he mentions that he possesses a very large slab of ink decorated with the famous dew-gathering vessel, which is described as of foreign stone. In a further chapter the potter's wheel is comprehensively discussed. We would commend to all lovers of pottery this last book of Dr. Laufer, whose writings are not only very numerous, but always replete with erudition, suggestion, and the results of untiring research, as we have already had the pleasure to remark in these pages. The conclusion is that which common sense dictates: "Porcelain is not an invention; there is no inventor of it; . . . it is possible that it originated in experiments which were crowned with success in the Wei dynasty (140-87 B.C.), there being no *true* porcelain in the Han period.

Somewhat different in treatment, but bearing also on the beginnings of the Chinese ceramic art, is the elaborate CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF EARLY CHINESE POTTERY AND SCULPTURE, for which the writer is indebted to the compiler, Mr. S. C. Bosch Reitz, curator of the Department of Far Eastern Art at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. This exhibition consisted in objects loaned by ten American collectors and the Smithsonian Institution (Charles Freer Collection); 343 specimens in all, very fully described and all of which are illustrated. Mr. Bosch Reitz is, we believe, an artist of Dutch descent, who has studied the subject in the Far East, and whose handling of the Metropolitan Museum material has already won much praise. This catalogue is a masterpiece which should find its place on the shelves of pottery collectors as the first, we believe, to be so completely illustrated and critically written, if we except the expensive Burlington Club Catalogue and that of the Loan Exhibition held by the New York Japan Society in 1914. From the latter two lengthy articles have been reproduced in the present book: Mr. Hobson's introduction and Mrs. Sickler Williams' essay. In the glossary, page 138, appears again the translation of *Tz'u* (*Ts'e*), which is open to doubt—in fact, appears to be wholly at fault. The catalogue describes wares of the T'ang period, Ting of various dates, *Tz'u-Chou*; Chün in large numbers, Lung Chüan (celadon) Corean pottery, and a few pieces of metal-work and sculpture—added, we presume, to give more variety to the exhibition. Mr. Bosch Reitz looks upon T'ang and Sung wares as porcellaneous pottery. An uncommon feature of the catalogue, and

one which might perhaps be imitated, is the absence of the names of the lenders in the descriptive portion—truly, personal vanity could never have been put to a more severe test; and as a further token of public spirit on the part of the lenders and friends of the museum, they partly covered the cost of publishing this handsome work.

H. L. JOLY.

COTTON AND OTHER VEGETABLE FIBRES: THEIR PRODUCTION AND UTILISATION. By Ernest Goulding, D.Sc., with a preface by Sir W. R. Dunstan, C.M.G., etc. (Imperial Institute Series of Handbooks.) Small 8vo. x+231 pp., with 12 Plates. (John Murray.) 1917..

Some penny-wise folks, of the kind that has starved science and research in this country, would make of the Imperial Institute a mere card-indexing establishment, and one wonders whether they ever condescend to glance through the publications which vindicate the existence, and demonstrate the usefulness, of the Institute. Varied in their scope, ranging from mineralogy to zoology, embracing botany on the way in its purely academic form as well as in its applications, the papers found every quarter in the *Quarterly Bulletin* are, every one of them, dignified protests of a practical character against the blindness of those who refuse to see their value to the agriculturists and industrial workers of the whole Empire. It would have proved an easy matter to collect and reprint in one volume the papers and notes on cotton and industrial fibres scattered through the *Quarterly Bulletins*, but Dr. Goulding has followed the more commendable plan to present in a compact form a digest of the knowledge available, keeping strictly within the subject of *fibres* only and leaving the by-products of cotton out of the book. The treatment in eight chapters covers the classification and methods of examination of fibres; the morphology of the cotton plant, its cultivation, pests, preparation of the fibre, production of cotton, prices, etc., with statistics up to 1914. The only criticism one feels compelled to offer is that micro-photographs of the fibres, cotton and others, might have been more valuable than a mere reference to two standard books on the subject; surely blocks could have been easily found. And also one regrets the absence of a selected bibliography, for which there is ample material: the monograph by Dr. True, published in 1896 by the United States Government, is not even mentioned. This criticism applies equally to the other fibres: flax, hemp, ramie, jute, Manila hemp, banana fibre, sisal hemp, phormium, etc., dealt with in Chapters vi. and vii. The last chapter (viii.) covers pineapple fibre, coir, piassava, and miscellaneous fibres, good photographs being given of the plants under review. The book contains a mass of information which should prove useful to all users of fibres, but we would urge the inclusion in later editions of some of the additional material alluded to above. Further details, particularly relating to the improvements in Indian and Australian cotton cultivation,*

* See also ASIATIC REVIEW for Dr. Summers' paper on "Cotton in India" (1914).

appear in the *Quarterly Bulletin* for 1917, in which we note also an important and comprehensive paper on rice, together with a number of articles of topical interest on oilseeds and minerals.

H. L. J.

SHELLS AS EVIDENCE OF THE MIGRATIONS OF EARLY CULTURE. By J. W. Jackson, F.G.S. (*University of Manchester Press.*) No. cxii. Small 8vo. xxviii + 216 pp.

This book follows the previous publication of Professor Elliot Smith, who has written an introduction for it. The line of argument used by Mr. Jackson is already known through the publication of his memoirs of 1916 on shell trumpets, pearl shells, and cowry shells, reprinted in the present book, and he goes further into details respecting the connection between certain shells and the purple dye of the ancients. We would call the author's attention to a few slips: Page 18, there is no *Royal Library* in France *nou*; page 39, *Horafuki* is the proper reading; the old pictures of Picart and Dupuis reproduced opposite page 62 are absurdities worthy of the pulp-mill only, even though a Dutch author has, like Mr. Jackson, reproduced some in a book published this year! *Nihongi* (page 106) came *after* the *Kojiki*—it is not the oldest Japanese history; page 135, the spelling should be *homme écrasé*: these are mere details. Mr. W. L. Hildburgh's treatment of Japanese charms (page 205) requires to be taken with much caution; the writer's impression is that Mr. Hildburgh generalizes from Yokohama to the whole of Japan without justification. I may perhaps mention that I have an old Chinese or Japanese charm or token (it is hard to say what it was originally) which imitates somewhat the underside of a molluse, and that erotic suggestions based on the comparison of half-open shells with the vulva are found continuously in Japanese netsuke and the like, though it has never been suggested to my knowledge that these coarse jokes had any sale as "charms."

Several instances are given of "Golden Gospels" abroad, but was not a set sent by Leo X. to Henry VIII., in 1520, and is it not now in the Morgan Library? The book is the result of a mass of research and a useful addition to the series inaugurated by Dr. Elliot Smith.

H. L. J.

ORIENTALIA

EARLY BABYLONIAN LETTERS FROM LARSA. By Henry Frederick Lutz, Ph.D. (*Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts, Vol. II.*), (New Haven : *Yale University Press*; London : *Humphrey Milford.*) 1917. Reviewed by Professor L. W. King.

This volume makes available for study a valuable accession to our epistolary material dating from the period of Babylon's First Dynasty, at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. Most of the letters here published were written by private people, and refer to business matters, some of them in relation to the affairs of a temple. To judge from dated documents which accompanied them, practically all must have come from

the mounds at Senkereli, in southern Babylonia, which mark the site of the old city of Larsa, the Ellasar referred to in Gen. i. 14. They were acquired for the Babylonian Collection of Yale University by Professor A. T. Clay, its energetic founder and director, who assigned the publication of this interesting section of the texts to his pupil, Dr. Lutz. In only a few cases do the letters add anything new to the data already acquired relating to legal and commercial practice or phraseology. But they throw new light on the social conditions of the period; and the numerous proper names they contain furnish fresh material for that fascinating branch of study, and for comparison with proper names in other Semitic languages. For example, we here for the first time find the name Abraham in its full form in cuneiform. Professor Ungnad recently found Babylonian forms of the name Abram, written *A-ba-ra-ma*, *A-ba-am-ra-ma*, and *A-ba-am-ra-am*, which he is justified in claiming as exact reproductions of the Patriarch's name. In one of the letters here published (No. 15) we find for the first time the fuller form of the name written *A-ba-ra-ha-am*.

To illustrate the subject-matter of these early letters and the style in which they are written, we cannot do better than quote one or two of them. For example, No. 25 is of a legal character, transmitting a decision of the court of judges at Babylon ordering the return of a dowry:

“ Unto the Muhaddum say :

“ “ Thus say the Judges of Babylon : May Shamash (the sun-god) and Marduh (the god of Babylon) preserve your life !

“ “ As to the matters pertaining to the law-suit of Ilushu-ibishu and Mattatum, we have examined their case. We have rendered them judgment according to the law of our lord (*i.e.*, the king). The entire dowry which Mattatum gave to her daughter when she brought her to the house of Ilushu-ibishu we have said must revert to Mattatum. We are despatching a sheriff to her. Let them give unto Mattatum everything in such good condition as it is now seen to be in.” ”

Here is a very sound little letter advising delay in getting within reach of the law :

“ Unto Bala say :

“ “ Thus saith Kubbutia : May Shamash keep thee in health ! Until I come to thee do not give Taribatum an occasion for legal proceedings.” ”

Here is a letter claiming payment of money due :

“ Unto Sin-liwir say :

“ “ Thus saith Ili-rabi : Concerning that which thou hast written : “ At the time when thou goest to Rabikum, write to me and I will send unto thee the ten shekels of silver.” Five days hence my face is turned to Rabikum. I now despatch Shamash-rabi unto thee. Send me the ten shekels of silver.” ”

Occasionally we find a date mentioned in one of the letters, as in No. 94 :

“ Unto my lord say ^{*} :

“ “ Thus saith Sili-Shamash : The grain at Dimti-Kattim is five *gur*. In the year in which the temple of Adad was built in Larsa.” ”

It will be noticed that the regnal year of the king is not quoted, but the date is indicated by the building of a temple. This cumbrous method of time-reckoning was in regular use in the early Babylonian period, each year being given a title from the chief event that occurred in it or in the preceding year. It may seem strange that so practical and business-like a people as the Babylonians should have retained this cumbrous system until the Karsite period. In Egypt they made the change to reckoning by regnal years at a much earlier period.

But enough has been said to indicate the interest and value attaching to the collection of documents here published. It may be added that Dr. Lutz has done his work well, and with the most conscientious regard for textual detail, which we should naturally expect in any pupil of Professor Clay. He has furnished his texts with full indices, name-lists, etc., and has prefixed a valuable introduction, including translations of selected texts. He hopes in the course of his present work at the Pennsylvania University Museum to find time for a complete translation of the volume. Meanwhile both he and Professor Clay are to be congratulated on the present very scholarly work. It may be added that its cost of publication has been defrayed out of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Fund, established in memory of that distinguished pastor of the Congregation Ahavath Chesed, in New York City, who was among the founders of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and adorned one of its professorial chairs until his death.

BIJĀPŪR AND ITS ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS. With an historical outline of the Ādil Shāhi Dynasty. By Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S. (*Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. xxxvii.) One vol., large 4to, xii + 131 pp. and cxviii plates. (Bombay.) 1916. Rs. 4*r*.

In this work Mr. Cousens has given us a veritable *magnus opus*, his previous writings on Bijāpūr and its antiquities had for a while filled a gap made all the greater by the scarcity of Fergusson and Hart's large work, by the scanty illustrations therein, and by errors due to faulty labelling of the original drawings or photographs. In this book the wealth of illustration will surely satisfy the most critically minded, and moreover one marvels at the patience and skill of the Indian draughtsmen responsible for such plates as the views of the tomb of Ibrahim Ranza, supplementary to the photographs of the same building; the same applies to the drawings of the mosque of Mihtar-I-Mahall, of the carpets of Ashar Mahall, all of which are a joy to the eye. The text devotes 18 pages to the historical essay, then come descriptions of the citadel, the walls, the guns (with technical details as to their manufacture) of the city gates, then general remarks on architecture, and from pages 39 to 126, details of the monuments, the remainder being taken up by the coinage of Bijāpūr and old *sanads* (deeds). Illustrations in the next number 28, amongst which may perhaps be particularly noted the wrought-iron grille from Chini Mahall, a head of Rāmrāj, the curious stone chains from Ranza and Lakshmeswar. Chinese and Persian pottery was found at Chini Mahall, of which some specimens are illustrated, these being printed

uniformly in blue. They give the impression of being of Ming date ; this plate, however, is hardly good enough for a critical opinion to be formed. There are some interesting wall paintings, one of which appears to represent a European, probably Portuguese ; another shows a game of polo. The book is excellently printed, and reflects great credit upon the Central Press at Bombay and the Poona blockmakers, whose work is far better here than the process reproductions we usually get from India.

H. L. J.

THE SANSKRIT POEMS OF MAYŪRA. Edited with a Translation and Notes and an Introduction, together with the Text and Translation of Bāṇa's Caṇḍisatka, by G. P. Quackenbos, A.M., PH.D. (New York : Columbia University Press.) 1917. Price 6s. 6d.

The previous volumes of the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series have led scholars to expect to find in it works of sound learning and accurate research, in accordance with the scholarly reputation of the editor of the series, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson. The present, the ninth volume of the series, will not disappoint such expectations. It contains a collected edition and translation of the poems of Mayūra, a Sanskrit poet of the seventh century, together with an exhaustive biography and a critical study of his writings. In the Introduction a vivid picture is given of the quarrels between the rival poets at the court of King Harṣa, the ruler at whose court the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Huen Thsang, resided for some time, and Dr. Quackenbos has made a careful and detailed examination of the (somewhat conflicting) historical sources. In addition to the poems of Mayūra, he has edited a poem by Bāṇa, the son-in-law and bitter rival of Mayūra ; there is some reason for believing that this poem in honour of the goddess Caṇḍī, the wife of Śiva, was written for the purpose of exalting Śiva-worship, in emulation of a similar poem by Mayūra in praise of Sūrya, the sun-god. These two poems offer several interesting points of comparison, as expositions of the forms of religion which (together with Jainism) flourished side by side under the tolerant rule of King Harṣa. The editor has given the Sanskrit texts in each case in transliteration, together with an English translation and a detailed commentary. Apart from its value to the Sanskritist, this learned work will be an important addition to the library of all students of Hinduism and Hindu thought.

A BENGALI DICTIONARY : VANGALA BHASAR ABHIDHAN. By Gyanendra Mohan Das, Calcutta. (*Indian Publishing House*, 1917.) Rs. 7.

Have Dr. Johnson and the late M. Littré met in the Elysian fields, and do they discuss lexicography as they pace the flowery meadows ? If so, they must rejoice at the notable development of the study of words in recent times. Take, for instance, the great Oxford English Dictionary and Darmsteter's two volumes in French, and now this portly and remarkably cheap volume in Bengali. Mr. Gyanendra Mohan Das, to be sure, is reticent as to his debt to Western predecessors in the art and science

of lexicography, and his interesting Preface makes no mention of even William Carey and Sir C. Graves Houghton, though it is evident that Mr. Das has made judicious use of the labours of both these diligent scholars and pioneers in Bengali philology. That, however, matters little, except as a matter of sentiment. Mr. Gyanendra Mohan has spent fifteen busy years in compiling what will for some years to come remain the standard dictionary of the Bengali language. He has attempted two admirable innovations. Firstly, he has, for the first time in Bengali, reinforced his definitions by aptly chosen quotations from Bengali literature, ancient and modern. Secondly, he has endeavoured to give the actual (Calcutta) pronunciation of the words. To this end he has invented a somewhat summary phonetic script of his own, helpful indeed, but, judged by what has been done in that matter in the West, incomplete. What he should now attempt, in collaboration with Mr. Daniel Jones or some other competent phonetician, is a Bengali transliteration of the script of the International Phonetic Association, now used by phonologists all over the world. Let us congratulate Mr. Das on his courage in including all manner of words used in the literature of his province. With his aid a student can now tackle the Vaishnava verses of Vidyapati Thakur (written in a dialect more like Hindi than Bengali), or the free-and-easy vernacular of "Allaler Gharer Dulal," or the racy colloquial idioms of Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Hitherto Bengali dictionaries were little better than guides to the highly sanscritized Bengali of such writers as Vidyasagar. In only one respect do we think that Mr. Das has been too generous, and that is in his inclusion of English words. Most of these, we imagine, are only used by those who can consult English dictionaries. It is, indeed, significant that in some cases Mr. Das has been driven to supply English definitions of technical words borrowed from our tongue. It is a fault, if fault it be, on the right side; on the side of accuracy and completeness.

THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF MESOPOTAMIA. By the Rev. John Van Ess. (*Oxford University Press.*) 1917. 4s. 6d. net.

From the note on the title-page, "Compiled for the Administration of the Territories of Iraq in British possession," it appears that this work has been prepared for the use of the British troops and others serving in Mesopotamia, and the preface expressly states that it "has been written to meet the special needs of those to whom the element of time is of prime importance, and who desire chiefly a working knowledge of the colloquial." It is thus clearly not intended for the scholar, who must turn to the writings of Massignon, Meissner, Oussani, Weissbach, and Yahuda, for information as to the philology of the spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia and its dialectical diversity, corresponding to the various communities (Christian, Jewish, and Muslim) in which it is spoken, and to the foreign influences (Indian, Kurdish, Persian, and Turkish) which have brought about considerable modifications in the vocabulary current in different localities. None of this does Mr. Van Ess undertake to give, as his aim is entirely practical; but he provides an excellent vocabulary extending

over 136 pages (with double columns), preceded by the first summary of the grammar of Mesopotamian Arabic that has hitherto been published in the English language. But his book would have been better suited to fulfil the purpose for which it is intended if a less antiquated arrangement of the grammar and exercises had been adopted. A series of exercises made up of little sentences, such as are found in grammars written for the lower classes in elementary schools, is calculated only to irritate grown men who want rapidly to acquire the knowledge of a language for conversational purposes. The main purpose of the author would have been better achieved if the outlines of the grammar had been put together at the beginning of the book; the present arrangement is confused and makes the grammar appear more complicated than it really is. The exercises might also be improved by the addition of some continuous narrative; for this there is abundant material in texts printed in Europe and by the local press of Baghdad, where a number of periodicals in the vernacular dialect made their appearance after the revolution of 1908.

T. W. ARNOLD.

THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYINGS (SANYUTTA-NIKAYA). PART I.:
KINDRED SAYINGS WITH VERSES (SAGATHA-VAGGA). Translated by
Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A. (*Published by the Oxford University Press
for the Pali Text Society. 10s. net.*)

The seventh volume of this attractive series contains the "Sagatha-Vagga," very ably translated from the Pali by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

As is well known, the contents of the Pitakas, of which the volume before us forms part, were composed, settled, and arranged in India during the hundred or two hundred years that followed the death of Gotama. This Canon of Buddhism has survived in the Texts composed in the Pali language of the Buddhists of Ceylon. It is, therefore, to these Pali works that we must go, in preference to all other sources, for an authentic and consistent account of the life and work and teachings of the founder of Buddhism. We owe much gratitude to the Pali Text Society for making these works of considerable historical and religious interest accessible to the English-speaking public. The "Sagatha-Vagga" make up the first volume of the Pali Text Society's edition of the "Sanyutta-Nikaya," prepared by Leon Feer. They consist of eleven groups of slight sketches with verses dealing with legends of fairies, gods and devils, and princely interviewers seeking advice from Gotama. They come to him asking for light and help, and India's greatest son answers them "with his great good sense, his willingness to adapt his sayings to the individual inquirer, his keen intuition, his humour and smiling irony, his courage and his dignity, his catholic and tender compassion for all creatures." The life and thoughts of the Hindus in the Gangetic valley, such as they still survive in our present times, are revealed to us. The Preface, in the translator's exquisite style, is inspired by sympathy and understanding.

Two sayings about war may be of special interest now, although few of us can claim to view events in the Buddhist's detached frame of mind:

"Conquest engenders hate ; the conquered lives
In misery. But whoso is at peace
And passionless, happily doth he live ;
Conquest hath he abandoned and defeat."

And again :

"A man may spoil another, just so far
As it may serve his ends, but when he's spoiled
By others he, despoiled, spoils yet again.
So long as evil's fruit is not matured,
The fool doth fancy 'now's the hour, the chance
But when the deed bears fruit, he fareth ill.
The slayer gets a slayer in his turn ;
The conqueror gets one who conquers him ;
Th' abuser wins abuse, th' annoyer, fret.
Thus by the evolution of the deed,
A man who spoils is spoiled in his turn."

S. A. R.

PERIODICALS : I. ASIATIC

The JAPAN MAGAZINE continues its eighth volume with a selection of articles as informative and as well illustrated as usual. We may note particularly the autobiography of the late Baron Kikkawa, written in very precise English for the information of his children; archaeological articles by Dr. Noritaké Tsuda; notes on art; and several political articles.

The NEW EAST, edited by Mr. J. W. Robertson Scott, shows more and more the influence of the old *Review of Reviews*; it is full of good things, amongst which are some clever sketches by Miss Elizabeth Keith. Like the *Japan Magazine*, it contains a diary of events. Its extracts from the Japanese press are useful, but we must candidly say that we do not admire the selection of "leading men" whose prose passes as representative of English thought, presumably for the enlightenment of the Japanese : Shaw (G. B.), Wells, Dean Inge, Israel Zangwill—are these the editors' own selections to show up socialistic lights? Cannot the London Committee of the *New East* find more truly national leaders of British thought? We are all tired of Socialism in all its shapes and forms.

The FAR EAST is a much more modest periodical, both in its price and in its subject matter; its page 392 shows some mixed biological ideas and a spelling of *O-hayo* which brings back to mind the old chestnut about the American who called it "Illinois." Alas! cannot a newspaper printed in Japan spell *romaji* properly? The articles by Mr. Murakami on early Japanese trade with Mexico are worth notice and comparison with the publication of the University of California on the same subject.

H. L. J.

II. LONDON (April issues)

Near East.

Cyprus : a Neglected Island, by Capt. K. C. Ferguson. *Chambers.*
Germany and Armenia, by A. S. Safrastian. *Ararat.*

Far East.

Japan and the War, by E. Bruce Milford. *Fortnightly Review.*

Russia.

The Russian Revolution, by Prof. J. V. Simpson. *Nineteenth Century.*

The Rebirth of Russia, by C. Hagberg Wright, LL.D. *Contemporary Review.*

THE Cities Committee of the Sociological Society will issue in May a First Series of *Papers for the Present*. They will deal with current topics and prevailing issues.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following works :

1. "Two War Years in Constantinople : Sketches of German and Young Turkish Ethics and Politics." By Dr. Harry Stuermer, late Correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* in Constantinople (1915-16). Translated from the German by E. Allen and the Author. From Hodder and Stoughton. 6s. net.
2. "Elements of Constructive Philosophy." By J. S. Mackenzie, D.LITT.D., LL.D. From George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.

This work, dealing with the fundamental problems of philosophy, is divided into three books. The first is concerned with the general problems of knowledge, including the nature of belief, the meaning of laws of thought, truth and reality, etc. The second deals with special aspects of the Universe as known, including the qualitative and quantitative aspects, Causation, the chief modes of Unity, Value, Freedom and Personality. The third deals with the Universe as a whole, with special reference to the possibility of regarding it as a Cosmos or perfect Order. In connection with this, the problems of Contingency, Change, Evil, Infinity, and the relations between Time and Eternity, are discussed. The leading conceptions of Oriental speculation and their close relation to the modes of thought of some recent philosophers in this country are taken into account.

"A Book of Quaker Saints." By L. V. Hodgkin. From T. N. Foulis.

The stories are intended in the first place for Quaker children, and are written throughout from a Quaker standpoint. They have been selected to show how the truth of the Inward Light first dawned gradually on one soul, and then spread rapidly, in ever-widening circles, through a neighbourhood, a kingdom, and finally all over the world. The account is based on contemporary authorities. A peaceful charm pervades the whole book.

4. "The Prophets of the Old Testament." By Alex. R. Gordon, D.LITT., D.D. From Hodder and Stoughton. 6s. net

This book is a sequel to "The Poets of the Old Testament," by the same author, who again reveals his intimate knowledge of Hebrew history and religion. He has rediscovered the prophets, who were far aloof, known only by certain golden words, and made them stand out as real personalities.

'The Wanderer on a Thousand Hills.' By Edith Wherry. From John Lane. 6s. net.

A Chinese story full of sympathy and understanding of the life in the East.

6. "Handbook of the Classical Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York." By Gisela M. A. Richter, D.LITT.
7. "Education, Selective, Specific, Compensatory." By Michael West, Indian Educational Service, with a foreword by Honble. Mr. W. W. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. From Longmans, Green and Co. 3s. 6d. net.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

CONTENTS.—Indian Heroes in London—Indian Industries—Manchester's Gift to India—Sir William Wedderburn: "A most valuable link between Britain and India"—The Women of India—"The Novel in Bengal"—The Indian Gymkhana Club—The Redemption of Palestine—Portrait of a famous Armenian—A great Russian Poet.

INDIAN HEROES IN LONDON

JEMADAR GOBIND SINGH, V.C., the ninth Indian to gain the coveted distinction, was the man of the moment during his visit to this country last month. To him alone was the Victoria Cross presented at the investiture by His Majesty the King-Emperor on February 6; and in congratulating the hero and wishing him long life to enjoy his well-won honour, His Majesty expressed his gratification that the Jemadar was unhurt and able to take part in the ceremony. The story of the deed which won the V.C. has thrilled both East and West. Even the cold official statement spoke of Gobind Singh as having three times carried a message from his regiment to brigade headquarters under heavy fire from the enemy, his horse being shot under him on each journey, compelling him to complete the journey on foot. When these dry bones are covered with the flesh of fuller detail, the story that emerges is, briefly, this:

In the push at Cambrai a detachment of the British Forces was cut off, being surrounded by the enemy. The officer in command called for volunteers to carry a message to the Staff. One after another eight Indian cavalrymen volunteered, and were struck down before they had proceeded far on this dangerous errand. The ninth to volunteer was Gobind Singh, and he got through the hail of bullets into the British lines, though his horse was killed. He volunteered to take back the reply. Again he came through, though again his horse was shot under him; but it was his fleetness of foot, together with the British guns, which saved him from the pursuing Germans. Then for the third time he declared his readiness to face that terrible mile and a half. He was told to choose whatever horse he liked, and riding forth, he was astonished to find that no rattle of machine-guns greeted him; all was quiet. The reason soon became evident, for big guns had been trained on to the open ground, and a barrage of fire met him. A shell struck his horse immediately behind the

saddle, blowing the animal to pieces. Gobind Singh, bespattered with the flesh and blood of his steed, was flung to the ground, but finding he could not only stand, but move, he calmly walked through the barrage, never dreaming he could run. To the astonishment of the British surgeons and himself it was found, on reaching safety in the British lines, that he had "come through hell unhurt." Such courage and daring devotion to duty well deserved the reward of the Victoria Cross, and it was small wonder that His Majesty the King-Emperor interested himself closely in the details of this remarkable exploit. By His Majesty's request, the Jemadar's leave was extended to allow him to take part in the procession from Buckingham Palace to Westminster, on the occasion of the State Opening of Parliament, with other Indian cavalry officers also on leave from France.

Another interesting incident of Gobind Singh's stay in London was the reception given in his honour at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, by the National Indian Association, with Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen and Miss Beck as hosts. The spokesman for the welcoming company which gathered to honour the modest cavalryman was another V.C., Sir O'Moore Creagh, who was Commander-in-Chief in India when, at the Imperial Durbar at Delhi, in 1910, the King-Emperor declared that the Victoria Cross would be conferred on Indian soldiers. Another veteran soldier, who proudly welcomed "his boy," was General Maharajah Sir Pertab Singh, who declared that the distinction won reflected glory on all Rajputs, especially on the Rahtores, to whom the Jemadar belongs, and whose head is the Maharajah of Jodhpur. The new V.C. began his army career in the Jodhpur Lancers, and is the first officer of the Imperial Service to win the honour. He was afterwards transferred to the 26th Cavalry, and has been in France for three years. Both British and Indian speakers declared that the ancient tradition of service and self-sacrifice of the Rajputs were worthily represented in the Rajput soldiers of to-day.

Indian music was included in the programme of the reception; an address in Hindi was read by Mr. K. K. Mathur, in honour of the Jemadar; he was garlanded by the little daughter of Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen; and their six-year-old son, N. George Ganga Singh Sen, in the uniform, complete in every detail, of an Indian cavalry officer, presented him with a large silver salver, the gift of a number of friends. A gold watch was given by Mr. Alfred Ezra, whose kindness to Indian soldiers dates back to the early months of the war, and a photograph commemorates the historic occasion.

The Indian Social Club, prompted by Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. Bhola Nauth, and other Indian lady members, gave a reception to Jemadar Gobind Singh at the Royal Automobile Club, kindly lent for the occasion. Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, the President, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mrs. Roy, Maharajah Sir Pertab Singh, and Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., on behalf of the Royal Automobile Club, welcomed the daring Rajput, and all who came into touch with him were impressed as much by his simple modesty as by his dauntless courage.

At the India Office, too, a reception was given in his honour, with Lord

Islington as host, and all the cavalry officers on leave in London were included in the hospitality given to the V.C.

The visits of Indian cavalry officers from France have been an interesting link between East and West during the past months. Most of the officers have been received by the King-Emperor, and arrangements have been made for them to see places of interest in this country. Many have come to London for the first time, and have been keenly interested in their sightseeing expeditions, which have included not only historic monuments, but Woolwich Arsenal, aeroplane factories and aerodromes, the great industrial and manufacturing centres of the North, and also London's famous shops. Sir O'Moore Creagh, Lord Carmichael, and many British and Indian friends, have gathered to greet them at the Wednesday At Homes of the National Indian Association. Not a few of the Indian officers wear the ribbon of Mons, indicating that they were on active service in France before November 23, 1914. Some of them have also taken part in the fighting in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and returned to France for the second time--surely a remarkable record.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES

That romance and an industrial enterprise "of a monumental character" can be combined was evident when Mr. H. M. Surtees Tuckwell, M.I.MECH.E., told the story of the Tata Iron and Steel Works to a large audience at a meeting of the Indian Section of the Society of Arts, presided over by Lord Lamington. The living pictures, which supplemented the spoken word and the ordinary lantern-slides, showed the everyday life and work at Sakchi, where, on land that but lately was jungle with wild beasts roaming at will, the great industry has come into being, and where the promise of future development reaches almost beyond the stretches of imagination. To-day the Indian character of the great works is becoming more and more pronounced. By desire of Mr. J. N. Tata, the remarkable and far-seeing founder of the works, Great Britain and the United States lent their aid in brains and machinery to ensure the success of the enterprise, and still render important service; but as far as possible, said the lecturer, the employment of Indians in all grades of work will be extended. In relating such a remarkable story, the character sketch of Mr. J. N. Tata was of special interest. Mr. Tuckwell told how the veteran Parsi grew up in an atmosphere of doggedness and perseverance at Navsari, the stronghold of the Zorastrian priesthood, "and the acquirement of these attributes enabled him to realize his ambitions in the face of obstacles insurmountable to a man of less determination." These ambitions were centred in three schemes, all of which are now well established: the steel and iron works, the storage and utilization of monsoon waters, and a scientific research institute. Truly a great achievement. As Mr. Tuckwell unfolded the story of the development of Sakchi from jungle to a modern town, growing up round works which command the admiration of men experienced in the long-established iron and steel works of this country, the personal and human enthusiasm was evident beneath the

restrained, yet almost overpowering, record of so great an industrial achievement. Looking forward, the lecturer pointed out that, in times of peace, the Tata Steel and Iron Works will supply forgings and castings for ships and locomotives and other industrial purposes, but also if the dread need should arise, "guns, shells, explosives, and all the essentials of warfare, by the utilization of the resources of the country both material and personal."

The outstanding fact of Sir Henry Ledgard's lecture to the Society of Arts, Indian Section, on "The Indian Hide and Leather Trade," was that before the war the industry was almost entirely in German hands, with the exception of finance, as "the German houses apparently found the English banks sufficiently cosmopolitan and wealthy to serve their purpose." He made a strong plea for a radical change in the situation, and urged that no firm or individual should carry on the industry without a licence, to be issued only to Britons or Indians. The outlook for the future is promising, he stated, and with reference to the conference on the subject, held at the India Office in July, 1916, under the chairmanship of Lord Islington, Sir Henry said that British firms in Calcutta had made it clear that their "entrance and continuance in the business would be contingent upon the complete removal from the trade of German firms, or firms whose antecedents and connections and membership of the German hide ring set them apart from British firms."

MANCHESTER'S PRESENTATION TO INDIA

The presentation of an aeroplane to India by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on March 2 was an occasion of special interest. Among the guests invited to take part in the ceremony were Lord Desborough, President of the Imperial Air Fleet Committee, Lord Islington, Lord Hugh Cecil, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan and Sir Prabshankar Pattani, members of the Indian Council, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, Mr. N. C. Sen, and Major Sir Norman Leslie. The visitors were entertained to lunch by Mr. R. B. Stoker, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and Mrs. Stoker formally named the aeroplane "Manchester." The Viceroy of India sent a message of cordial thanks on behalf of the Indian Government, and referred to the opportunities which India afforded for the development of air service, adding that airmen had done good service last year in frontier operations. Speaking for Lord Islington, who was unable to be present owing to an attack of influenza, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan expressed warm appreciation of the gift, and said that it was evidence of the changed angle of vision which regarded India as an equal partner in the Empire and of the desire that she should rise to the highest pitch of civic life and liberty so as to take her proper place in the Empire. Sir Prabshankar Puttani said India would long cherish the gift, which, by the way, is to be renewed as each machine wears out, and hoped that the British Air Fleet would have as complete control of the air as the Navy has of the sea. He urged a further use of the great help India can render

in men and material, and declared that the strength of an Empire was not so much its vastness as the close understanding between its component parts. Lord Desborough, in accepting the aeroplane for service in France, paid tribute to India's splendid assistance in the fight for justice, liberty, and civilization, and declared his belief that the war would be won in the air, hence the importance of Manchester's gift. An honoured guest on the occasion was Second Lieutenant Hardit Singh Malik, of the Royal Flying Corps, who enlisted in the French Army, quickly became a skilled airman, and has attained great distinction in France and Italy. He has now been granted a British commission.

A. A. S.

THE PASSING OF A GREAT FRIEND OF THE INDIANS.

The passing of Sir William Wedderburn has removed one of the outstanding figures of public life. It might well be said that "India" was written on his heart; for India he lived and moved and had his being. So selfless was his devotion, that he had come within sight of his eightieth birthday without being exposed to the taunt that the motive of his service was personal advantage. From the time he entered the Indian Civil Service, taking the third place in open competition, in 1859, all through his service of nearly thirty years, and his continued work, after retirement, in Parliament, in the Press, on platforms, down to his latest efforts on behalf of the education of Indian girls, no charge of self-seeking dimmed the complete dedication of his life to India's welfare. The Indian Civil Service was a tradition in his family; his father, Sir John Wedderburn, entered that Service in 1807, and on his retirement thirty years later received tangible proof of the esteem and affection in which he was held by British and Indian friends. Sir William wrote of the Service thus: "I have always regarded this hereditary profession, which was also the profession of my choice, as the noblest career open to youthful aspirations; and if at various times I have come into collision with the dominant powers of the great Indian bureaucracy, the cause must not be sought in any inbred hostility to the Service, nor in any want of *esprit de corps*." The keynote of his service was the union of East and West, the sympathetic and understanding co-operation of Briton and Indian; it was in this spirit that he worked with untiring devotion throughout his official life and his subsequent close association with the Indian National Congress, especially in its work in this country as inspired by the British Committee. When he went to India as President of the Congress in 1889 and in 1910, also when he accompanied Sir Henry Cotton, who was President in 1904, he was accorded a triumphal progress, inspired by deep and widespread affection. No words could be more fitting than those which have been used of him, "a verray parfit gentil knight." His gentleness made him great; his sincerity made him strong.

"A most valuable link between Britain and India." This was the tribute paid by Lord Islington at the Memorial Service held in London on March 5, organized by Indians, and warmly supported by Sir William's countrymen. Sir Herbert Roberts, M.P., presided, and was one of

many who recalled with affection their association with Sir William in Parliament, and the inspiration of his fearlessness in advocating what he believed to be right and his determined opposition to wrong. Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, Lord Weardale, Dr. G. B. Clark, were among those who paid touching personal tribute at the meeting; and from an Indian woman, Mrs. N. Blair, daughter of Sir William's old friend, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, came the request that his name might be associated with the Gokhale Scholarship, to which he had given so much affectionate devotion, and which would commemorate another life-long friendship, as well as his keen and practical sympathy, with the education of Indian girls and the training of Indian women teachers.

"Great hearts are glad when it is time to give," writes Henry Newbolt. With Sir William Wedderburn it was always "time to give," and his friends in East and West take leave of that "great heart" with the sadness of farewell, but with the gladness of remembrance and the inspiration of a noble example of absolute self-giving.

"THE NOVEL IN BENGAL"

Mr. J. D. Anderson, reader in Bengali at Cambridge, and a tutor at the School of Oriental Studies, gave recently at the School an interesting paper on "The Novel in Bengal." Quoting, as a specimen of the ancient metrical tales of Bengal, some extracts from Professor E. B. Cowell's well-known verse translation of the *Chandi*, written by Mukunda Ram Chakravarli in the seventeenth century, he said they gave evidence of a keenly humorous appreciation of character, and especially of feminine qualities of mind and temper, as shown in the jealousies to which polygamy inevitably gave rise; they dealt with bourgeois and rustic life, and until in the eighteenth century were curiously democratic in treatment. Bharat Chandra Ray, the greatest literary craftsman of the narrative poets of Bengal, writing under Mahomedan rule, described the courtly life of kings' palaces and high society. The transition from verse to prose was largely the work of Europeans, and especially of William Carey, the Baptist missionary, who in his anxiety to find a prose style for preaching and the translation of the Bible, was prompted to compile a series of vivid dialogues in the language of everyday life. Their success was great, and led to the composition of two notable works of fiction: Piyari Chand Mitter's famous "Allaler Gharer Dulal," and Kali Prasanua Singha's "Hutum Penchar Naksha." Mr. Anderson's enlightening description of the novels of the two greatest Bengali novelists of modern times, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Sir Rabindranath Tagore, was supplemented by his own translations of typical passages from Bankim's most remarkable novel, "Anander Math," the work in which occurs the famous "Bande Mataram" hymn, now popular all over India as an apt expression of nationalist sentiment, and from other works. He said that there has recently come into notice a young Bengali novelist of great promise, Mr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, who bids fair to surpass even writers so admir-

able and distinguished as Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Sir Rabindranath. Several Bengali novels have been translated into English, among them Bankim's "Kapal Kundala," "The Poison Tree," etc., but it is not easy to judge of the merit of Bengali fiction from more or less literal renderings. The prose style of Bengali differs so widely from that of English as to require a courageously free translation such as few dare attempt, for fear of being taxed with unfaithfulness to the original. Hence Bengali fiction has not yet found its FitzGerald, and Bengali novels, to be rightly appreciated, should be read in the original. It is perhaps a significant fact that Sir Rabindranath, in spite of the success of his English versions of his lyrical verse, has not so far attempted to put his novels into English.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA

The *Entente* between the women of India and the women of the Overseas Dominions, fostered by the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union, continues to make progress. Recent meetings have been addressed by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, c.b.e., on "The Domestic Ideal in Indian Literature," in which ancient and modern literature gave important and interesting evidence; by Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., on "The Relations of India and the Overseas Dominions," which came as a revelation to many that unity of Empire is a phantasy if based on humiliating racial differentiation; by Mr. H. S. L. Polak, on "Indian Labour Immigration Within the Empire," which showed that the indenture system, whatever name be given to it, is impossible.

No tribute could be more convincing of the wisdom of the choice of Mrs Rajkumari Das, Principal for eight years of the Brahmo Somaj Girls' School, Calcutta, to be the first Gokhale Scholar in this country, than that paid to her "with all good wishes" by the Principal and Vice-Principal of the London County Council Day Training College, established under the University of London, where she has studied. The tribute was paid by them in taking leave of her after her completely successful course of study, crowned by passing brilliantly the examinations for the Teachers' Diploma of the University. They write:

"Mrs. Das has throughout her course here done extremely satisfactory work. In spite of the fact that all the lectures, classes, and examinations have been conducted in what is to her a foreign language, she has taken her place on equal terms with English students, and has held her own admirably in the work and taken good places in the college examinations.

"The practical part of Mrs. Das' work here has consisted partly in visits of observation to schools of various types in London, and partly of teaching practice in the County Secondary School, Clapton. In that school she has given several courses of lessons both in the summer and autumn terms, and the headmistress reports that she has proved herself of real value to the school. In particular her lessons to the elder girls have been full of interest and value.

"Both here and in the school in which she has taught, Mrs. Das' personal relations with staff, students, and children have been of the pleasantest sort, and she carries with her on her return to India the good wishes of all with whom she has come in contact here."

A gathering of the members and friends of the Indian Women's Education Association took place at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Fisher Unwin to wish Godspeed to Mrs. Das on her return to India. Sir M. M. Bhownagree, acting chairman during the absence of Sir Krishna Gupta, expressed the warmest appreciation of the gratifying success achieved by Mrs. Das in less than twelve months, and wished her the fulfilment of her many hopes in her future service to her countrywomen. He urged that both the impetus and financial help for improved educational facilities for Indian girls must come from India. Lady Muir Mackenzie, President of the Association, said she hoped to see not only one, but many Gokhale Scholars studying modern principles of teaching in this country at the same time, as a beginning in meeting India's great need for trained women teachers. Mrs. Das, in expressing gratitude and appreciation for the advantages and kindness she has enjoyed here, made practical suggestions for the improvement of the curriculum in girls' schools in India, and urged the need for Training Colleges for Indian women teachers in their own country.

With regard to the need for improved facilities for the education of Indian girls, the generous and munificent gift of the Maharaj-Kumar of Tikari, premier Zemindar of the Gaya District, Bihar, has been widely welcomed for its goodwill, foresight, and admirable freedom from tiresome limitations ; it is significant evidence of that "impetus from India" which Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree declared to be both desirable and essential. The Indian Women's Education Association, in a memorandum urging the co-operation in India of all who are at work on this important question, expresses "joyful appreciation of the endowment by the Maharaj-Kumar of Tikari of a College for Indian women. Lovers of human progress," they add, "must feel deeply grateful to him for so noble an example of what may be done, even in these evil times, towards repairing the devastation from which the world is now suffering." It is significant of the times that the Maharani Sita Devi, wife of the Maharaj-Kumar, should contribute an article to the *National News*, London, giving details of the scheme. The Maharani is one of the trustees of the College that is to be, and a member of the educational committee. She states that she knows the value of travel from experience, and is hopeful that a wise incorporation of the best methods of teaching in East and West will be adopted at the College. After making full provision for the members of the family and the liabilities of the estate, it is expected that the College will have a yearly income of about ten lakhs of rupees. It will be a strictly purdah residential institution, where girls will be educated from the age of five to eighteen ; there will be no question of caste or creed. The site of the College will probably be on land to the extent of about fifty bighas, the gift of Sir Ali Imam. The trustees appointed under the deed, in addition to the Maharaj-Kumar and the Maharani, are Sir S. P. Sinha, the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Shafuddin, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Sachidananda Sinha, Mr. Hasan Imam, Mr. Brikishore Lal, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad of Dumraon, and Mr. C. F. Andrews.

THE GYMKHANA CLUB

The Indian Gymkhana Club had a very satisfactory report to present to its first annual meeting, at which the President, Sir Frederick Robertson, took the chair. The Viceroy of India and the Governor of Bengal are among those who have testified their interest by sending donations, and the aims and record of the Club are being warmly welcomed by princes and people in India. The home of the Club is at Mill Hill Park, and last season twenty-two matches were played, of which thirteen were won, six lost, and three drawn. In a match with an Australian Eleven, which ended in a draw, M. P. Bajana scored the first century for the Club, and C. H. Gunasekara performed the first "hat trick." After the match, the Australian captain led his men on to the field and cheered the Indian cricketers, who returned the compliment, and both teams joined in singing the National Anthem. As a result of another match with an Australian Eleven, played at Lord's, a sum of £140 was handed to the widows and orphans of the firemen and stokers of the Navy and the Merchant Service. A previous engagement prevented His Majesty the King-Emperor from being present. Last season's captain was K. S. Pratapsinghji, a nephew of H.H. the Jam Sahib; Second Lieutenant H. S. Malik was vice-captain. Owing to undertaking war work, the captain resigned at the end of the season; the new captain, elected at the annual meeting, is M. P. Bajana, with C. H. Gunasekara as vice-captain. To encourage the lawn-tennis section of the Club, Sir James Walker presented a challenge cup, which was won by C. H. Gunasekara. During the winter, the football and hockey teams have done well; and the fixtures for the coming cricket season show that the Indian sportsmen have won a well-deserved and honoured place in the cricketing world. The Club numbers over 230 members; it is hoped that this is but the nucleus of a still greater organization, seeing that the excellent service it is rendering in Empire consolidation through sport should commend it to many friends in Britain, India, and throughout the Empire. The hon. secretaries are Mr. Khwaja Ismail and Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, 10, King's Bench Walk, Temple, London, E.C. 4.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE HOLY LAND

It is not surprising that the occupation of Jerusalem by the British Forces and their further advance in Palestine should have focussed attention on the country which, occupying so important a position on the map of the world, has been called "the junction of Europe, Asia, and Africa," and which enshrines all that is most sacred for so large a section of the human race. The hope has been expressed by many speakers and writers that the new Jerusalem may become for all the world a true City of Peace, and that when the League of Nations comes into being, its centre should be, not The Hague, which has played an important part as a forerunner, but Jerusalem. Looking forward to the city of the future, Professor Flinders Petrie, in his lecture at the Royal Institution, made some practical suggestions as to planning and construction. There must be no

building on the top of the ancient city, he insisted, not only out of regard for sacred associations, but for the sake of modern needs of expansion and the important subject of sanitation. He advocated that suburbs should be laid out about two miles from the centre, and connected with it by electric trams ; in a generation or two the whole population would inhabit the suburbs, and ultimately the historic city could be given up largely to public and administrative offices and other buildings linking it with the past, including a Rest Home for pilgrims and a hospital in which Jews might breathe their last within the bounds of the sacred city.

At the "Liberation of Jerusalem" celebration at the Lyceum Club, Lord Bryce declared that the whole world might rejoice in this great event in history, and that few acts of the British Government had given greater or more universal satisfaction than its sympathetic and hopeful declaration in favour of the restoration of the Jews to their ancient home. Mr. Israel Zangwill made a strong plea for Jewish occupation and control, and said that a fair arrangement must be made to buy out the Arab population and transplant them to Arab countries. The Jews, he stated, were eager and ready to find the necessary financial help for the restoration of the land, and it would be a point of honour among them to assure the safe-keeping of the Holy Places of Jew, Christian, and Moslem ; in fact, history was leading up to a reconciliation of the followers of the three religions on holy soil.

Under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Lucas, President of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, Mr. A. Montefiore addressed the Institute on "The Future of Palestine." In urging that the inheritors of the past should carry out the rehabilitation of the future, he told of the success already achieved in the forty-five colonies established by the Zionists. Where the Germans failed the Zionists succeeded, in spite of efforts to bribe or browbeat them into adopting German as the national language. When war broke out the famous Zionist Mule Corps was formed, which fought and died for the Allies. A Jewish regiment has been formed in Great Britain, and, under the command of Colonel Patterson—the only Christian in the regiment—is to fight in and for Palestine.

Miss Estelle Blythe, daughter of the late Bishop of Jerusalem, who has spent most of her life in Palestine, and only left it with her father a month before the outbreak of war in 1914, little dreaming of coming events, gave a vivid presentment of modern life in Palestine in the course of an interesting paper read before the Central Asian Society. The narrow strip of country, she said, has always been a highway ; this highway can be policed, controlled, kept safe and open, made beautiful and fruitful, but must not become the absolute property of any nation. She spoke of the touching faith of the inhabitants, including even the wild Bedouin of the desert, that the British would come some day and take the country under their protection, delivering it from the oppression and crushing cruelty of Turkish rule. France, she added, has rendered good service to Syria, and there is something curiously akin between the two peoples, making it likely that Syria would welcome French protection, but the hope of Palestine for the future is in Britain.

THE ARMENIAN COLLEGE

The presentation portrait of Professor Thaddeus Stephen, Principal for more than two decades of the Armenian College at Calcutta, is a tribute of affection from his old students, and is destined to adorn the building so closely associated with his work. As many Armenian students as could be found in London, together with other friends, gathered to greet the veteran teacher, now seventy-five years of age, and witness the unveiling of the portrait in the studio of the artist, Miss Zabelle Boyajian. It was fitting that a gifted Armenian artist should be entrusted with this important work, and there was universal appreciation of the vivid way in which she has transferred to canvas the personality of the famous Principal, whose learning and love were at the service of all his students.

KING'S COLLEGE RUSSIAN SOCIETY

At a meeting of the Society on Thursday evening, February 14, Mr. Michael V. Trofimov, Reader in Russian, read a paper on the great Russian poet, Michael Lermontov, one of the favourite writers of the *intelligenzia*. He appeared at a period of the blackest political reaction, when Nicholas I. came to the throne. He came forward with bitter complaints, as in "Borodino" ("there were heroes in those days, not like you"). His novel, "Hero of Our Time," expresses weariness and contempt of life, but with Lermontov disappointment never turned into pessimism and despair. (By way of illustration, the lecturer made use of the "Russian Songs and Lyrics" of Dr. John Pollen, reading his masterly translations of "How weary, how dreary," "Alone I pass along the lonely road," "The Prayer," and "Thanksgiving.") Lermontov was twice banished to the Caucasus (a Parnassus of noble mountain scenery, depicted in "The Demon"), on the first occasion through his fierce cry for vengeance for Pushkin's death. Turning to the days of Ivan the Terrible, Lermontov produced the *builina* of the merchant Kalashnikov. Dostoievsky the novelist preached humiliation and submission. The lecturer thought Russia had had enough of that, and that is why educated Russians now look to Lermontov. Mr. H. Wilenski proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, observing that Mr. Trofimov and his educational services to England and Russia formed an important link between the two countries, the only regret being that it could not have begun earlier. Mr. Francis P. Marchant, who presided, said that the clan Learmont, from which Lermontov descended, produced centuries before the Scottish bard Thomas the Rhymer of Ercildoune, the guest of the Queen of Elfland. Another Russian poet, Griboyedov, said that "evil tongues are more dreadful than a pistol" ("Sorrow from Wit"). Evil tongues led to Pushkin's fatal duel, and it must be confessed that Lermontov's own sarcasm brought about the duel in which Martynov's bullet laid him low.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

A CORRESPONDENT has sent us the following letter for publication in our pages :

INDO-CEYLON RAILWAY

At a meeting of the East India Association on April 20, 1914, Sir Guilford Molesworth read a paper entitled "The Battle of the Gauges in India," in which he said :

" It would be an act of extreme folly to introduce a break of gauge between Ceylon and India, more especially as this railway, if extended, would open to the trade of South India the port of Colombo and the magnificent harbour of Trincomalee. To effect this without break of gauge it would be necessary either to relay the line from Erode on the Madras railway system to Rameseram on the standard gauge ; or, preferably, by making a new standard gauge line from Salem to Rameseram, the Indian end of Adam's Bridge. The new line, though rather more expensive, would be shorter, and would develop fresh outlets for trade in South India. It would connect Ceylon without break of gauge with the 18,000 miles of standard gauge from the south to the most northern parts of India.

" It may be thought that Ceylon is comparatively so small that a break of gauge is scarcely worth serious consideration ; but it must be remembered that Ceylon is nearly as large as Ireland."

The following article in the *Ceylon Observer* of December 1, 1917, indicates that friction has arisen between the Ceylon and Madras Governments :

"THE INDO-CEYLON RAILWAY IMPASSE"

" Now that this prolonged difference between the Ceylon and the Madras Governments has been referred to the arbitration of the Indian Railway Board, it would be well that someone with a ripe and intimate acquaintance with our needs should act as a joint arbitrator. In this connection a veteran Ceylonese gentleman who is greatly interested in the matter has approached Sir Guilford Molesworth, who has courteously consented to do anything in his power to forward the Indo-Ceylon Railway traffic, and to allow his name to be suggested as mediator and joint arbitrator. We sincerely trust the Indian Railway Board will strengthen their hands by inviting Sir Guilford to join in the arbitration. There is no one living who has such vast experience in the working of the Ceylon and Indian Railways as Sir Guilford, who commenced life in Ceylon as an engineer when Mr. Faviell was opening the Kandy Railway, nearly six decades ago. His counsel and assistance would no doubt be of considerable value."

88, WOODSTOCK ROAD, OXFORD,
March 13, 1918.

DEAR MADAM,

In reference to the notice of his book, "The Revolt in Arabia," which appeared in the ASIATIC REVIEW of January 1, p. 81, Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje has written to the reviewer to say that the translation reviewed was unauthorized by himself, and that the paradoxical nature of some of the statements was due to the translator's inaccurate rendering of the original Dutch. He is not therefore responsible, e.g., for the assertion that Ali was the Prophet Mohammed's nephew. Since the back of the title-page has the words: *Copyright, 1917, by C. Snouck Hurgronje*, the reviewer could not easily guess that the translation was unauthorized, but is sincerely glad that the name of this distinguished scholar is not to be associated with errors of this sort.

Yours faithfully,
D. S. M.

DEAR SIR,

It is, perhaps, not surprising that Mrs. Besant should lose no opportunity of getting her knife into the Government under which she has lived in tolerable ease and comfort (except when she deliberately provoked them to anger) for so many years; but it is surely very bad policy when she is asking for such large concessions as she demands at the point of the sword in her characteristic address as President of the National Congress. Even in her opening remarks she cannot refrain from the use of grossly exaggerated and foolishly fustian language, such as "while I was humiliated you crowned me with honour; while I was slandered you believed in my integrity and good faith; while I was crushed under the heel of bureaucratic power, you acclaimed me as your leader," etc., etc. Such language is the more ridiculous because everyone knows that her election was meant chiefly as a slap in the face to the Government, and that if she had not been interned she would never have been elected President. Equally ludicrous—there is no other word for it—is her description of the security of the excellent old Hindu village system as "millennia-nourished," and to speak of it as "smothered" by the East India Company is merely grotesque.

In the first chapter she assumes, as is so usual, the existence of India as one Nation, though, except for the compelling influence of the Indian Government, with its British Viceroy and his bodyguard of "sundried bureaucrats," it would split into a number of "nations" in next to no time, if they were allowed what is now called the right of "self-determination." She then enters upon a lengthy criticism of the system in force for the defence of India by land, with a tedious enumeration of all the old misleading statements about the cost of the army, hashed up again in the unfair way that is adopted by each and every irresponsible and ill-informed critic of the Government of India. To read the long-drawn-out indictment in this chapter one might imagine that India and England were separate entities, instead of being one and indivisible, as it is to be

hoped they may remain for many a long year; for there never was a better example of the old adage, "united they stand, divided they fall."

If some form of "Home Rule" will unite them more closely, as Mrs. Besant says it will, I, for one, should welcome it most heartily; but I cannot believe that a "union of hearts" will be brought about by setting the owners of the hearts by the ears. As far as one can judge, India is likely to be as much dependent (for many years to come) on the English Navy as on the English Army, to which she contributes perhaps 21 millions or more. This is a very considerable charge even for a country containing at least 320 millions of people; but, after all, it is certainly no more than a rupee a head, even if we add the cost of the Marine Services. The cost per head of the Japanese Army alone appears to be about three shillings a head, or more than double; and if we add the cost of the great navy it amounts to quite double that amount, or six shillings. What a millennium we should think it if all Europe outside Russia could keep the peace at the Indian rate!

It would be tedious to go through the whole address in this fashion, but there are several positive assertions which are hard to understand—such as the composition of the Indian Army in 1863, with its 65,000 English *officers*, meaning, perhaps, troops (page 10). On page 33 again, she says that "a 'Nation,' an individual, cannot develop his capacities to the utmost without liberty"; but surely the position of India, with its long list of conflicting nationalities, is very different from that of any other country. It cannot even be reasonably described as "a Nation," being rather a conglomeration of heterogeneous "nations," or rather races. Mrs. Besant, indeed, goes on to define "a nation" as "a spark of the Divine Fire," a "fragment of the Divine Life outbreathed into the world," etc., and says "the Magic of Nationality is the feeling of oneness"; but in this she assumes that India is a real "Nation," made "One," as she says, "by the Divine Life which shapes it, evolves it, and colours it." Language like this may be intelligible amongst Mystics and Theosophists, but seems to my mundane understanding very inappropriate to the country (or Continent [?]) of India, and, in vulgar language, merely what the Americans would briefly describe as "bunkum."

On page 42 she assumes that members of the Civil Service, when they return to England, are generally "reactionary." Whether the majority are so or not I have no means of judging; but, as Mrs. Besant is well aware, there is a considerable minority who are *not*, and she ought at least to have qualified her statement. As to her remarks on Education, Sanitation, Agriculture, etc., much might be said in extenuation, but it would take too much of your space. All I can say here is that the indictment is as unfair and biased as any Old Bailey lawyer could make it; let Mr. Howard Campbell speak for the defence ("Truths About India," p. 5).

J. B. PENNINGTON.

LONDON THEATRES

UPON the whole, war-plays, and particularly spy-plays, have been a failure in London. It is difficult to determine the reason. Do we go to the theatre to forget the war? Is the war too vast and intangible for our playwrights? Mr. Austin Page has succeeded where so many have failed. "By Pigeon Post" at the *Garrick Theatre* is a successful spy-play. The scene is a French *château* on the Lorraine frontier. A French officer receives messages from an Alsatian across the border (which in that sector of the front coincides with the battle-line) by means of carrier-pigeons. But the wireless operator and the orderly in the said *château* are in German pay. There are many breathless moments before the latter are finally thwarted. The love interest centres round a lady-doctor, who saves the situation. Miss Madge Titheredge and Mr. Arthur Wontner's performances call for special mention.

"Nothing but the Truth" (*Savoy Theatre*), on the contrary, has nothing to do with the war. We have here a young man of Wall Street, who, for a bet, undertakes to tell the truth for twenty-four hours. Unfortunately, he is engaged to the daughter of his chief, whose veracity *brille par son absence*. Nothing, therefore, is more natural than that in the allotted span of time the steady trickle of truth emanating from the young man's lips should ruin his chief's finances, his fiancée's faith in him, and his own future. Nor need we add, this being a comedy, that all ends well on the stroke of the twenty-fourth hour. Overdrawn, it is yet a biting satire on "Wall Street methods," and strikes home. Miss Renée Kelly as the fiancée acted very sympathetically, and the whole company worked admirably together.

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1918

THE VANGUARD OF CIVILIZATION A RETROSPECT AND A FORECAST

BY THE LADY KATHARINE STUART

[We have frequently wished for some adequate and worthy presentation of the truth that in the highest fields of human activity, not only can the East help the West, but that the West has also its message to the East, the latter fact being frequently overlooked, not only by the East, but also by the West. We therefore gladly give publicity to this paper, while assuming no responsibility for the views expressed by the writer.
—ED. ASIATIC REVIEW.]

THE "Year of decision." Thus has the year of grace 1918 been hailed by common consent. Shorn of all side-issues and reduced to the smallest residuum of sheer fact, what is the matter to be decided? No less a thing than the leadership of civilization. Even to those not given to pondering the war has revealed the terrible fact that

" . . . in a boundless universe
Is boundless better, boundless worse,"

and to-day multitudes are in the "valley of decision." The actual war is only one phase of a death-grapple of ideas, a collision of ideals which has resulted from the impact between the conception of a German Military Caste as ruler or the will-to-power and the acceptance of the true spirit of Democracy—communal consciousness or the will-to-love as being the best guide of humanity in its evolution. Modern science is beginning to show us more and more clearly that love is the ladder up which truth and beauty, intertwined, have been slowly climbing throughout the ages. By the spirit of democracy,

therefore, is to be understood, not a pseudo-democracy faked by the enemies of freedom—a system which enthrones a host of tyrants in place of one, but a true communal consciousness, a spirit of fellowship between peoples which recognizes rivalry to be based on misconception, which realizes the inter-dependence of all peoples and reverences the unity of the Spirit as supreme over diversities of race, sex, creed and class—creating a close friendship between nations, thus—

“Respecting in each other’s case
The gifts of nature and of grace.”

The realization by the world at large of the true significance of the present struggle and of the real issues at stake is the first objective to be achieved. Let us look back and try to discover what is to be gleaned from past history. The earliest records give us glimpses into a state of human society so remote and removed from anything we now regard as civilization that we hesitate to call it such, and yet in the Paleolithic period, so a modern scientist tells us, man produced works of art not to be beaten by present-day culture in certain respects. We soon lose the distant gleam of the Golden Age, the existence of which may perhaps be challenged, and we pass rapidly in review the Egypto-Aryan, the Zoroastrian, the Hebrew, the Greco-Roman, and Renaissance culture. In doing so we observe a change. Man has discovered weapons; he has learnt to prey upon man. He has even realized that to enslave the weaker brother is more profitable than to eat him. We see nations, then, taking the sword and “perishing by the sword”; for these civilizations, though extremely varied, had one thing in common: they were all characterized by the supremacy of one sex, one caste, and usually of one individual. Most of them were martial in character. Ancient wisdom had decreed that in any civilized society there should of necessity exist four castes—the priest, the soldier, the merchant, and the peasant. Such, then, was the structure of all these civilizations. When, however, we study these various human societies, we are moved to wonder why each and all ended in disaster. It

may be argued that any existing form will be outgrown by evolving life, but these civilizations did not die a natural death, so to speak, they came to terrible and tragic climaxes; they fell amid awful scenes of corruption, violence, and bloodshed, thus forcing one to the conclusion that they must needs have had a common radical defect.

In order to realize what this can have been, let us now turn aside to the animal creation. In both bird and beast we see displayed extraordinary collective wisdom. Bees, for example, have long been held up as far excelling the human race in intelligence, morality, and industry; their conception of a social order is a thing to make humanity blush—but what creates it? The spirit of the hive, the collective wisdom of all the bees. Now, in all the civilizations so far examined we find almost any part, section, or combination of sections of a people ruling. In Hindu culture, for example, the priest was paramount, and in Mohammedan States the warrior was all-powerful. Under the matriarchal system women had too much power, under the patriarchal too little. In the latter, indeed, man has appeared willing to make her guardian angel, queen, lady abbess, doll, pet or plaything; but loath to let her become a friend and companion. That word was left to Another to speak. Feminine influence thus sometimes acted obliquely upon the progress of the race, and took the form of intrigue and interference, the result of a sense of power and an absence of responsibility.

We see, then, civilization after civilization rising and falling, each imperfect from its inception, all suffering from being shorn of one-half of the totality of their brain-power and allowing themselves to be ruled, rather than led, by a section of the remainder. Thus, we see at one moment an inhuman autocrat illumining his garden with burning fellow beings, or again a frivolous aristocracy playing with the destinies of nations; at another time a too-powerful bourgeoisie enthroning commercialism and mammon-worship or a ruffianly reign of terror as the result of mob law—all tending sooner or later to corruption and chaos. We now reach a

point of extraordinary interest, when in the seventeenth century, amongst a body of people animated by a communal consciousness, ignoring distinctions of race, sex, or creed, there arose a pioneer who was to essay what had hitherto baffled the wisest. In the "holy experiment" of William Penn we find for the first time the recognition of the communal consciousness, the extract of the All, the spirit of the herd, of the hive, of the Whole—in short, the way of humanism pure and simple actually carried into effect.

Human intelligence, as expressed in science, philosophy, and metaphysics, had hitherto fallen back, utterly baffled, from the ideal of eliminating ordeal by battle from the curriculum of manhood. This simple-hearted hero had to divest himself of everything but faith in God and in the natural goodness of human nature before he could entertain, as an intellectual concept, the angel of a civilization rooted in love and thriving in liberty, a society that should be, not Cæsarian, but Christ-like; not an expression of the will-to-power, but of the will-to-love.

"He emptied Himself," says the great initiate, speaking of the descent into matter of the Christ-spirit; and if Wisdom itself was thus willing to become a fool for our sakes, can we wonder if the disciple in his finite sphere be called upon to abandon the garnered lore of ages for the simplicity of a life of faith? The founding of the colony of Pennsylvania was a superb venture of faith in God and man. It was an honest attempt to realize the kingdom of heaven on earth, to live in the spirit of democracy and of the Sermon on the Mount. There were no secrets, no diplomacy, no subtleties of any kind; human solidarity was the basis of a society guided by the Inner Light in the individuals and by the co-operating common sense of the community. Upon one occasion when the white men disputed the red man's right to participate, Penn summoned an Indian and asked him if he possessed an inward sense of right and wrong. The man replied at once that he had such a sense. The formalities were of the simplest, and yet this fact is celebrated in history as the only treaty

"never sworn to and never broken." Rooted in love and thriving in liberty, it prospered, and only by outside interference, not by internal structure, can it be said to have failed.

We cannot but ask ourselves, Whence had this man this sagacity and insight? How, when, and where did he acquire the spirit of democracy he so ably expressed in mode of life and word of mouth? Let us endeavour by sympathy to associate our consciousness with his. We shall see as he perceived in the plenary inspiration of Hebrew prophetic literature the spectacle of an anguished humanity sinking deeper and even deeper into the mental alienation of a gross materialism, blind to angelic signals, deaf to prophetic warnings, forlorn and pitiful exiles from hope and happiness until —how exquisite is the touch in the Hebrew story that tells how Eternal Tenderness brooding over our alienated infancy "devised means that His banished be no more expelled from Him!" We may faintly surmise how this conception would move a noble, simple-hearted man in the retrospect. He witnessed, moreover, tender concern and holy fatherly forbearance, embodying themselves in the sublime conception of a rescuer to be sent to the suffering race. He would not, with his grand but simple mind, cavil at a "sense of schism in the universe," rather would things eternal seem to him to be of a piece with things temporal. In the finite life he saw about him did he not witness daily, how the wise parent, loath to lose the child's confidence, unwilling to coerce the will of a son now come of age, would, as it were, empty himself of parental authority, would seek to become—not the judge, the correcter, but the friend, the ally, of the child in the struggle of life? In the macrocosmic happening, then, he saw nothing unnatural or supernatural, only an inevitable sequence of events. Redemption presented itself, not as some quixotic impulse, some afterthought of an apparently hitherto forgetful cosmic parent, but a sublime mystery, interwoven in the very nature of things, the story told in the tapestry of all creation, foreseen as inevitable, foreshadowed

in the dreams of prophets, interwoven into the fabric of human destiny, for long ages, foretold in the fibre of human nature, that even as man, the creature, places love before power, so Omnipotence itself, being, as is thus revealed to us, the Will-to-love, could not coerce the smallest inhabitant of an insignificant planet into becoming a moral automaton; nay, rather than resort to this, It descended the ladder of evolution to the lowliest foothold of helplessness. To break the hairspring of the human will is to arrest evolution, not to stimulate it; therefore Omniscience emptied itself; Omnipotence, not by force, but by forbearance, was to make man great.

Redemption puts on record for ever that not the will-to-power, but the will-to-love, is the supreme law of the universe; for this cause, as another initiate tells us, "The Word (the Logos) was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

We can picture him marvelling at the amazing revelation. Hearing the majestic Presence approaching the earth, speaking in the elements upon Sinai, voicing its presence in the burning bush, and finally, as the human form achieved its highest perfection in the Græco-Roman era, we find "He took upon Him our flesh." The Eternal put on the transitory that with human eyes and with a human voice It might make friends with man. Beholding thus in the pages of the Old Testament the Creator of all things, as the Originator of redemption, he would pass on to the New; he would behold the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world, the hero of Calvary, moving, a man among men, a universal servitor, saying to them in all simplicity, "Ye call Me Master . . . but I have called you *friends*." Surely here we have the democratic inspiration in its fulness, the spirit of service as opposed to the science of mastery—nay, more, blending as He did, in one being, the dual nature of man and woman, Christ was the revealer not only of democracy, but of humanism. Thus, surely, it must have come home to his heroic follower, William Penn, that the ways of men were all incomplete; only the way of God was perfect, and that

since "of His fulness have we *all* received," all must unite to do the best for each. He would thus be led on from realization to realization. Conceiving of Christ first as the true scientist, the true philosopher, the master in the art of living for the *individual*, he would pass from respectful homage to that spirit of adoring intimacy which led him to realize Him as the Redeemer of the *race*, the Reconciler of all men and all things, and therefore the true Architect of Society, and to recognize that the only conception of a pure and stable form of civilization ever offered to the world was that Kingdom of Heaven underlying the Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount, which gave to men the freedom of the earth. Nor when this realization came to him did he allow it to remain an act of worship; he set out to follow those blessed footsteps farther than any heretofore. Never before nor since has there been such a bold insertion of the ideal into the very midst of the actual, as in the "holy experiment" of the Quaker saint.

Let us see exactly what was unique in William Penn's realization. Christianity had been put on its trial individually and had triumphed in the persons of men like Francis of Assisi. It had blossomed into a beauty unsurpassed; but was this triumph of the individual all that the cosmic messenger, the Redeemer, intended in his mission to the earth? "He led captivity captive, and received gifts for men." What were these gifts? First of all liberty, for He broke a twofold tyranny: that of the one over the many, and that of the many over the one. He showed them both to be systems that humanity must outgrow, and the bestowal of liberty awakened an amazing response of loyalty in those receiving it. For their Liberator they were stoned, tortured, died in dungeons below the ocean depths, and were thrown to wild beasts and burnt at the stake in their thousands. But this personal loyalty was not to be the only fruit of the cosmic mission to the earth. Individual Christianity betokened by an indomitable energy and a passion for freedom that reckoned liberty dearer than life was only an earnest of the benediction in its fulness.

The Buddha disclosed a way of escape for the individual; he revealed Nirvana and the pathway thereunto. The revelation brought by Christ was altogether distinct in kind, not merely different in degree. He brought life to the race as well as liberty to the individual. Through Him humanity receives a renewal of spiritual life-force, a current of vitality to enable it to cope with the increased materialism of the Kali Yuga, and to transmute it. How rich is microcosmic life in echoes, shadows, and portents of that event in the macrocosm which was "unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness!" How often is the anæmic sufferer revivified from the arteries of the sound and whole! How frequently the snow-bound traveller is succoured by the vigilant shepherd! In these events we see no miracle, only Nature in operation; and in the cosmic fact of the actual rescue of a perishing race by a Divine act of absolute self-surrender we see no singular occurrence, but only the Will-to-love, the Divine nature unfolding and fulfilling itself a fresh, in the infinite as in the finite, in an act which in its shadow was sacrifice, but in its substance was love. The serious student of history can scarcely doubt that Christ is directly connected with the evolution of our earth. When any signal advance has been made by the race as a whole—the abolition of slavery, the succour of the sick and wounded—we are sure to find those concerned partaking freely in that sense of holy intimacy with the Friend and Ally of our race which gave to one of the early mystics the beautiful title of "the great friend of God in the Oberland."

The practical Roman recognized almost instantly in pure Christianity a menace to the old order of things. The very foundations of the patrician Roman Empire shook beneath the tread of the Carpenter of Nazareth, for the earth knew Him and awoke to passionate realization; and such was the magnet of His life in the flesh, such the dynamic power of the few oral instructions He left, coupled with the quickening spirit which He bequeathed to His followers, that the spirit of Christ and the communal consciousness which it engendered

did actually modify and would have shattered the existing rulership had it not become absorbed by the powers that were at that time—that is to say, paganized into sacerdotalism and Kaiserized into materialism.

Let us realize what a revolutionary theory of the universe was here involved. What was to be preached? No Valhalla for victorious heroes after victory, not even Nirvana for the glorified saint, but here and now, to King or slave, priest or peasant, the entry to a positive Paradise of happy fellowship with God and man, to be attained by a dual realization. First, that of the Christ principle within, the unity of the Spirit equalizing all as children of the kingdom; and secondly, the possibility of a personal intimacy with an unseen guide, who became thenceforward to each and all the Supreme Person.

A smaller occasion upon which the ideals of Christendom have been closely followed with beneficent results occurred towards the close of the last century. The mutineers of the *Bounty* disappeared for a great number of years from the ken of civilization. When they were rediscovered they were found to have established with the help of Scripture what was in many respects a model community, including, of course, the natives of the island, with whom they lived in great harmony.

Has the time not come for another social experiment on the lines of those referred to, based upon the recognition of the fact that religion is the realization of God as the Will-to-love, and that to *become* incarnate loving-kindness is what is most required in the followers of One who did not say, "I speak the truth," but "I am the Truth? If creeds, coercion, and ecclesiastical exactitudes are true religion, then Torquemada was right and Fenelon William Penn and Rama Krishna were wrong.

Let the East come forward and co-operate with the West in a deeper sense of the realities of religion everywhere, and not only women and children, but men, will respond to the call for sanctification and service.

Can there not be found some oasis in the wilderness of this world upon which we can establish a Christ-like civilization to demonstrate our conviction that the Redeemer of humanity is the true leader of the world civilization, and that the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and the Sermon on the Mount, are the Magna Charta for the earth? Can we not obtain the signature of earthly rulers to this Charter for ourselves and for the world? We are out of tune with the Infinite: because we are out of time with the Eternal. We have not realized the Reconciler of all things and all beings as the living embodiment of the Divine ideal for the earth. May we not hope to see Europe one day transformed and transfigured, to see every nation expressing itself fully and freely, sounding its individual note in the world-harmony? Let us endeavour to unite the children of God in all lands under the banner of Humanism, meaning love universal, in which is the strength of man, the tenderness of woman, and the humility of the child, and allow incarnate loving-kindness to lead us into the beatitude of a holy Christendom.

"Is that St. Paul's Cathedral?" asked a lady of the policeman on duty. "Yes, madam." "Oh, how does one get in?" continued she. The policeman thereupon answered very solemnly: "By the door, Madam. He that entereth in at the window, the same is a thief and a robber." How frequently the entry into a country has been by the window of invasion rather than by the door of friendship! Imperceptibly, but surely, the true spirit of democracy, the spirit of humanism, will supercede the will-to-power as humanity evolves. The strong man armed will be disarmed by a stronger than he. Everyone knows the story of the loveliest rose in the world, and how it was discovered in the pages of Revelation, and saved the life of a Queen. Civilization is such a Queen sick even unto death, and only the rediscovery of the true spirit of humanism, fragrant with affection, red with the love of all the redeemers of humanity throughout the ages, and sprinkled with their tears, can save it.

We remember the fable of the wise Emperor who had in

his kingdom "a little bird that told him everything." Death was in those dominions, but even death allowed himself to be charmed away by the song of the nightingale; Death gave up the sword for a song; and the bird sang again, and Death gave up the crown; and when he sang the third time, Death gathered himself together and flew away. The true spirit of humanism is the heart-singer that knows how to defeat even death itself—for collective wisdom is to be sought in the communal consciousness, as individually the saints, the sages, and the single-hearted, rather than the mighty, have "an unction from the Holy One," and thus "know all things." The Emperor—so the story goes—wished instantly to destroy a jewelled artificial bird which the Court possessed. But the nightingale deprecated this; and the true spirit of humanism says in effect:—"Do not violently destroy your artificial, jewel-laden, imperial nightingale of a civilization, but let me come and sing to you of better things. I will tell you an old, old story in a rapturous new song."

As heirs of the kingdom of heaven, let us give heed to the Christ-spirit. In it are "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." So shall we also in our kingdom of a tranquil soul possess an oracle that tells us all things. "Not my might, nor by power, but by My spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

"BIRKBECK AND THE RUSSIAN CHURCH"*

By OLGA NOVIKOFF

MR. ATHELSTAN RILEY, M.P., in publishing his "Birkbeck and the Russian Church" has indicated a real and solid link between our two countries—a link which, I think, may be as eternal as our religious problems and teaching. Mr. Birkbeck was a friend of my brother General Alexander Kiréeff, who was an honorary member of the Moscow Theological Academy. My brother was attached to the Grand Duke Constantine's Court for about fifty years, but theology, and especially the Greek Orthodox Church, were his predominating objects in life. Kiréeff became deeply interested in Birkbeck, and Birkbeck certainly seemed to be attracted by Kiréeff. The exchange of interesting letters was the natural result of this theological intimacy.

Of course, now that so many churches, museums, palaces and other important buildings have been devastated and ruined during these five or six months, private letters and documents in Russia have also disappeared. But my brother has addressed many letters to his immediate chief, the Grand Duke Constantine, about Birkbeck's endeavours to explain Eastern Greek Orthodoxy and Anglicanism to each other. Yes, Birkbeck was a real missionary in both countries. He became well known and deservedly praised in several parts of Russia. That was not all. In editing the famous correspondence between Mr. William Palmer and Mr. Khomiakoff he has shown an example of how his great scheme could be developed.

But, before you teach others, you must work and learn yourself with untiring energy, and that is exactly what has been done by Birkbeck. He asked for advice and guidance from Russian people whose authority could be trusted, as, for instance, the clergymen at our Embassy in London, and the celebrated scholar, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Mr. Pobiedonostzeff, and many others at Petrograd.

Yes, indeed, knowledge is power. Thus, Oxford, with its brilliant representatives, understood how to teach perseverance and love for learning. English theologians know their own theological stars, and Russians know theirs, and exchange of views is quite necessary.

But there is a special point in Birkbeck's essays and articles just published by Mr. Riley which delighted me, a poor outsider and dilettante.

* "Birkbeck and the Russian Church," edited by A. Riley, M.P. (S.P.C.K.)
8s. 6d. net.

To appreciate certain truths no Greek, Latin, or old Hebrew are essential —only love for your own language, based on solid Slavonic grammar and literature. His pages on that very subject will do—or, rather, ought to do—no end of good, especially at this moment, when some ignorant legislators are recommending even the introduction in our schools, not of the study of Academic Russian, but the different patois which are heard among the uneducated classes of Russia's numerous Provinces.

Mr. Birkbeck's book contains, indeed, one chapter on the Slavonic languages (Chapter V.) which is so important and applicable, that I am tempted to quote it largely. It begins by examining the startling charge that is so commonly brought against the Russian Church, to the effect that "the old Slavonic language in which her services are read is not understood by the people." Mr. Birkbeck has much to say on the subject of this absurd accusation. "If the following remarks," he tells us, "serve to modify the misunderstandings on this matter which one constantly meets with, even in highly-educated circles, its object will have been attained."

It is very pleasant to think that the many misleading statements made in this connection have been refuted by such a great English divine as Dr. Neale, who said that "the old Slavonic is the most perfect language for ecclesiastical purposes which the Christian world has yet seen. As subtle and flexible as Greek, as vigorous and terse as Latin, and as clear and precise as either of them, the Slavonic language has the great advantage over both that when Saints Cyril and Methodius first applied it to ecclesiastical purposes, instead of being in a state of decadence, as was the case with the classical languages of antiquity at the time when they were first used by the Church, it was in the full vigour and perfection of youth."

Mr. Birkbeck is quite right in saying that, "To accuse the Russian Church, as her enemies are so fond of doing, of wilfully obscuring the language of her services in order to keep the people ignorant, is as wanton and baseless a calumny as was ever invented. The English Church justly prides herself upon the work that she has done of late years in translating her formularies into the languages of the various races which she includes within her jurisdiction. But the Russian Church was already doing this long before the idea of administering the Sacraments in English, far less in Welsh or Irish, was even thought of in this country. From the days of St. Stephen of Perm, who, in the fourteenth century, began the conversion of the tribes in the North-Eastern districts of European Russia by inventing an alphabet for the Zyrianian language and then translating the whole of the Church books into it, down to the present day, when her services are read in more than a hundred languages, a service understood by the people has always been her tradition; and I do not suppose there is any National Church, not excepting even the Anglican Church, where the services are read in so many languages. The trouble and expense the ecclesiastical authorities will go to in the matter is quite astonishing. "When I was in Petersburg, in 1889," says Birkbeck, "a committee of experts were engaged in translating the Liturgy for a small tribe in the North-East of Siberia, numbering under 5,000 souls, whose language contained little over 200 words in all. And this being so, it would seem

very improbable that she would intentionally starve her Russian-speaking population by reading to them in a language they cannot understand."

Mr. Birkbeck draws a very interesting parallel between the Greek Orthodox and the Anglican Churches in their efforts to teach the Christian truth among the various races under their control.

- I have allowed myself many quotations from that remarkable chapter V. But if I were to review the other parts of the book, I would yield to the great temptation of making again the same mistake. So, after strongly recommending every page of this precious volume, I think it my duty to stop here.

MOULMEIN IN SUNSHINE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MONSOON

Air : Killarney

Three big rivers swirling down,
 One from far Thibetan waste,
 Meet the sea at Moulmein town,
 Like a jewel richly placed.
 Diamond-like the waters gleam,
 Sparkling round the em'rald strand,
 Mingling with the isles that seem
 Fair enough for Fairyland.
 Clouds are gliding endless by,
 Great scene-shifters in the sky,
 Showing landscapes here and there,
 Ever changing, ever fair.

Woody hills that rest the eye
 White and gold pagodas crown;
 Plains and far-off mountains high;
 Clust'ring trees half hide the town—
 Hide sleek Shylocks black as sin,
 Clothed in robes of snowy white;
 Hide the coloured crowds whose din
 Gives the coolie's heart delight;
 Hide the holy men who rest
 In their havens of the blest,
 While the Sun, caressing trees,
 Seldom saint or sinner sees.

D. A. WILSON.

"PRUSSIAN" KULTUR 2,500 YEARS AGO

BY PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

THE man in the street may have a difficulty in believing that the following literal utterings of the Chinese philosopher Kwan-ts^z were delivered between 685 and 645 b.c. Not only so, but they are the actual words used, extracted and translated from his book, also called *Kwan-ts^z*, which book, as we now have it, remains exactly in the reconstituted form it bore 2,000 years ago: the only difficulty is that there are 12 fairly bulky volumes of 24 books, containing in all 86 sections, of which 86, however, 10 have in the course of ages been irretrievably lost. Thus the whole book of 76 sections must be read through, and the pithy sayings on each subject must be separated from their contexts and reassembled, before it is possible to obtain a consistent view of the whole of that particular subject. Primitive Chinese records, without style or sequence, expressed in irregular hieroglyphics, had only for 150 years past been replaced by an improved and more elastic script when Kwan-ts^z preached to his reigning Marquess (posthumously called Duke) in the words that follow these preliminary remarks: the original records of 2,500 years ago were daubed in varnish upon thin slabs of bamboo, stowed away in charge of an historiographer, and copies of these were no doubt sometimes sent to the Central Court historiographer, or to the historiographer of the particular vassal court concerned. In any case, only specialist

"clerks" could get a view of or even read these bamboo slips; however that may be, absolutely none survive now or did survive even 2,000 years ago. Meanwhile commerce and literature had between 600 and 200 B.C. rapidly advanced; writing methods had been further simplified; hair-pencils, ink, silk, and at last (first century A.D.) even paper, were used for written records, so that naturally the recoverable remains of old and imperfectly decipherable literature had to be recast, just as our old and barely decipherable parchments and palimpsests have had to be recast.

In a short paper which I contributed to the *New East* for April last (an excellent Japanese magazine mostly printed in English) I ventured to suggest that the Japanese had not only for centuries past appreciated Kwan-tsz more than his own countrymen had ever dared to do, but that they had even made practical application of his methods to their own administrative and military systems, and imbibed the very spirit of Kwan-tsz as political thinkers. In two lectures orally delivered before the School of Oriental Studies last October (printed in revised form in the *Quest* for January and April, 1918) I laid more stress upon the fact that, after the destruction by the self-styled "First Emperor" for All China of contentious literature in 213 B.C., and the restoration by the succeeding Han dynasty of such literature as could be recovered a century later, it was effectively, if not actually verbally, decided that dynastic interests would be better served by patronizing the conservative and class philosophy of Confucius than by giving further encouragement to the more democratic teachings of Laocius; but, as a matter of fact, Kwan-tsz said, 150 years before those two rival "religionists" existed in the flesh, most of the original things they are supposed to have first said; and, indeed, they themselves in their teachings both distinctly admit and assent that they were *not* originators of thought, but transmitters—it is usually supposed they were referring to the ancient sage-kings alone. Four or five

years ago Dr. Lionel Giles gave us a translation of *Sun-tsz*, the eponymous book of the military writer Sun-tsz (a contemporary of Confucius and Laocius), and Lord Roberts was good enough to contribute thereto an encouraging preface; but, as the intelligent Japanese editors of *Kwan-tsz* point out, *Kwan-tsz* was as superior to *Sun-tsz* in the deep strategy of military matters as he was superior to Confucius in worldly or administrative matters. How comes it, then, that *Kwan-tsz* is so rarely read even by natives in China? Beyond a few notes by Legge, Faber, and Edkins, and a few religious pickings by De Groot, no foreigner seems to have digested his work. It is evidently, so far as China is concerned, because dynasty by dynasty the Government has been afraid of him. He is freely quoted, in a Bowdlerized sort of way, from a purely literary point of view, by encyclopedias, dictionaries, and other thesaurus collections, but no encouragement is ever given to the practical development of his ideas; indeed, I was unable to get a copy of his book from China at all, and had to write to Japan for one. It has manifestly not been desired that the "silly people" know too much about natural "rights." His *Kultur* is by no means confined to military predominance, but covers the whole field of governmental and social wisdom—cultivation, political economy, currency, balance of trade, markets, police, morality, charity, roads, and a multitude of other things; but each subject as a consecutive whole must be picked out in fragments from a mass of argumentation, not to say too often of verbiage and corrupt interpolation, and then reassembled as I have here reassembled his main principles of military *Kultur*. Before proceeding further to point the moral and adorn the tale with allusion to past facts and contemporary illustrations, I therefore proceed to summarize *Kwan-tsz*'s views on the philosophy of war, reserving other matters for future manipulation.

THE ACTUAL WORDS OF KWAN-TSZ.

The State should possess an effective army for use if needful, but should otherwise act with benevolence: no individual can be indifferent to his country's danger. Above all it is important to protect the cultivator, whose weal must always be the best asset against external foes: unless a fair share of the soil's produce be left to the cultivators, they will not avail much in spirit and interest against hostile intrusion. It is they who produce the grain; it is the grain that sustains the men; the men who form the troops; the troops that hold the citadels; and the strongholds that maintain the State fabric. A minister of State, if at the same time a military man, must not be too disposed either to over-taxation or to leaving lands untilled; on the other hand, pacifists at any price are shameless creatures.

First establish order in your own domain before you proceed to raise armies for use beyond. The advantages of preeminence and conquest are great; there should always be in readiness a sufficient store of well-tempered arms, and the very best generals should be kept ready for action. At the same time courtesy and justice are indispensable in order to conquer men's hearts as well as their persons. An accumulation of treasure is the first essential in military affairs. Plans should be matured before the expedition sets out: get the best and surest intelligence; have superiority both in numbers and *moral*—all this means, in effect, that if you do this you are, comparatively, face to face with a mere rabble. The way to advance victoriously is to have your army and stores all in perfect order. Rewards should be bestowed with scrupulous fairness; plans of the ground should be most carefully studied, and the very best sub-officers procurable should be obtained. If all this be done, you need not be afraid of advancing too far or too quickly; lightning rushes may be safely risked, and you can thus protect your hearths and homes with unity of spirit. Pounce suddenly upon the

enemy; devastate his land; establish spies all over the place; maintain discipline; and above all get rid of irresponsible chatterers. In this way you will have no need of temporary alliances, and, what is more, you govern a united State of your own. But your discipline must be fair as well as strict, or else there will be trouble, for you cannot run counter to universal indignation: hence you must be cautious about giving offence, and careful to reward merit. Estimate both your man and your object. Spend your resources liberally, and let your people have full supplies of food; the lazy should, however, be forced to work. There can be no victory for the troops if the people are so short of grain that they have to borrow from each other; hence you must allow for scant years in calculating for army requirements. You must remember, too, that zealous impulsiveness is not necessarily bravery.

People will go through fire and water for good rulers, and thus all, soldiers and people alike, will keep their heads securely on their shoulders in times of peace; but it must be borne in mind, after all, that nothing impoverishes the people and dissipates wealth so quickly as war; nothing is so dangerous to the State or so saddening to the Ruler of it. These evils are, of course, plain to all, yet wars have continually gone on, and will always go on. Now consider the daily expenditure of one thousand pounds' weight of gold for an army of 100,000 men, with no guarantee for victory at that, not to mention the great cost in human life! Arms, then, are an evil, but are at the same time a necessity for the maintenance of order. But the present (650 B.C.) generation of men have lost the true principles that ought to govern such matters; there are wasteful and impoverishing wars about trifles, always with uncertainty of success, and in any case disproportionate to the enormous expenditure, whilst the successful State is ruined even though the accession of territory desired be really secured.

Our Chinese statesman-philosopher next proceeds to

deal with tactics, signalling advance and retreat, studying the ground and the weather, and keeping the "will to victory" fortified by adhering to the laws of humanity. He distinctly objects to anything in the shape of trickery or treachery when the enemy is once defeated, though at the same time, in both strategy and tactics, in order to secure such defeat, he allows himself a free hand in ruses. Still (he goes on), it is no part of the *tao* (the "way" of nature) observed by the ancient sage-kings to strive for military predominance; yet in certain circumstances it pays well politically to devote two-thirds of the whole revenue to diplomatic activity, with a view to conquest in the limited sense above explained. In order to obtain a sufficiency of troops, the criminal classes may well be reprieved in exchange for fines in the form of weapons and equipment; but, before marching into other territories, the main thing is to make sure of popularity at home, and the smaller States involved should be ingratiated and kept on the right side by slight cessions of territory. Military forces should be trained in secret so as to prevent other powerful States from making similar preparations; moreover the internal civil administration should be based upon army principles for purposes of rapid transmutation. We should have three army divisions, alike raised and based upon civil subdivisions, beginning with 5 families, then 50, 200, 2,000 up to 6,000, each contributing quotas. There should be spring and autumn hunting manœuvres, accustoming the troops to outdoor exercise; and there should be no unnecessary shifting of commands, so that all, civil and military, will feel a sense of reciprocal protection; in this way an army corps of 30,000 men could easily overrun the whole of China (*i.e.*, the only parts then known properly, being mainly the valley of the Yellow River) and prevent any of the great vassal powers asserting independence of the central King's (*i.e.*, what was later called Emperor's) control. At the new year the heads of each civil hamlet, parish, hundred, county, and so on, should present themselves

at Court (*i.e.*, Kwan-tsz's master's powerful vassal court, of which there were never more than half a dozen in China with any pretensions to ultimate royal rule; the rest were all of the Lippe-Detmold or Reuss calibre) for cross-examination as to local territorial conditions. At these meetings fines of equipment should be levied upon the lax or shirkers. Sea-coast barbarian should be utilized against sea-coast barbarian when occasion requires (Old China was absolutely ignorant of the sea and the cognate tribes of the coast), but high diplomacy in general should be employed according to our ancient Kings' "way." At the same time a general must always have good charts showing the best available paths and also the places liable to flood, in order that there may be no undue obstacle to his march and that supplies may be duly and rapidly brought up. A competent staff is indispensable, and a general in difficulty should not hesitate to expend even his own private fortune at a pinch. Prince, statesman, and general should all collaborate, but it is after all the military power that has the real say in the State. You demonstrate, you deploy, you fight. One day's fighting may consume a whole year's savings; the cost of one battle may mean whole generations of labour: hence the need of forming clear plans before starting out, and hence the reason why using inferior weapons means much the same as having no weapons at all; whilst, again, short-reach arms pitted against long-reach arms simply means butchery; just as arms of poor quality practically means handing over the troops to the enemy; incapable generals means handing over the Prince to the enemy; and an inefficient Prince means handing over the State to the enemy. Hence rank, honour, pay must not be administered with a sparing hand to the deserving. All movements must be secret, sudden, circumspect. The great thing is to take the enemy by surprise, and not to be surprised yourself; for instance, if rooks be observed perching on distant tents, you may be sure that the enemy has really abandoned those tents.

In a word, the true policy of good Ministers is to enrich

the State and strengthen the army ; successful arms follow suitable State policy as inevitably as good results follow correct personal behaviour. Smash the enemy's preparations ; scatter his stores ; stop his food supply. He thus becomes defenceless; but, when he is worsted or conquered, treat him courteously and generously ; offer him the highest remuneration for real talent, and pay him even triple ordinary rates for his labour. Bribe spies to betray his secrets ; carefully scrutinize his charts and documents ; "tactics" consists in artful trickery. A ruler should not listen to proposals for disarmament or for general love all round ; it is true *I* can refrain from attacking others, but there is no certainty that *others* will not attack me, in which case my hastily collected levies will be no match for the adversary's disciplined troops. It is best to follow natural laws, civil and military dispositions being thus complementary to each other, just as heat and cold alternate in nature; military prestige thus saves the necessity of perpetually reiterating law and command, which may be regarded from three points of view—to wit, (1) the utterance of command, (2) the axe or punitory sanction, and (3) the reward. If a man *benefit* by breaking the law, then one or the other of these three phases must be ineffective, for good soldiers are produced in vain if the Prince himself be bad : a good Prince tests his soldiers for bravery-cowardice just as he tests his civilians for capability-incompetence, whilst a bad Prince too often appoints on recommendation without making any test at all. It is good service rendered that makes the Prince safe and the people prosperous, and on the military side of the question a general should make it his business to succeed in doing this good service. Bad economy is as bad as civil war ; on the other hand, a State that wars for war's sake dissipates its revenues and breeds up a proletariat. It is highly desirable that free or State-defrayed burials should be accorded to those parents who have lost their sons in war, and that the necessitous families of those killed and wounded should receive consolatory rewards. The *joy* or

true zest of battle lies, however, in a full stomach and the prospect of personal reward, and by no means in any desperate desire to vindicate one's parents. As at Court, so in the field, the prospect of reward is the main incentive to individuals after all.

There is a great deal more to be said bearing more indirectly upon war, but the above will suffice to show that Kwan-tsz was a man of really first-class intellect : his ruler, like the *greise Kaiser* Wilhelm I., possessed the one outstanding virtue (or common sense) of obstinate fidelity to his better mentally-equipped mentor ; and thus Kwan-tsz held the "chancellorship" without a break for forty years, and without even once running his head dangerously near the noose.

* * * * *

What was Kwan-tsz's object in preaching these sermons to his ducal pupil ? A new dynasty had established a family feudal system in 1122 B.C., introducing or consolidating a system of moral teaching that practically held the field till 1900 A.D. There is almost a complete hiatus of 200 years preceding the revolution of 842 B.C. and the restoration of 827 ; either there were no "events" in China or no adequate record of such during these 200 years. This last year was also about the date of the improvement in scripts and records ; but even of this important revival details are lacking. The royal, imperial, or central power had, however, been degenerating all this time ; the thousand or more of feudal chiefs of 1120 B.C. had gradually crystallized into half a dozen Great Powers, none of which were purely "old-stock" Chinese, but all mixed with Tartar or "barbarian" blood ; and these Great Powers for about 250 years posed in turn as "Protectors" of the Emperor, Kwan-tsz's master being the first of the protectors. The position was not unlike that of the various Most Catholic, Most Christian, Catholic and Apostolic, Most Faithful, and other obstreperous "majesties" alternatively "protecting" and ballying the Popes in Europe, whilst a

multitude of petty sovereigns clustered round the big ones like so many jackals. During these 250 years—say 750 to 500—literature, trade, diplomatic intercourse, and war-like efficiency advanced with giant strides in China; the Emperors (then called Kings) became more and more contemptible, and the Six Great Powers—for a second period of 250 years—openly adopted a royal status all round, fought, intrigued, and consumed “scraps of paper,” harder than ever: this was, say, between 500 and 250. At last the westernmost power, which, like Prussia in our own times, had been for a couple of centuries, first as dukes and then as kings, drilling, watching, scheming, resolved to put an end to all this, and, after a few years of desperate warfare, in which armies of millions marched against each other all over the Lower Yellow River and Lower Yang-tsz valleys, the bastard “First Emperor” succeeded in bringing nearly the whole of “China proper” as we now call it under his single sway. He was quite a *Reise Kaiser*, and during the years 219-218 twice got as far as the Chefoo and Kiao-chou of our times, besides exploring the Yang-tsz River from the Chinkiang to the Hankow of to-day, leaving here and there self-laudatory inscriptions on stone, part copies of which in ancient script are still extant. His pet hatred was Confucianism, formalism, and the wearisome “classics”; he openly advocated the principle “might is right,” and there is reason to believe that the doctrines of Kwan-tsz must have sunk deeply into his soul, especially the democratic or Laocian part of it, so far as it did not thwart his absolutism. In many respects his aim at universal domination, which was, however, not vindictive, personal, or spiteful, may be compared with the more ignoble ambitions of the megalomaniac upstart Wilhelm II.

Though, of course, the “First Emperor” (he abolished all personal appellations, living or posthumous) is execrated for the way in which he massacred what may be called the “parliamentary questioners” or “newspaper critics” of the time, and burnt all the argumentative books (unwieldy

bamboo bundles) he could get hold of, he was really a very great, original, and courageous man, besides being a root-and-branch reformer. I cannot find that any instance of personal poltroonery or turgid vanity is recorded against him. His "destructive sword" was certainly very much in evidence, and he did not hesitate publicly to crow over his sweeping successes. On one occasion, it must be confessed, his best general, with or without his knowledge, deliberately butchered 400,000 men who had surrendered under a sort of Brest-Litovsk field agreement, on the faith of a "scrap of paper"—i.e., bamboo, if the guarantee of their lives was a written one at all, and not merely verbal. But the Emperor himself was no cheat, no liar, no Peck-sniff, and, going freely about incognito as well as officially, frequently exposed himself both in his capital and abroad to the risk of assassination; nor did he encourage his generals—not to say his heir—to make off with what then took the place of our modern clocks, watches, pictures, and ladies' fine linen, selling the surplus for hard cash. Nor did he show a mean, cowardly, and despicable spirit by bullying, torturing, and starving defenceless prisoners; though, true, there is an awkward little question (not clearly explained) of who the 700,000 "eunuchs" were that were forced to rebuild his new capital.

The point of the whole story is that the *Leitmotif* or leading note of Prussian *Kultur*, both from its good and its bad points of view, is by no means new, but, like most other things, hails from mysterious old China. Only one phase of it is discussed here—the military phase—but the others above enumerated are just as striking, and will be duly discussed so soon as the public will consent to think in any other than war terms. Efficiency is the note throughout, and the Japanese, whose leading men have always appreciated Kwan-tsz, had attained a high degree of this contentment and efficiency centuries before, sixty years ago, modern discoveries made it plain to them that they must either go under or lay their money on quite a new

horse; and moreover that they must condescend to ride that horse in unpicturesque Tod Sloan fashion instead of in their own pretty way of yore. Though the Japanese undoubtedly owe much to German instruction, especially in medicine and chemistry, and, with well-bred chivalry, are grateful for it, they are probably by this time as a ruling race superior even to the Prussians in the secrecy, thoroughness, and persistency necessary for successful war; man for man a fiery and self-respecting Japanese is probably much the superior of the average tame and sheep-like German lout, who is bravest in a crowd, meanest to the helpless in his power, and the readiest to cringe and cry "Kamerad!" when held at bay and left to his individual courage. The capacity for true *Kultur* is still there in them, true enough, but the innate baseness of the *petit-maitre* who has during the past thirty years whipped their better qualities out of them, allowed himself to be the tool and also the fool of his savage and ambitious generals, and ruined his Empire in the vain attempt to deck his insignificant person out in Bismarck-Napoleon uniforms, has demonstrated to the soberer world that, whether viewed from a *Kwan-tsz* or a Bismarck point of view, the same *Kultur* is too fine a political weapon for him to handle successfully. To-day's newspapers (May 22) say:

"Herr Julius Werner, a well-known writer on politico-philosophical subjects, contributes a remarkable article to the *Koelnische Zeitung* under the title 'For German World-Power.'

"Thanks to Bismarck, says Herr Werner, it was recognized that the regeneration of Germany and the renewal of the power of the Empire and Imperial Crown must come through the development of Prussia. The epochal events of 1871 once more set Germany in her old position of world-power.

"Should this war end as the life necessities of the German Empire demand, the renaissance begun in 1871 will be continued further. As matters now stand, only military victory can settle the question and prove the historical truth that the German Empire possessed and still possesses the capacity and aptitude to rule in the

world. But there is this to be remembered, the permanent exercise of this power not merely depends upon military strength and unhindered economic development, but on the intellectual and spiritual forces of Germany. Spiritual powers are not necessarily unreal.

"In the Germanization and Christianizing of the Slavic East. Germany proved herself an important colonizing power, and in the Hansa German energy created a trading and maritime power which dominated the North Sea. If, notwithstanding the brilliance of our deeds and the brilliance of many a German figure, the magic of the Imperial Throne vanished, it was largely the result of the democratization of the constitution of the empire. The monarchic power was systematically undermined. As soon as elected party majorities took up the leadership the German Kaiser became a shadow or figurehead. On the ruins of German greatness and power arose monarchical France and the British Parliament."

On May 23 Lord Crewe, in a public speech, reviewed the subject in a different light. Referring to German crimes and barbarities, he said :

"Among all the deplorable events and results of the war, I do not know there is any more painful thought in the minds of thoughtful men than the fact that the intellectual life of Germany has become imbued, to a degree that would have seemed inconceivable to us a few years ago, with the miserable poison of military domination and military excess. What could not be understood was that the most intellectual elements of such a nation should deliberately set themselves to combine the system of pure militarism with the general civilisation of their country. That erected a barrier between the intellects of Germany and the intellects of England, Italy, and the Allies which was not likely to be overcome for many years to come."

What Prussian *Kultur* is really leading to under the present degenerate Hohenzollerns may once more be gathered from "Whitaker's Almanack" for 1918 :

"The population of Germany is to that of England as 5 to 3. As to crime, the proportion of bigamy is 1 to 2 nearly; in incest about 13 to 1; in procuring it is 264 to 1; in procuring abortion it is 29 to 1; in unnatural offences it is 7 to 1; in rape and other sexual crimes it is about 9 to 1; in murder and other death-causing crimes it is 5 to 1; in

arson 4 to 1. With regard to divorces it is 22 to 1. As to illegitimate births it is 5 to 1. The number of suicides is four times as great as in England."

Where is there any record, during the whole thirty years of Wilhelm's reign, of his having done a single generous or noble act,—M. Clemenceau's *souverain odieux et infâme* of 1914, *ab ingenio improbus*? The Crown Prince seems even more despicable; "*quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integrâ famâ potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque videtur.*" The old Chinese philosopher would have blushed to serve such specimens of degeneration; and even the wild and licentious prince he did so faithfully serve, and on the whole managed to keep so decent, would have spurned boon companionship with them as being ritually unclean.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

BY K. M. PANIKKAR, B.A.

LORD CURZON was the only Viceroy who came to India with any precise ideas on education. He recognized the mischief that had been done in the preceding sixty-five years, and tried to reform it. In an address to the Educational Conference at Simla he exposed all the glaring defects of the Anglo-Indian system. He protested against the "attempt to transplant the smaller educational flora from the hothouse of Europe" into an entirely different atmosphere. The never-ending revolutions of the examination wheel by which the educational fate of a man was settled met with his grave disapprobation. Indian education, he admits, is restricted in its aims and destructive in its methods. "It is of no use," says he, "to turn out respectable clerks, munsiffs, or vakils, if this is done at the expense of the intellect of the nation."

Lord Curzon's criticism of the educational policy of the British Government was crushing and conclusive. But his reformative attempt, it must be admitted, was hardly likely to end successfully. His ideal was not free education, but an education controlled by the State. The apostle of efficiency cannot tolerate a variety of institutions with different ideals and methods. They must needs be regulated by the State. The Universities already under Government influence must be controlled directly by Government; otherwise they will not be efficient—as though efficiency were the end of educational

institutions ! The Raleigh Commission reported very much as Lord Curzon desired. In spite of the vigorous protest of Sir Gurudas Bennerjea, the Commission came to the conclusion that the cost of higher education should be raised, and that a greater control of the University by the Government would tend to educational efficiency.

The Indian national movement had watched with great anxiety Lord Curzon's activity in this field. The Congress awoke at last to the extreme importance of the problem when the interference of Lord Curzon showed an indifference to this supremely important subject. The pressing necessity of a national programme in education and the fatal danger of allowing the Government full control of the training of the youth of the nation, patent enough to thoughtful observers of political life, had been hitherto completely ignored by the Congress. It is true that a few devoted spirits of the Congress movement had for a long time seen the imperative character of this problem. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Surendra Nath Bannerjea, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and a few others, had very early in their careers recognized the necessity of national control in education. They had in their different spheres tried to solve that problem independently of the Government. But the Congress itself confined its activities to the strictly political problems, as if the source from which all political action derived its motive force was not a question of politics at all.

But the activity of the Viceroy awoke the Congress from its characteristic slumbers. The changed character of the Congress, its new and unbending nationalism, its gradual emancipation from the Bombay clique, all contributed to the general activity and life which that movement showed during the latter part of the Curzonian régime. Lord Curzon's attempt to raise the cost of the higher education was therefore met with a direct challenge. The Congress at Benares enunciated the formula of "National Education under National Control." Later events showed that this formula was interpreted in two entirely different ways by the two different parties. The vital difference between the two parties showed itself even in

the interpretation of this non-political programme. To the moderates of the Gokhale type national education and native control meant only an extension of the field for Indians in the Service and a greater study of Indian subjects in the Universities. To the Nationalists this formula meant something very different. They interpreted it to mean the complete nationalization of educational machinery and absolute boycott of all the institutions where the hand of the Government was suspected. Thus the Congress committed itself to an undefiled formula which only covered, as all formulas are perhaps meant to cover, fundamental differences of opinion. Behind the united demand for national education under national control which the Congress put forward in 1905, it was easy for the acute observer to see the uncompromising hostility between the Moderates and the Nationalists.

The cleavage of opinion on the matter became vital when from the domain of congressional discussion an attempt was made to translate it into the field of action. Bengal instituted a Council of National Education, and it seemed for a time that the educational monopoly of the Government was passing out of its hands. But the Bengal attempt failed, as it was bound to fail. The division between the Moderates and Extremists was too deep-rooted and too real to be hidden in a diplomatic formula. The Hindu revival which was at the basis of the new Nationalist movement had scarcely affected the moderates. They were still the "crowning product of the British rule," as one of them expressed it. They still looked to England for inspiration. They were unwilling to nationalize education completely, lest the "crowning product of the British rule" might become extinct. The new Nationalists had no such fears. They looked, not to Europe, but to India itself for inspiration. To them all the faith of the Moderates in the wonderful effects of the Western education was but one of the many vain superstitions which the Anglo-Indian system had sedulously cultivated. As the experiment of the national education progressed, this diver-

gence of opinion came more and more to the front. In a few years' time the whole system had completely broken down. Few tears need be wasted on the failure of this scheme. It only emphasized *once more the fundamental political truth that all great institutions that shape and mould the destiny of nations begin in individuals, and not in collective organized groups.* The great pre-revolutionary educational force in Europe was the Society of Jesus, and it had its origin in the brain of Ignatius Loyola. Comenius, Pestalozzi, and Froebel, and all the rest of the great teachers that have revolutionized the educational systems of the world, and thus directed the thought and evolution of mankind into widely different moulds, were individuals, and the institutions they set up did not owe their origin to the collective initiation of a group, but to individual attempts to realize what society had generally laughed at as impracticable dreams. In this matter, as in others, real progress can come only by the action of individuals ; and the Bengal National Council of Education had this "basic fault." It was left for an individual the most eminent that Bengal has produced after Chaitanya to realize the ideal of National Education, and Rabindra Nath Tagore's school at Bolepur can in this way be said to be the contribution of Bengal to the solution of this problem. We shall examine it later.

The Bengal Council was perhaps the most typical attempt of modern Anglicized and "progressive" India in the educational field. But the most remarkable experiment both in educational idealism and pedagogic methodology came, not from Bengal, but from the Punjab. The Arya Samaj and the Hindu revival brought with them not only a new interpretation of the doctrines of the Aryan religion, but also a new outlook in life and a new conception of mental training. The Aryas recognized more fully than the congressionists that the development of an independent system of education must precede all attempts at reconstruction and readjustment of the bases of Indian society. This new attitude and outlook materialized in the Gurukula at Hardwar.

The Gurukula ideal of education is essentially different not only from the Anglo-Indian system, but from the educational ideals of any of the modern countries. It is an attempt to revitalize the ascetic spirit of the ancient Hindu culture. It is an experiment in assimilating as much of modern science as is essential with the spirit of our ancient civilization. The Gurukula tries to found an Indian University, Indian in every sense, out of which would arise a new Indian nation breathing the old and sacred atmosphere of the Vedas, but tasting and relishing all that is useful and fine in the thought, literature, and science of the modern nations.

This is, we may say at once, the right ideal. But in the systematic elaboration of its methodology the Gurukula system tends both to an ascetic severity and a cast-iron formalism. In taking the children away from the realities of domestic life and interning them for nearly eighteen years in the unreal surroundings of a Himalayan monastery, the Arya Samaj theorists show an absolute ignorance of the fundamental ideas of education. They forget the essential truth that an education that does not keep the child in touch with the realities of domestic life is no education at all ; that to be left after twenty years of restless mental activity in an unexplained and to him inexplicable environment is not only harmful, but positively destructive, that such a divorce of life in knowledge and life in reality can only lead to intellectual insincerity absolutely incompatible with true education.

The answer which the Arya Samajists make to this argument is that the family influence in India is on the whole detrimental to the full development of the child, and that the less he sees of his family in his formative years the better. This line of argument takes for granted that it is for his elders to settle what is good for the child, and in effect that the mind of the child is soft clay to be moulded and shaped as his elders desire. This is the doctrine against which the great Comenius and the no less great Rousseau preached with such unanswerable logic. The child's mind is not a virgin soil, to use the famous metaphor of Comenius, to be sown by

the teacher in a formal pattern. This is the basic flaw of the Gurukula system. It treats the children as so much raw material to be manufactured by a long time process into pious, patriotic, philosophical, and literary citizens, capable of carrying the message of the great Arya civilization to all the known parts of the world.

Another and perhaps more effective criticism on the Hardwar ideal is that it is essentially revivalistic and therefore lacking in the element of progression. The ideals of yesterday are useless if they are not interpreted from the point of view of the life of to-day. The Gurukulas were prevalent full 2,000 years ago, and it is a vain attempt, even if it were possible, to revitalize an institution which flourished under widely different conditions and in a very different time.

The principle of individual freedom, so crushed out in Hardwar for uniformity of pattern, is found to be the fundamental principle of the Santi Nikétan of Rabindra Nath Tagore. The so-called Bengal Educational Council was not an educational experiment ; it was a solemn futility meant to be an educational demonstration. But that unrest which drove the Congress to do something in its own futile manner led the most fertile mind of modern Bengal to embark on an educational experiment the most unique of its kind in India. The school at Bolepur showed once more that experiment must begin, especially when the raw material on which it is begun is the most precious element in the nation, with the tested instincts of creative genius, and not by the commercial application of a uniform principle. The Santi Nikétan grew out of Tagore's brain as Academy grew out of Plato's and the Bonnal School out of Pestalozzi's dreams.

Educational practice has from time immemorial been divided, as Mr. Richmond well puts it, into that which works through rules rather than through sympathy, and that which puts sympathy before rule. The Hardwar system exemplifies the first ; the Bolepur system exemplifies the second. The Hardwar system works through the class, assumes a uniformity of intelligence and interest. Santi Nikétan works

through the individual, treats "each case on its own merit," with no uniformity of pattern and preconceived notions as to what the child ought to be when grown up. It assumes that every child is born good, but with different degrees of instinct, feeling, and intelligence. The aim of all is the same, but the capability of realizing it differs in degree. Thus each individual should be ministered to in the fashion that fits him and brings out and develops his qualities, and not in the measure of another's wants and desires.

The teaching of traditions tends to social control ; individual liberty tends to social freedom ; but societal control and individual freedom are not incompatible when we recognize that individual liberty finds its highest and truest expression only under societal control. But though they are not necessarily incompatible, popular instinct is right when it draws a dividing-line between the rigid formalism of the traditionalist and the sympathetic guidance of the individualist. The Gurukula stands for the control and therefore for the limitation of the future by the experience or the realized ideal of the past. Bolepur stands for the ideal of free development deriving inspiration from tradition, but hindered as little as possible by the dead weight of a desire to bring back into existence an institution out of which life has flown centuries ago.

Both the Gurukula and the Santi Nikétan are only individual attempts at the solution of a national problem. Realization of great principles can only come through the spontaneous energy of individuals ; but institutions meant for remedying crying evils have to originate, not in the creative genius of a single man, but in the general consciousness of a nation and its collective initiative. The Benares Hindu University is essentially a work of this kind. It is not the realization of a great principle or ideal, but simply an attempt to remedy the most conspicuous of all the evils of the Anglo-Indian system of education. Macaulay had written, with the sublime impudence that characterized his peculiar talents, that the Indian *risorgimento* can come only through the wide diffusion of European culture, and that Indian civilization,

whatever it may have been worth, was as dead as the Assyrian. The palpable falsity of this view was manifest from its beginning. Its importance lies on its results rather than on its merits. From that day dates the deplorable divorce of Indian education from Indian thought and Indian feeling. The Universities of India were but factories where a few were manufactured into graduates and a good many more wrecked on the voyage of their intellectual life.

What the Hindu University has attempted to do is to bring Indian education into conformity with Indian culture. With the many and patent faults of this University we need not concern ourselves. What we should recognize clearly is that the Hindu University differs essentially from the Anglo-Indian Universities, in that the former exists for the express purpose of restoring Hindu culture, and as the material and tangible expression of the cultural unity of India. Thus the Benares University is a far-reaching experiment, remedial in its primary character, but creating a new atmosphere vitalizing old traditions, interpreting racial ideals, and spreading the thought and feeling of ancient and modern India.

Here we have the right ideal. But in the execution of that ideal lies unsolved the problem of national education. The Benares University is as effectively controlled by the Government as are the Government's own institutions. The watchful eye of the bureaucracy is on it, and it is independent only in name. The experiment is so important, the probable effects from it so far-reaching, the success or failure of it so vital, that the Government, acting on its irrational distrust of free and unshackled education, considered itself justified in imposing its own authority on it. But when all is said of the influence of an alien Government ; of the reactionary character of any institution that exists to interpret ancient ideals, and not primarily to search for truth ; of the mischief that it may originate due to its sectarian character ; of the great and crying evils, such as the caste system, which it may perpetuate—when all is said, the Benares Hindu University remains a capital fact which is bound to influence our national

evolution, certainly in a much better way than the Anglo-Indian institutions.

Its chief defect we noticed before. It is remedial, and therefore supplementary. It does not solve the educational problem of Nationalist India. It does not even face the issues boldly. But this must be admitted : it is a great step forward. It is the natural nucleus of any national experiment in education. Around it would gather institutions united in their diversity, inspired by the majestic flow of the sacred Ganges, from whom, as it was written of yore, is bound to flow all that is good and great in India.

Up to now our work has been entirely critical and estimative. The greater task of stating and analyzing the problem and interpreting the tendency of the new Nationalists towards it remains.

What most strikes anyone who approaches the problem of Indian education from any point of view is its appalling magnitude. Here is a country with a population of 325 millions whose future salvation depends greatly upon the careful study and the right solution of this problem. Here is a not inconsiderable portion of the human race whose destiny depends a great deal upon those who have foresight to see and the energy and the enthusiasm to realize a right educational ideal. The problem is indeed bewildering in its variety. It is as if one entered a primeval forest, thick and crowded with trees, with no gleam of light to guide one's steps, with soft grass and wild creepers covering many a pitfall. But if it is difficult—nay, almost impossible—to traverse, we must also admit the temptation to persevere in the attempt is as great, seeing that beyond this dark and untraversed forest lies the promised land, the land of a free and educated population.

Out of the wild variety of this problem three factors stand towering above the rest. They are the questions of a common language, of the education of women, and of the general policy and the institutions by which to realize it. The first question is whether India should be treated as a cultural unity, whether a new All-Indian language, a modified Arya Bhasha

embodying not only the culture of Ancient India, but assimilating the contribution of the Musalman inhabitants, should be consciously evolved. The second question is whether we should perpetuate the status-relation between men and women in education ; whether an absolute equality of sexes in educational practice is not bound to affect adversely the free progress of a family and social development ; whether a different educational ideal for women is not desirable, possible, and practicable. The third question is the question of the educational principles and institutions ; whether a uniform general policy is desirable, and, if not desirable, how far it should be carried ; whether the realization of great principles does not come from the co-ordination of tested units ; whether it would be more desirable to nationalize interest than to universalize it. Such are the main outlines of the problem which the Nationalist has to face, not only when India governs herself, but even to-day ; because, without at least a partial solution of the educational problem, Swaraj would remain an unrealized ideal.

The first question—that of a common language—is one of the most pressing of our problems, not only from an educational, but from a general, Nationalist point of view. Without it all our efforts at united action must for ever remain virtually ineffective. It is true that before the British dominion India was *one in feeling, thought, and culture*. But to-day, by the influence of a foreign language, her different provinces are tending to a difference even in these vital points. This process of disintegration can be arrested only by a common language. Is such a thing possible ? If possible, can Indian Nationalists, unaided by the all-pervading machinery of Government, realize it ? This is the first question we have to answer.

That English can never serve the purpose of a common language is a manifest fact that requires no argument to prove. It is so utterly foreign to us that education in it involves an enormous waste of mental power. This waste is suffered not only by those whose natural gifts are so overflowing as to

be indifferent to its effects, but by everyone who desires to be educated in India. This is the explanation of the enormous number of failures in our Universities, and of that unique and therefore all the more heartrending phenomenon of the Indian educational world, the "failed B.A." English can never become anything but the language for the microscopic minority of our inhabitants—the so-called Eurasian. For us Indians it is and it will ever be a language in which to commit literary suicide, a tongue which stifles our expressive faculties, a medium of expression which kills all the thinking power of our mind. The use of a foreign language as the medium of our higher education leaves us without a national genius in literature, in science, and in thought. Lord Curzon was essentially right, though in a negative sense, when he said that the raising of the cost of higher education would tend to the betterment of India. Such an administrative act would limit the classes who would be affected by this intellectual ravage. It would confine the intellectual exploitation to the very few who are rich. The ordinary man, though he does not gain, surely does not lose by this arrangement.

Setting aside, therefore, the impossible supposition that English can at any time be the common language of India, we are left with two alternatives—to wit, that we should choose as our common language either an unused language—a dead language, as it is erroneously called—Sanskrit, Prakrit, or Classical Persian, or one of the chief Indian vernaculars, such as Hindi, Bengali, Tamil. Of these two possible alternatives we can dismiss the first with a few words. True that Sanskrit has the merit of being known and studied all over India. It has also the merit of being the common basis of all the Indian languages. But *at no time* does it seem to have been extensively spoken in India, and it is hardly possible that such a perfect language, with all its different verbal forms, could ever be spoken by the ordinary man. Persian, of course, has little claim to be the common language, and Prakrit less.

Thus we are left with the indubitable fact that the common language of India can only be one of the three or four chief

vernaculars of India. The problem, more plainly stated, becomes this : Which language are we to choose from among the great vernaculars of India as the medium of higher education and the basis of higher communal life ? The apparent contest is between Hindi, Bengali, and Tamil. But the contest seems to me to be only an apparent one. Neither Tamil nor Bengali, however cultivated their literature be, can claim to be anything but the language of a particular province, a language spoken by a subnationality. But the case of Hindi is different. The Hindi-speaking people do not inhabit a particular marked-out portion of India. It is, in fact, understood all over North India. It is understood in a slightly different form by all the Musalman inhabitants of India, and this fact alone makes its claim a matter of incontestable weight. Also, it has a double alphabet, which, peculiarly enough, is in this case not a hindrance, but an additional claim. Its Nagari character makes it acceptable to all Hindus ; its Urdu character makes it acceptable to all Musalmans. Thus an acceptance of Hindi would preserve the continuity of our civilization both for our Muslim brethren and for ourselves.

It is an interesting and supremely important subject, which we would have liked to discuss with greater elaboration had the limits of this essay permitted it. However, before entering into the consideration of the next question, we would attempt to answer one important objection that is commonly raised against the evolution of an Indian common language. Will not the adoption of any one Indian language—say, Hindi, for example—as our *lingua franca* adversely affect the growth of our vernaculars ? Will not the language in which Chandidas and Rabindra Nath Tagore wrote, say these, become in course of time, like Gaelic in Ireland, merely a dead tradition ? Will not the sublime Tirukural and the no less sublime songs of Ramdas become, like the wonderful poems of the Welsh bards or the reputed epics of the Aztecs, mere objects of curiosity for the antiquarians ? The fear is legitimate, though groundless. The unique greatness of India lies in its wonderful diversity, and the ideal of a great India must always remain a diversity-

ideal. Is the attempt to create a common language an attempt to create a uniformity of thought and expression? If it is, it is treason to India. But under no conceivable circumstances can it be so. A second language, taught and spoken as such, can never replace a well-cultivated mother-tongue. The Bengali would be proud of his tongue, as the Tamilian, the Gujarati, the Punjabi, and the Malayali would be. They would be cultivated with greater zest and interest as the knowledge of the other Indian languages grew among the people. The objection, therefore, is groundless.

The proper education of women is the next problem. But here we are concerned with it only in so far as it bears on the educational problem. We have noticed that this problem has been treated in three main lines, which are, first, whether we should perpetuate the status-relation between men and women in education; secondly, whether the Indian family life does not demand a peculiar consideration in our educational problem; thirdly, whether a different educational ideal for our women cannot, without breaking the continuity of our culture, be evolved from our past.

The Indian nation can never be free till the Indian woman has ceased to be a slave. The Indian nation can never be educated till the Indian woman has ceased to be ignorant. I am not saying that the Indian womanhood is bound in slavery, or that it is blinded by ignorance. But the fact is that both in the relative status of the sexes and in the idea of their education our present system affords room for very considerable modification. Is that modification to come through the activities of the so-called social reformers or by the extensive diffusion of education? The difference between the two processes is great indeed. The social reformers try to impose their ideas on the generality, believing implicitly in the infallibility of the reforms they advocate. The social reform temperament is the temperament of the missionary. On the other hand, the process of social evolution through the wider diffusion of education is essentially a process of raising the general standard of opinion, and thus making social reform the real expression of the conscious will of the community.

The question, however, arises whether we are to perpetuate the status-relation of the sexes in our educational system. The process of human evolution has surely been in the progressive differentiation of the sexes which has now become a dominant and capital fact in all organized societies. The question of sexual status and education affects us in an entirely different way. At present the education of our females, such as it is, is entirely in relation to the family and not to the community. It is designed so as to make the child as it grows up a sweet and docile wife, an ideal mother, a self-sacrificing widow and an able head of the family. This ideal is absolutely right as far as it goes. But it does not go far. It gives no place for the relation of woman to the community. That relation is only implied in a very limited sense in the ideal mother. The business of the mother as far as the community is concerned, according to this ideal, is to rear up ideal citizens. Naturally the question arises, Does the social relationship of women end with rearing up excellent soldiers and sagacious politicians? Is she merely a means and not an end in herself? Can her faculties be fully and freely developed except in relation to an organized community? and by limiting her to the smallest possible community, the family, are we not limiting the development of her faculties? It is, therefore, evident that any comprehensive solution of the educational problem must include the final destruction of the artificial limitation of feminine relationship to the family.

This brings us to the second question, whether such an extension of feminine activity through a different ideal of education, which, while perpetuating the healthy status-relation of the sexes, does not limit the female to the family, would affect adversely that vital point of our civilization, the joint family system. It is by no means clear whether a higher individuation of the units that compose the family would tend to its break up, and it does not seem to be true that a freer interpretation of the position of women in society must lead to a disintegration of the family. What seems quite clear is that the joint family system as it is, with all its merits, tends very considerably to be

a dead weight in the matter of freer, fuller, and healthier family life, and the purification of it in its essentials *can come only through the increased intelligence* of women. Female education, as long as it is imparted with the view of perpetuating the status-relation of the sexes, or, on the other hand, is based on the idea that such differences ought not to exist, would remain wholly unreal, disturbing the whole fabric of social organization and sapping the very vital roots of all social existence. The education of women, such as is given in India to-day, inclines to the second alternative of ignoring the existence of sexual differences. That is why female education in India has been a totally disturbing instead of a consolidating factor in social life. The Indian joint family life, being, indeed, the realized truth of a thousand generations, requires a peculiar consideration in our educational problem. Our ideal should not be to destroy, but to purify it.

Does this ideal mean a break in the continuity of our civilization? In spite of the opinion of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, no sensible man has ever believed that according to Hindu ideals woman was created to minister to man's wants. The Hindu ideal of womanhood has been the ideal—not the European conception of a helpmate for man, soothing his distracted hours—of a necessary counterpart without whom man himself cannot attain salvation. What Sri Krishna asks his old playmate Kuchela when that pious devotee visited the Lord is whether the female rishi suited him in every way. Indeed, according to the Hindu ideal, man and woman are like the twin blade of a pair of scissors, each impotent and insufficient in itself and capable of action only in combination. There is no superiority or inferiority in their relations. The right ideal is to make both the blades as keen as possible. This not only does not mean a break in the continuity of the Hindu tradition, but is in entire conformity with its spirit. Such is the opinion of those who have devoted their life-work to the cause of female education. Professor Kharve of the Swasadān, in founding the women's University, has the same ideal. The Gurukula authorities, in establishing an institution for girls, give the authority of ortho-

dox Hinduism to this ideal. Intelligent India has, indeed, rejected the plea of the "social reformers" for the break up of the family, and confined itself emphatically to a reinterpretation of the old ideal.

Now it remains to discuss whether a general educational programme under these conditions is possible, and whether such a policy would be desirable as laying down the main lines of our educational development. A general policy means at least an attempt on the part of the powers-that-be to put down certain things as the essential minimum of education. This power in the hands of a Government generally tends to a control of the educational system. That is eminently undesirable, even if it comes from a strictly Nationalist Indian Government. Education, unless we want to travesty it as a Governmental instrument, must necessarily be free and unhampered. Thus a general policy can be laid down only to this extent—that is to say, the Government, while encouraging it by every means in its power, should leave education outside the scope of its general activities except in so far as to remedy such manifest evils as a monopoly by any particular field. The Government should make primary education free and compulsory, but in no case should it insist on a general curriculum for the whole of India. It should be left to the discrimination of the local authorities, prescribing, however, that in such subjects as elementary arithmetic, of which the realized experiments of the past centuries have convincingly proved the utility, a minimum standard should be set. Only up to this has the Government any right to interfere. In its educational policy the Government's activity should be one of co-ordination of educational institutions.

How, then, are we to realize this ideal of free and compulsory primary education absolutely under local control with the least possible interference from the Governmental authorities? Is it by a system of free Universities, as in America, or by a system of local effort supplemented by Board Schools, as in England? The answer is difficult. But this much we can say without fear of contradiction. A national programme of educa-

tion in a country like India, whose greatness lies in the rich diversity of her people, her ideals, and her life, must essentially be a programme of local effort, of individual experiment, and of provincial and national co-ordination. The Government can therefore never lay down an educational policy. If it did, such a policy would only create a mechanical process of instruction without any local colour, without any conformity with the realities of life, without any attempt to create intellectual sincerity. The realization of any ideal, however good, can come only through the general prevalence of individual experiments in that direction. A State can never successfully impose it on the community without transforming the character of that ideal.

To summarize what we have said : The Nationalist movement in India is threatened to-day by a grave danger, that of an inquisitorial control by the Government of the educational machinery. On the face of it, therefore, a Nationalist programme in education becomes an imperative necessity. From the earliest days of the National movement the more far-sighted among the Nationalists had seen this. But their efforts remained mainly local until the masterful hand of Lord Curzon imposed on an unwilling Congress the necessity of enunciating a general policy in education. The translation of that policy from the realm of speech into that of action ended in complete failure. But other experiments, such as the Gurukula, which attempts to revive the ascetic spirit of the ancient Hindus, and the Santi Nikétan, which tries to realize the principle of individual freedom, arose out of that educational unrest. The Benares University expressed in a tangible form the dissatisfaction of the best moderate minds with the Anglo-Indian system of education.

But a really Nationalist ideal in education has not yet been authoritatively elaborated. Such an ideal must take into consideration the problem of a common language, which in the opinion of the present writer can only be Hindi. It must also give particular attention to the education of our women, without attempting to disintegrate the joint family system. Finally, a national educational programme must be a programme of local

effort and national co-ordination. It is unnecessary to forecast whether such an ideal is immediately practicable. Any diversity-ideal can only be a matter of growth, though not necessarily slow growth. The Nationalist effort in education, therefore, should be directed, not chiefly towards any attempt to mould the Governmental policy, but in building up local institutions of a great variety of character and embodying different national ideals and culture. Therein alone lies the hope of Nationalism, for Nationalism ignorant is Nationalism ineffective.

Let us remember this, and then we shall have no more fear of the future. In the past India was great ; the present is not without hope ; but with our united effort her future will indeed be greater than either her present or even her past. It depends upon us ; and let it not be said of us that the Spirit of Time, in determining the fate of our Motherland, tried us in the ordeal of fire and found us wanting.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, April 8, 1918, at 3.30 p.m., at 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., when a paper written by K. M. Panikkar, Esq., B.A., OXON, entitled "Problems of National Education in India," was read. Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. D. L. Patvardhan, Mr. Wickramsinghi, Mr. J. K. De, Mrs. J. Pollen, Mr. Kotval, Mr. Swami, Mr. J. D. Anderson, Mr. S. K. Engineer, Miss Dowell, Lieut. Clemes, Mrs. Selway White, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. Das Gupta, Mrs. Dick Cunyngham, Miss Blackman, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Guiry, Mr. and Mrs. Ismail, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. Kinneir-Tarte, Mrs. Collis, Mrs. Slater, Mr. Coleman, Professor Bickerton, Mr. E. Marsden, Rev. Mr. A. E. Davies, Miss Beck, Mr. Singh, Mr. Tabak, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Henri M. Leon, Madam E. Mirian Leon, Mrs. Drury, Lieut.-Colonel F. Terry, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. M. Zahuruddin, Mr. Ernest Benedict, the Rev. Mr. Stanton, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. S. R. A. Savoor, Mr. L. S. Misra, Mrs. Salway, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Mainwaring, Mrs. Walsh, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY stated that he had received apologies for their absence from Viscount Haldane, the Board of Education, Lord Reay, Lord Lamington, and others.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am very glad to have such a good audience, and I think I can promise you an interesting and stimulating afternoon. Mr. Panikkar is a young Indian of quite exceptional promise. He has just taken his B.A. degree at Oxford with First Class Honours in History, and was specially commended by the examiners. Even before that, when he was only nineteen years of age, he was responsible for a singularly thoughtful and, I may say, courageous little booklet on the "Problems of Greater India," which I had the pleasure of reading some time ago. He has now come to speak to you on the "Problems of National Education in India." I will only say now that, while I am in entire sympathy with his main contention—namely,

that it is desirable gradually to emancipate Indian education from Government control—I may have to offer a few criticisms on secondary but not unimportant points, after you have heard the paper. I am afraid, as regards the main view, it has never been a popular one either in England or in India, and that it has not found favour in the past in this Society I have reason to know from personal experience. I only hope that in that respect the lecturer will be more successful in winning assent than I was. I will now call upon the lecturer to read the paper.

Mr. PANIKKAR : Mr. Chairman, I thank you personally for the kind things you have said about me, and, before I begin to read my paper, I should like to say that I am a Nationalist, and a Nationalist of what some of you would call an extreme type. I believe that India should have Home Rule, immediate and entire. Unless you understand that point of view of mine, I do not think you will be able to appreciate or follow the arguments I have advanced in my paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, before we embark on the conversational discussion of the paper you have just heard, our Secretary, Dr. Pollen, has a letter to read from one of our oldest members, Mr. Coldstream, which he judiciously reserved until after the paper had been read.

The Hon. SECRETARY read the letter.

69, WEST CROMWELL ROAD, S.W. 5.

MY DEAR POLLEN.

April 6th, 1918.

I am sorry that, owing to an important engagement in connection with the Ludhiana Women's Christian Medical College, I shall be unable to attend the meeting of the Council on Monday, and shall not have the pleasure of hearing Mr. Panikkar's paper on Indian Education, which will, no doubt, be followed by a very interesting discussion. I have read his paper with some attention. It is very suggestive. Of course, the two great questions it raises are (1) that of a common language; and (2) the primary importance of directing the national effort in education, not to any attempt to mould the Government policy, but to building up local institutions embodying different national ideals and culture.

As regards a common language for India, I trust that Mr. Panikkar will yet live to see that English is not to be ever a language in which Indians must commit literary suicide, have their faculties stifled and their thinking powers destroyed. I should doubt whether the majority of cultured Indians of to-day would endorse that view. I should be inclined to think that they would give a little more credit to Western culture, imbibed through the medium of English as being the foundation of the highest culture to be found in India to-day. At the same time, one must feel the greatest sympathy with all attempts to build up the culture of India on indigenous genius and methods and some widely known vernacular. Whether such institutions as the Benares Hindu University or the Government and missionary Anglo-Indian institutions are to be the more influential in the future intellectual development of the Empire is a problem which must remain, for the present, unsolved; but as regards language,

specially, there seem enormous difficulties in the way of Hindi ever becoming the common language of India. In the first place, it is, at present, the vernacular of only one-fourth of its people. In the second place, Hindi or Urdu is, as yet, a language in the making. It has constantly to borrow from the West terms which its vocabulary has no method, or imperfect and clumsy methods, of expressing. English is spreading enormously, so that Urdu must start or has started late in the race.

Secondly, as regards the general shaping of the future educational policy, it is, of course, of the greatest importance that the freest field for expressing Indian ideals of culture and feeling should be given to Indian effort, and it may even be true that there is a danger of an inquisitorial control by Government of the educational machinery. It is obvious that for the present a vast task must necessarily remain in the hands of Government, which can alone survey and co-ordinate the multitude of problems and experiments now in progress over the vast area of India; and I trust that the lecturer has underrated the willingness of Government to mould its policy with no idea of repressing, but rather to foster all that is best in indigenous feeling, thought and culture.

The question of the education of women has passed out of the condition of a problem into the position of a steadfast aim and earnest progress. East and West may be said now to see eye to eye in this matter, or very nearly so. What is called by the lecturer the "artificial limitation to the family of feminine relationship" Mr. Panikkar rightly condemns; but he must admit that their reasonable emancipation is an idea and an aim born, not in the East, but in the West. May India develop it with an energy and success at least equal to that of the Western nations, and let us hope that this development may proceed without any serious shock to Indian joint family life. .

On the whole, one may hope that in the progress towards the realization of the great ideals which are now cherished in India, the Government of our generation will, in the Department of Education as in all others, seek to lay such foundations—so strong and so healthy, so suited to the needs and genius of the country—that the great work may proceed with our successors on smooth and ever broadening lines.

Yours sincerely,
W. COLDSTREAM.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, the Agenda, with which the Honorary Secretary has kindly supplied me, says : "No. 2. The Chairman to address the meeting"; so that I shall be acting in strict obedience to orders if I appropriate a moderate portion of the very limited time that is allowed between the reading of the paper and the hour consecrated to tea. As I have already said, I am in entire sympathy with the fundamental aim of the lecturer to emancipate national education from Government control, which, I do not know whether he clearly understands, also implies "from Government support." I believe I am one of a very small minority in holding that, even in this country, where the Government rests essentially upon a national basis and is identified with the nation, we lose

more than we gain by the general provision, to the extent that it is now carried, of tax-paid education, and a *fortiori* in a country where the Government is alien to the population the objection to having the educational matter pitchforked upon the people from above, instead of being gradually developed in a natural way from below, is considerably stronger. I know there is the argument on the other side that an alien Government has more need than any other for making itself understood by the people, but I believe that the action of supply and demand, the encouragement offered by the mere fact that posts in the Government and commercial success can only be attained through mastery of the English language and some acquaintance with English ideas, would counterbalance that. That is one point on which I am in entire agreement with the lecturer's aims. I am also in agreement with his national aims, only that I, perhaps, might fix a later date for its accomplishment than he would be inclined to do. But, as an ideal, I believe the complete political independence of India would be a benefit for both England and India. I am also in agreement with him on the minor point, and I gather from the applause that the meeting in general is in agreement with the criticism of the Arya Samaj that "in taking the children away from the realities of domestic life and interning them for nearly eighteen years in the unreal surroundings of a Himalayan monastery the Arya Samaj theorists show an absolute ignorance of the fundamental ideas of education. They forget the essential truth that an education that does not keep the child in touch with the realities of domestic life is no education at all."

Now as to the points in which I am unable to follow the lecturer; the amusing passage in which he attacked Macaulay is one. I submit that, although Macaulay may have greatly underrated the value of Hindu literature and religion, the fact remains that those ancient books were not properly understood by the Hindus themselves in Macaulay's time, and it was left to European scholars to hunt up and marshal the evidence as to their dates and authorship and to display them in their true relation to the general history of human thought; and, secondly, assuming, what Mr. Panikkar would hardly dispute, that in Macaulay's time the state of India was such that some considerable period of British or other Western rule was an indispensable condition of order and progress and for the chance of reviving whatever was worth reviving in Indian ancient civilization, he was surely right in holding that the first step towards qualifying Indians to share with their foreign rulers the work of administration must be for them to acquaint themselves with the English language and literature; just as, in former centuries, they had to learn Persian before they could hold any important post under the Moguls. Whether the time has now come to work for the predominance of some other language than English as the *lingua franca* of all India is another question. All that I have said about Macaulay might be true, and yet the other contention might be true also. But I must own that I am not convinced, either by the lecturer's negative objection to English or by his positive arguments in favour of Hindi. In the first place, does not the paper to which we have just listened go far to rebut the assertion on p. 299 that "For us Indians

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it is and it will ever be a language in which to commit literary suicide, a tongue which stifles our expressive faculties, a medium of expression which kills all the thinking power of our mind?" If this is a specimen of the killing power, what will be the live power when one is privileged to hear him in his own language? I think that with such examples as are available of Rabindranath Tagore and others there will be a tolerably unanimous feeling that the English language is not quite so destructive to culture as the lecturer would have us believe.

Then, in the next place, it being agreed that a second language can never replace a well-cultivated mother-tongue, and therefore that Bengali and Tamil, Marathi and Gujarati, will continue to be the vehicles of primary education and the media of ordinary social intercourse, for what purpose will the second language, the *lingua franca*, be required? Only, as it seems to me, firstly, for legislation and administration; secondly, for the discussion of scientific, literary, and philosophical subjects; and, thirdly, for the larger operations of commerce. For all these purposes English will surely be found more serviceable than either Hindi or Urdu. By the way, I should like to have the opinion of either Dr. Pollen or Mr. Anderson, or some expert philologist here, as to how far Hindi and Urdu can be treated as one and the same language. It strikes me that the difference of character must make a great deal of difference in the habitual use.

In the next place, I am entirely in sympathy with the lecturer's national aspirations, but I also believe that the ideal will be rendered immensely easier of attainment if the indigenous governing classes are stiffened by a considerable infusion of high-class English-speaking immigrants, English, Scotch, Irish, or American, who will definitely choose India as their permanent domicile and as the object of their patriotic devotion. This infusion will, of course, be greatly facilitated by the use of English as the language of higher politics and administration. The somewhat strained and artificial character of the relations between rulers and ruled in British India is not due so much to the fact of the former being aliens by origin and religion as to the fact that, whether official or non-official, they are mere birds of passage, neither born and bred in the country, nor, unless by accident, expecting to die in it. This was inevitable while the conditions of healthy residence in tropical and sub-tropical countries were imperfectly understood. But with the progress of medical science and the improved facilities for travel the difficulty seems in a fair way to being removed.

Next, when the lecturer speaks of the cultural unity of India as something which existed before British rule, and has been impaired rather than strengthened by it, this is so contrary to general opinion that I should be glad of some further explanation. Does he mean that the Moslems, who ruled the greater part of India for some six centuries, had no culture worth speaking of, or does he mean that the difference between Moslem and Hindu culture was, previous to British rule, too slight to be worth speaking of? In either case I do not think he will find many scholars to agree with him, and it seems a strong proposition, in face of it, to say

that the subjection of both of two widely different communities to the necessity of learning a third language, and the meeting of their picked students in a country where they are on a footing of equality, is likely to tend more to disruption than to unity. I wonder whether that is the lecturer's real experience of students at Oxford.

Now, having, as I trust, added some wholesomely provocative elements to the already stimulating fare provided by the lecturer, I declare the field open for frank and amicable discussion, and I call upon Mr. Anderson to address the meeting.

Mr. J. D. ANDERSON said he wished to thank and congratulate the lecturer for his most interesting paper. He would like to say that his experience was the opposite of that expressed—that education in the English language and use of the English language had been impressed upon India by a foreign and alien Government. In Bengal, at all events in the speaker's younger days, the whole of the administration was carried on in the vernacular, and one of his dearest friends and the ablest Judge he ever came across was a profound Persian and Sanskrit scholar, who did not know a word of English. There was no doubt that the administration had become Anglicized, but that was caused by the wish of the educated classes, not the Government. On the question of what should be the general vernacular of India, the speaker said that Bengali, as a language, was growing, and had not the least intention of being overwhelmed by English or any other language. He was strongly of opinion that education of all kinds ought to be carried on in the language in which people thought. This seemed to be the view now generally held by Bengalis themselves, including, for instance, Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Professor Sarkar, who has written a paper advocating the educational use of Bengali in a recent number of the *Modern Review*. Bengali has made a wise and frank use of English for scientific and other technical terms for which Indian equivalents do not exist. See Mr. Jnanendra Mohan Das's excellent dictionary recently published. This is exactly equivalent to the use of "mofussil," "jungle," "competition-wallah," or, say, "blighty" and "dekchi" in English. The greater modern languages of India have a great future before them, and Bengali already possesses a contemporary literature quite comparable with current publications in French, German, or English. Those who possess so admirable a means of expressing their thoughts may learn Hindi or Tamil as an Englishman learns German or French. But, sooner or later, the secondary and finally the University education of Bengal will certainly be carried on in Bengali. Professor Sarkar already asserts that, though the use of English and other European textbooks is still a necessity, students should be examined on the subject-matter of such books in their mother-tongue, that being the only effective way of proving that the subjects studied have been thoroughly assimilated and have become a part of the examinee's thought. English, however, must be learnt by most as the easiest and most practical link with Western thought. Hindi may be useful. But Bengalis have rarely shown much taste for Hindi studies or Hindi literature, just as few Indians from other parts of India, even

when resident in Bengal, have, till lately, shown much inclination for Bengali studies.

The REV. A. E. DAVIES said that the subject of the lecture was one in which he was personally interested, having participated in educational work in Bengal, and he was entirely in sympathy with the lecturer. He knew, from first-hand knowledge, of the national spirit amongst the student classes, and had memories of the meetings he had had with the students in which they were facing up to the problems which the present conditions of India were bringing before them and to the solution of which they would no doubt materially contribute. This, he thought, was one of the most promising features of the present time, together with the fact that the well-being of the country and the perpetuation of its best traditions, desired by English no less than Nationalist, was receiving the support of the Government and the British nation. The great question was that of the best method to adopt. The speaker thought that the lecture was valuable as a suggestion towards the development and expression of the national spirit in India and the goal of the Empire generally. With reference to the question of language, which had been discussed, that subject had been before the National and Legislative Councils in India, and English had been adopted by educated and influential Indians themselves. The lecturer had pointed out that, while it was essential to maintain the family, the best interests of the family would be served if the education of the women brought them more into touch with the communal life. The speaker maintained that that applied to a nation as well as to a family. But, he asked, if India was to be brought into line with the progress of other nations and of the world in general, could she afford to cut herself off from what was the more universal language? The lecture would suggest to a good many people that education in India, at present under Government control, was an imposition, which was out of touch with the national aspirations and ideals of India. The speaker did not think that quite represented the situation; moreover, the fact should not be overlooked that Indians themselves had a very real part in the development of the present system of education.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said he would like to congratulate the lecturer on his paper, which was well written, closely reasoned, and in the best vigorous style of Oxford. It provoked a great deal of thought. It presented a great number of propositions which he would like to controvert, but it showed that the lecturer had tried to grapple with the basic problems of the question which he had raised. The speaker, however, would limit himself to one point, that you should have purely local educational control, and that it should have nothing to do with either the Government as it exists now or with a national body such as a Parliament or some statutory representative national institution. He would like to ask the lecturer whether that quite fitted in with any conceivable idea of national education. Local bodies are not national bodies; their atmosphere is restricted, and they are apt to savour of the village pump. Even if we had local machinery, that did not dispense with the need for a largely thought out scheme of national education. As regards machinery, the experiment had been

tried in this country of purely local School Boards, and, although the national spirit and national organization and national machinery were highly developed, it was found that small School Boards were apt to run out of the groove, and, as a result, they were abolished and the County Councils assumed their functions. Not only that, but in the latest Education Bill, which marked such a great advance on anything that had been done before in this country in regard to education, there was a further agglomeration of County Councils proposed, an agglomeration which meant that education would be still further centralized. Mr. Fisher would not use the word, nor would anybody who wanted to stand well with the local bodies, but the fact remained that it was found by experience that, even in a nationalized country like England, it was necessary to gather the different threads of education into the hands of a body less local than a pure School Board might be. But, when you came to India, what was the unit which the lecturer contemplated? He had had an extensive experience of educational units as viewed from the bottom, and some slight experience also from the top. In a district the District Board was the educational body, corresponding to the County Councils in England. In many cases at present the District Board was no more than the District Officer. Pick out the most go-ahead aided schools in the villages, and enquire into the source of their life and vitality, and you will find that the people themselves would refer that to the district headquarters. It might be the District Officer, or some pleader or zamindar, but it was always someone in touch with the larger life beyond the village. Living education was not a matter of machinery, but of ideas. The life-blood cannot be manufactured in the arteries; it must come from the heart. The local school flourished or languished as a source of ideas in proportion to the pabulum it received from headquarters. The speaker was not talking theoretically; he would rather see the opposite if he could, but the fact remained that the success of a local school was bound up in the amount of moral help it got from above, and also in the amount of financial support which it received. He was quite sure the lecturer did not contemplate the curtailment of the financial support. Education would not flourish without a considerable amount of financial support from central funds. If the lecturer did not contemplate that, the speaker thought it would be a grave mistake to cut off local educational bodies from, not only the sympathetic touch, but the efficient control and enlightened guidance of the central bodies. To take it from another point of view, the problem of national life in India was a problem, not of producing a sort of new technical administrative or legislative body out of the brains of thinkers and theorists; the actual problem was so to leaven—if you like, to transform—the present Government of India that it would be a true expression of national life and ideals. The speaker said he had no patience when people talked of an alien Government or a foreign language as applied to the Government of India or the English language. He had been accustomed to think and work and write in the English language, and felt that any aspersion cast upon it, such as that it kills all thought, or that Indians would commit intellectual suicide if they used it,

was entirely disproved even by the lecturer himself. But, apart from that, the English language had come to stay. Even if one could imagine the whole fabric of English political machinery blotted out from India, the influence of English thought would remain, and of English ideas of nationality and liberty. There were thousands of words in Urdu, thousands of words in Bengali, and thousands of words in other Indian vernaculars, which would bear witness to the apprenticeship which Indians had served to the English language and to English literature. He therefore did not think it right to speak of the English language as an alien language and one that cramped thought; it was the most influential, most unifying, and widest spread vernacular of India. The speaker also thought that the Government of India should not be treated as an alien Government. In a sense it was, but when you speak of "alien" in a certain tone you imply a great deal more. The only hope of rising Nationalism in India was to make that Government its own, to imbue that Government with the spirit which would understand India from within. It had tried to understand India and often failed. It was up to Indians to make it succeed in understanding India, and not only that, but to stand shoulder to shoulder with it in moulding the destinies of India in the way in which they wanted to mould them. He wished to sum up by saying that all talk about divorcing Indian education from the central authority, be it the present Government or a National Government or whatever it was, would be futile, and would be merely defeating their own objects. The true patriotic and Nationalist Government policy to aim at was to make their influence felt more and more—to capture the Government if you like—which could best be done by studying the literature, ideas, thoughts, methods, and institutions of what ought no longer to be called an alien people.

Mr. PANIKKAR: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, a volume of criticism has fallen upon me, and I should like to answer it in greater detail, but the length of time which is imposed upon me will cause me to curtail my remarks to one or two important points which have been raised at the earlier stage of the debate. Mr. Yusuf Ali, whose speech I will take first, as it is fresh in my mind, first of all said that it would be fatal if we divorced our educational attempts from the central authority. I knew that the Civil Servant was devoted to the central government, and that even a retired Civil Servant is faithful to his old love; therefore I was not surprised when Mr. Yusuf Ali stood up for the central government. The whole point is this: I admit, and I think I made it perfectly clear in my paper, that there should be the central control in national education, but only with a view to co-ordinating local effort; that education should be mainly local in the sense that it should have local colour, which should give local interest. India is such a big place that it often seems to me that the best way to get anything done is to divide it up into parts; and, in regard to education more than anything else, the most important part, as it seems to me, is to divide the work over the whole country and assign it to the machinery of local government. Of course, you must have central authority, but only in so far as it is a co-ordinating authority; but if it

is proposed as a controlling authority, then I must entirely disagree with the traditions for which Mr. Yusuf Ali stands.

Now, with regard to the other points. It is a question of fact, which the Chairman himself raised, as to whether India was a cultural entity before the British Government. With regard to that, and the often-repeated opinion that Great Britain has given us unity in more than a geographical sense, I must differ. I would point out one fact : Can India ever be called our Motherland when such important parts as Nepaul and Ceylon are omitted from it, and when such parts as Burmah and Aden, which have nothing in common with India ethnologically, geographically, or politically, are added to it? And yet you say your administration has given a unifying influence. The whole point was, although we did not have political entity, there was, behind and beneath, the great diversity of her manners, customs, and religion, the unifying fact of the geographical entity itself, and the permanent and remaining complex of Hindu culture which forms the broad basis of a synthetic Indian civilization. I nation, just as we accepted it from the Muhammadans. The unifying most important and very vital proportion of what is now the Indian culture ; I by all means agree that the Mahomedan contribution to Indian culture has been second only to the Hindu culture, but it has been mostly supplementary, exactly in the same way as the Chairman pointed out that a domiciled European community will give us a stiffening in administration. That is a contribution which we would be glad to accept from the English nation, just as we accepted it from the Muhammadans. The unifying factor has always been, and will ever remain, the predominant Hindu character of the great majority of the population.

With regard to the language, I can only say that I meant Hindi only as an inter-State language. My whole proposition is that the provinces ought to be reconstituted on a linguistic basis. It has been pointed out by the Rev. Mr. Davies that we shall be divorcing ourselves from the thoughts of the scientific and cultured world if we cut ourselves away from English. But is it not arguable that any language which comes to be the spoken and written language of a great people will soon adapt itself to scientific thought and expression? It seems to me to be entirely a question of time. Within fifty years I can prophesy that Hindi will be equal to any of the modern languages. If a common language comes to be used for the common purpose of scientific research and expression, it will soon accommodate itself to such a necessity.

Sir MANCHERJEE M. BHOWNAGREE said he had been asked, considering there is little time left, to perform a rather difficult but still pleasant task in proposing a vote of thanks both to the chairman and the lecturer. He thought the language of the lecturer, to which the meeting had been treated, was such as to justify a promising future for Mr. Panikkar as a literary gentleman. He supposed that the criticism which had been offered upon the various problems he has enunciated would also give him a lifetime's interesting work to cope with successfully. (Laughter). As a young rising countryman of the speaker's the lecturer deserved

recognition from himself for his literary attainments, and in that sentiment he was sure that all present would agree.

With regard to the chairman, whom the speaker had had the honour of knowing for more years than he cared to recall, and whose sympathies with all Indian problems and Indian questions and interests were so well known and admitted, he was sure that all present were most grateful for his presence, because nobody could possibly have been a more fitting occupant of the chair on a subject like that discussed, as had been shown by the very interesting remarks delivered by him at the conclusion of the paper. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of myself and Mr. Panikkar, I have to offer our thanks for the kind resolution you have passed, and to express my regret that I was forced to close this meeting so early.

AN INTERPRETATION OF WESTMINSTER FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

By VICTOR BRANFORD, Esq., M.A.

At a meeting of the East India Association held on Friday, May 10, 1918, at the rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., a Lantern Lecture was delivered by Victor Branford, Esq., M.A., on "An Interpretation of Westminster for Indian Students." John C. Nicholson, Esq., J.P., occupied the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Lord Strabolgie (C. M. Kenworthy, Esq.), Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. S. K. Engineer, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. K. Ahmad Ali, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Miss Cottier, Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, Mr. G. Singh, Mr. S. Haji, Mr. S. Arumugam, Mr. B. M. Lal, Mr. and Mrs. Kotval, Dr. and Mrs. Drakoules, Mr. K. Ismail, Mr. and Mrs. Mohammed Ismail, Mrs. Collis, Mr. A. Bennett, Mr. E. Benedict, Mr. Munsukana, Mr. Kidwai, Miss Judge, Mrs. Kinneir-Tarte, Mr. Das Gupta, Miss M. Ashworth, Rev. W. Broadbent, F.R.G.S., Dr. Prankerd, Mrs. Drury, Lady Kensington, the Countess Sobanska, Mrs. Freeman Greene, Mufti Muhammad-Sadiq, M.R.A.S., M.S.P., The Rev. Dr. Bhabba, Mrs. A. T. Jackson, Syed Erfan Ali, Mrs. Walley Wickham, Captain Rolleston, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Dr. Kapadia, Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. Green, Mrs. William-Ashman, Miss Euphemia Smith, Mr. A. S. M. Anik, Mrs. Victor Branford, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I believe it is usual under circumstances of this description for the chairman to make a few remarks before the lecturer commences his lecture. I am afraid that your secretary has conveyed the impression that I know something about the lecture itself; that is to say, by placing me in the Chair this after-

noon. I am sorry to say that I do not. Although I do not know the lecturer personally, however, like yourselves, I know something of his writings and lectures, and I take it that his object this afternoon is to try and convey to us some idea of the connection between civic architecture and buildings of the description that he is going to talk about this afternoon. That is certainly a subject which must commend itself to all of us. We are going through very terrible times now, and the necessity for preserving the tradition and records of our ancient buildings is certainly most paramount. When we think of the destruction that has taken place in countries so close to us as France and Belgium, and recognize the priceless works of architecture that have been utterly and thoroughly destroyed, we realize what an important thing it is to have in our country, and so far preserved to us, such buildings as we are going to hear about this afternoon, because, after all, these buildings are more than mere buildings. They convey, in every sense of the word, the idea of the history of the past. Every one, one might almost say, of the stones of Westminster Abbey is a living expression of the past, built up, as they have been, through the times in which the history of this country has been made. I feel, therefore, that you will be pleased at hearing what Mr. Branford has to say upon the subject, and that you will have a very pleasant half-hour listening to him.

I have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Branford.

Let us look first at Westminster with the eyes of the intelligent tourist. He follows the advice of Aristotle and seeks a general or synoptic view. This is not difficult in the case of the nucleus of the city, the historic Westminster. Viewing it from its higher end at Trafalgar Square, he observes the Towers of Church and State at the lower end. The Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, with their precincts, constitute, of course, the essential Westminster, the ancient city which is the heart of the nation, and even the Mecca of the English-speaking race. Next in the middle distance are the Palaces of Government, which house the Ministries of Whitehall. As Parliament Square is the political and religious focus at once of the historic city and the nation, so Trafalgar Square is the geographical centre of the Empire. Here is the central junction of

Imperial cross-roads. The British Empire concentrates at the Nelson Column. The shipping offices of Cockspur Street and Pall Mall are the passenger terminals of its ocean routes. The wireless installation on the Admiralty roof is the nervous mechanism that unites and controls its maritime provinces in the four quarters of the globe.

Having attained his synoptic view of the historic city at its core, our intelligent tourist will next make a general survey of its outer parts. A clue to the understanding of these he finds in the royal palaces and the royal parks. The historic entrance to St. James's Park is through the Horse Guards Arch. Military exercises of red-coated soldiers are in progress on the parade-ground. These are easily recognized as a merely spectacular survival, a fitting embellishment of the Tudor palace which gives its name to the royal quarter of the city. The group of mansions that surrounds St. James's Palace on three sides sufficed for a time to house the aristocracy that clusters about a royal palace like bees swarming round their queen. But soon these mansions spread to the north and the west. And by the end of the eighteenth century the mansion-suburb of Mayfair was complete. But already the Royal Family had moved west to Buckingham Palace. And around this the new mansion-suburb of Belgravia grew up in the early nineteenth century, as St. James's and Mayfair had done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries round the Tudor palace.

In his synoptic view our tourist will see the West End as an aggregation of mansions lining the royal parks or grouped round miniature parks called "squares." And he will recognize the influence of princely ideals in the architectural mode which unites all the several houses on one side of a square into the façade of a palace. The miniature park of the square is mainly decorative. For practical purposes the greatest of the royal parks has been absorbed by the denizens of Mayfair and Belgravia, who use it for exercise and recreation during their "season in town."

New and precise boundaries were set up for Westminster

towards the end of the nineteenth century. The old royal and abbatial city was then given a popularized constitution and a democratic government. Within these boundaries were very properly included two other quarters in addition to the historic city and the mansion-suburbs we have examined. There is the Strand, with its palatial hotels on the river front, and in the rear theatreland intermingled with the Continental cafés, restaurants, and clubs of Soho. And finally, making a fourth to the towns of Greater Westminster, is the nameless district of mean streets that line the great southern bend of the river. It might be called Poor Pimlico in contrast to Belgravia, which is Rich Pimlico. A few only survive of the wharves and jetties and warehouses that formerly made the river front of this district, or at least the eastern part of it, the port of Westminster. Like all decayed ports and a good many that thrive, Poor Pimlico is a town of crowded slums, squalid courts, and untidy backyards.

Having surveyed the city as a whole with the enlightened tourist, let us next see something of its detail with the artist-historian. What he sees in perambulating the city is a complex beauty which most of us miss or discern imperfectly. The generous touch of Nature, the designing hand of man, the storehouses of memory, combine to make every historic city a wonderplace of vistas for the artist-historian. A few examples of his vision. The two latest ministerial palaces affect most of us pleasurabley or unpleasurabley as we are partisans for or against bureaucracy and empire. But regard the Local Government Board through an arch of the adjacent drinking-fountain, and behold ! its commonplace western turret becomes a magic tower. The War Office, too, is presented to us as an item composing into a vista so charming that we forget to scoff at the Prussian helmets on its turrets. Again, he shows us the Westminster School Column framed in the arch of the Church House, and we are enriched by a pleasing vista, instead of being irritated by ill-designed sculpture. But

everywhere in a city like Westminster such views and vistas are discovered for us by the artist-historian. He pauses halfway down the Haymarket to show us Charles Street and St. James's Square as a gateway to the West End, dignified and symbolic. He approaches the South Kensington Museums, not by motor-bus along crowded thoroughfares, but on foot, through Thurloe Square. And walking with him, we are rewarded by a vista to which the spirit of the city contributes not less than the skill and imagination of the architect—perhaps a little more.

The mystery of interiors he also reveals to us. How often, for instance, have we stood in the north transept of the Abbey without seeing the wonders of light and shade, as these, playing upon soaring column and vaulted roof, call forth for our delectation the very spirit of the place. But perhaps the greatest service which the artist-historian renders to us plain citizens is still to tell. He shows us, not the history of architecture, for which, indeed, we should not thank him, for it is apt to be a dull subject. But there is a history in architecture, and that is the living past which he makes us see and feel.

Now, we speak of the Sanctities of Westminster. But where and what exactly are they? What are the visible realities that embody them? For answer try to puzzle out the symbolism of a fully representative vista. Mr. Bennett, to whose pencil we owe all these drawings of the artist-historian's outlook, has chosen for us a vista that ranges over the whole length of the Abbey precincts. In the far distance is the Clock Tower, and its most conspicuous single feature is the great dial. Now, our clocks are set and regulated from Greenwich Observatory; and that is at once the oldest and most perfect of our scientific institutions. It deals with its own phenomena with an efficiency which reaches 100 per cent. In its own order it records the past, observes the present, and predicts the future, with a precision that is all but absolute. And the habit of mind that enables these things to be done we owe to the earliest

civilizations. Above all, perhaps, we owe it to that Patriarchal Age in which the contemplation of the starry heavens became an organized cult. In a literal sense, therefore, Big Ben is a striking symbol of the Patriarchal civilization.

After the Patriarchal, the Classical Age. Amongst the many gifts we owe to it, certainly not the least, and perhaps the greatest, is the ideal of justice and its attainment by process of law. That was the essential contribution of Rome to civilization. Hence, when in the pride of Parliamentary institutions the great Clock Tower was raised heavenward, we were really celebrating and symbolizing our Roman heritage.

It is a mere accident of coincidence that its architecture is Gothic in form. If the old Houses of Parliament, instead of being burned down during the Gothic revival, had caught fire a generation earlier, the new ones would certainly have followed the Classical model.

After the Classical, the Mediæval Period. The actual survivals of the latter in our vista are Westminster Hall, the Abbey, St. Margaret's Church, and, in renewal, the recently erected Guildhall. Let us reflect what, in historic perspective, these stand for, singly and collectively. Westminster Hall is the core of the old Royal Palace. For five centuries it was the home of the Kings of England. During all that half millennium the Abbot of Westminster stood beside the King as representative of a power coeval and independent in its own sphere. That agelong equipoise of things temporal and spiritual surely has a meaning, little though our own generation recognizes it. It means that though we love a lord, we do not go to him for counsel when in a difficulty, and still less for consolation when in trouble. If we want wisdom or sympathy, pure and untainted, we seek it amongst the wise and the sympathetic, and these we know from experience are not usually to be found amongst the rich and the powerful. Well, mediæval civilization at its best was an endeavour to make that knowledge the fundamental principle of public life. They

To the Renaissance and the Reformation succeeds that overturn in the world of work and business called the Industrial Revolution. As we are still in the midst of this era, we might have thought that its sanctities were insufficiently mellowed by age to be included within the Abbey precincts. But sure enough they are there, and, moreover, in the right place, as our artist-historian shows. Lover of the past, he is nevertheless "up to date" in his observations and quite modern and realistic in his presentation thereof. For boldly he shows us, conspicuous in the very foreground of his drawing, the new premises of the National Liberal Club, with its weird entablature and unconventional caryatides. Instead of the usual classical figure to carry the superimposed weight, the burden is borne on the bent back of a modern man of cultivated mien. Surely this is the factory hand of to-day, half emancipated by those liberalizing politicians who are at once the exponents and the idealists of the Industrial Revolution.

Looking at Mr. Bennett's presentation of the sanctities of Westminster as a whole, we see it as a simple and orderly sequence of human achievement. We can read from background to foreground, from past to present, with the historian. Or again, we can read it from foreground to background, from present to past, as the plain man likes to take his history, on the somewhat unfrequent occasions when he takes it at all. But we realize that the important thing is not how the historian reads them, or the plain man sees them, or even how the artist presents them. The important thing is that all this agelong accumulation of sacred memories exists enshrined in the living monuments of the Abbey precincts. And still more wonderful is the fact that they may be grafted on the tree of life in each young mind, there to blossom afresh as the high deeds and the deep thoughts of the oncoming generation. That is why we of the passing generation throb with suppressed excitement as we tread this holy soil.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will agree with me that we have listened to a most interesting and imposing lecture; I say imposing, because the lecturer has struck a vein of thought which must come, at any rate, as original to most of us. I came here this afternoon expecting and quite anticipating receiving some very useful suggestions as to the connection between town-planning, civic life, civic buildings, and so on. I have interested myself in a scheme for the rebuilding of that old parish of Stepney which needs rebuilding so very much, and I have been wondering, as I sat listening to the lecturer, how I could possibly embody some of his very brilliant and original ideas in the scheme. I am afraid that it will want very careful thinking over before I am able to adjust them and embody them in that scheme. But at any rate, I am quite sure that I shall be endorsing your views in offering the lecturer our best thanks for his very brilliant lecture.

The HON. SECRETARY said that he would like to express, on behalf of the Association, their obligation to the lecturer for the readiness with which he had responded to their invitation, and for the lecture, given in such clear and able terms. He thought that all had listened with the deepest interest to what they had heard. It must have set every one of the audience thinking, and that was the great thing; and in the interchange of thought was the point where the connection between the East and the West came in. The lecturer had come to tell them about Westminster, not because Westminster was in any way dissociated with the East, but because it was closely associated therewith, and many things were to be learned from Westminster which would help the East, just as Westminster had learnt many things, and had still many things to learn, from the East. It was wonderful in how many ways East and West touched, and in touching helped one the other.



THE
JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA
ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER X

DURING the year 1912-13 one hundred and seventeen new members joined the Association, and lady members were enrolled for the first time.

The pamphlets edited by Mr. J. B. Pennington, under the instruction of Council, as "Truths about India," with forewords by Lord Ampthill and Lord Reay, were reissued in book form.

In response to an invitation from the Royal Asiatic Society, this Association took part in the deputation from the learned Societies introduced by Lord Reay which waited on the President of the Board of Education (the Right Hon. Joseph Albert Pease, M.P.) on December 12, 1912, to urge that the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum should be better housed and placed under expert management. Lord Reay pleaded that India had a right to be represented in London on an adequate scale, and that a Museum well equipped and managed by experts would attract those who, in India and the United Kingdom, were able to endow it from their own collections. His Lordship pointed out that omissions in the past had to be redeemed, and that steps should be taken to prevent foreign Museums from acquiring Indian art specimens which ought to find a permanent home in London. In his reply the President clearly expressed his views as to the desirability (1) of keeping the Indian Collection intact, and (2) of securing at no distant date a Museum in

which this Collection should be adequately and appropriately housed.

With reference to the dastardly outrage perpetrated during the Viceroy's State entry into Delhi, the Council passed a resolution congratulating Lord and Lady Hardinge on their providential escape, and expressing their deep admiration of the presence of mind, fortitude, and courage displayed by their Excellencies on the occasion. In reply, Council received a letter thanking them for their cordial resolution, and saying how convinced His Excellency was that the feeling amongst the great majority of Indians in London, as in India, was one of indignation and horror at the outrage.

Just at the close of the year the Association had to deplore the death of Dr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., who was one of the oldest members of its Council, and who had served it so ably and well for so many years with voice and pen. Up to a year before his death Dr. Thornton used to come up regularly from Bath to attend Council meetings, besides helping the Association from time to time from his distant home in connection with the work of the Literary Committee. He had a long and wide experience of India; his sympathy with her peoples was very real, and his knowledge of their wants and aspirations proved of the greatest value. In Sir Raymond West, also, the Association lost an old and valued member who frequently took part in the discussions, and who was always ready to help the Association with his advice, ripe experience, and extensive erudition.

In 1913-14 the Association had to deplore the death of one of its Vice-Presidents—the Earl of Minto—and the Council tendered to the Countess of Minto an expression of their sincere sympathy in her heavy bereavement and deep sorrow, to which the Hon. Secretary received the following reply :

"DEAR SIR,

"Will you be good enough to convey to the members of the Council of the East India Association my heartfelt thanks for their kind resolution of sympathy with me in my

grievous loss? I am deeply touched by their kind appreciation of my dear husband's services to the Empire. While Viceroy of India it was his earnest endeavour loyally to promote the interests of her Princes and People, and I am glad that his work is so universally recognized.

"My sorrow is indeed overwhelming, but I am very grateful for the kind expression of condolence received from the members of the Association, and for their thought of me in my affliction.

"Believe me,

"Yours truly,

(Signed) "M. MINTO."

During this year the Association had the honour and pleasure of welcoming Earl Roberts when he took the chair at the reading of Sir Guilford Molesworth's paper on "The Battle of the Gauges in India."

The Proceedings of the Association continued to be published in the ASIATIC REVIEW (the new name of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW), edited by Mr. F. J. P. Richter, a nephew of the late Dr. Leitner, who was so long associated with the late Sir Lepel Griffin in the inception and publication of the Review.

The arrangement made by the proprietor, Dr. H. Leitner, was that the ASIATIC REVIEW should be published every six weeks, and that members of the Association should receive eight copies of the Review a year instead of four, as formerly. The manager agreed to supply the Association with 400 copies of each issue of the Review and also of the Journal, 500 invitation cards, 40 posters, and 35 advance copies of each lecture, for a fixed yearly payment.

The most outstanding fact of the year was the magnificent rally of India round the Flag, and this rally formed the subject of an eloquent address delivered before the Association, under the presidentship of Sir O'Moore Creagh (lately Commander-in-Chief in India), by Mr. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S. (retired). The lecturer showed how splendidly India had responded to her

King-Emperor's call, and how deeply the Indian Army had been moved by His Majesty's simple words: "I look to my Indian soldiers to uphold the izzat of the Raj against an aggressive and relentless enemy." At the same time Sir O'Moore Creagh bore witness to the inborn loyalty of the people of India, to the gallantry of her soldiery, and to the devotion and fidelity of her Chiefs.

At a subsequent meeting, when Colonel Phillott lectured on "Some of the Military Castes of the Indian Army," General Sir Alfred Gaselee, who presided, said: "We, for the first time in our history, have the Indian Army serving side by side with ours in Europe, and it is undoubtedly a very memorable occasion both for the British and for the Indian race, and it will no doubt have very wide results in the future which we cannot at present see. However, whatever comes, there is the fact. Our Indian troops have responded—the Maharajas and the peoples of India have responded—most nobly to the call of the Empire, and it now behoves us to do all we can to make the troops happy and comfortable during the time they are serving with us in Europe. It may not," he said, "be the right time for an appeal to the public, but I should just like to mention now the Indian Soldiers' Fund, as I happen to be a member of the Committee."

The Association was able to contribute £50 towards this fund. Many members contributed directly or through the Association, and contributions continued to be collected.

Referring to the desirability of disseminating correct news with regard to the causes and course of the war, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree drew the attention of Council to the services rendered to the Crown and to the people of India by Her Highness the Maharani of Bhaunagar in publishing a weekly journal setting forth facts connected with the war. The Hon. Secretary was directed to convey to Her Highness the Council's high appreciation of her action. An answer was received from Her Highness thanking the Council for their good wishes for the success of her efforts on behalf of truth and loyalty and the welfare of India.

The year was marked by the death of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, who had been for many years a Vice-President of this Association, and the following resolution (proposed by Sir Arundel T. Arundel, and seconded by Mr. W. Coldstream) was placed on record and communicated to Lady Roberts :

"The Council of the East India Association has received with profound grief the intelligence of the death of Lord Roberts, and desires to express its deep sympathy with Lady Roberts and her family in a sorrow which is shared by the whole British Empire. Lord Roberts was the first soldier of his age, and his country will treasure for ever the memory of his priceless services in times of national crisis. He secured not only the admiration, but also the reverence and affection, of his fellow-countrymen—above all, of his fellow-soldiers, by whom he was idolized. In forgetfulness of himself and his great age, his last act was one of unselfish devotion, and while visiting and welcoming his beloved Indian troops on the field of battle and within the sound of the guns he has passed to his rest."

During the year 1915-16 the question of the grant of commissions in the army to gentlemen of Indian birth engaged the earnest attention of the Council, and it was considered desirable to approach the Secretary of State for India on the matter. The Hon. Secretary was accordingly directed to invite attention to the views of the late Sir William Plowden, K.C.S.I. (formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, and afterwards M.P. for Wolverhampton West), as set forth in a paper read before the Association on April 24, 1912, and to the general support accorded to these views by the late Lord Minto, who, when Governor-General, with the concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief and the members of his Council, had addressed a despatch on the subject to the Secretary of State for India. The Hon. Secretary was further instructed to add that, "without pledging themselves to the particular suggestions made by Sir William Plowden and Lord Minto, the Council felt that the question was one that called for prompt

and judicious handling, and that it was desirable to find a solution calculated to remove the impression that the people of India were in all circumstances debarred by reason of race and colour from holding commissions in the Imperial Army—a privilege enjoyed by most other subjects of the British Crown.' The Council, therefore, urged that it would be prudent and politic to secure without delay some practical solution of the difficulties surrounding the question, and thus meet as far as it might be found possible loyal Indian aspirations. This expression of the views of the Council was placed by Lord Islington before Mr. Chamberlain, and the whole subject received special consideration.

The following letter was also addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Chelmsford, G.C.M.G., Governor-General-Designate of India :

"*March, 4 1916.*

"**MY LORD,**

"On behalf of the Council of the East India Association, I beg leave to offer to your Lordship their united congratulations on your appointment to the high office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and to express their confident hope that during your term of office the loyalty to Emperor and Empire which India has abundantly shown during the stress of the present war may be everywhere confirmed and established, and that her peoples and races may continue to increase in comfort and well-being, and grow more and more fitted to take an active share in the administration of public affairs.

"Among the many subjects of profound importance and interest to India that will claim your Lordship's attention, the Council trust that they may be pardoned if they express their hope that the following in particular may not lack the sympathy and support of yourself and your Government :

"(a) The appointment of a Representative of India to share in the anticipated Conference between the British Government and the Dominions and Colonies of the Empire.

"(b) The settlement of the vexed question of the grant of commissions in the Imperial Army to gentlemen of Indian

birth—a subject on which the Council have recently had the honour of addressing the Secretary of State for India.

“(c) The reduction of the indebtedness for the agricultural population by the multiplication of Village Co-operative Societies on the Raiffeisen plan, with a careful safeguarding of the members from the risks of unlimited liability inherent in the system.

“I have the honour to be,
 “Your Lordship’s most obedient servant,
 (Signed) “LAMINGTON,
 “Chairman of the East India Association.”

And received the following reply :

“March 9, 1916.

“DEAR LAMINGTON,
 “Will you convey to the Council of the East India Association my thanks for their congratulations?

“I am taking out with me their Resolutions, so that I shall have them in mind when I assume office. I feel sure that they will meet with the most sympathetic consideration from the Government of India.

“Sincerely yours,
 (Signed) “CHELMSFORD.”

In the year 1916-17, amongst the deaths the Association had to deplore, was that of one of their members of Council, Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.C.O., who for twenty-eight years had been a member of the Association, and who had served on the Council for twenty-two years, “where his kindly wisdom, based on his long service in India and ready sympathy with her people and her needs, was always welcomed and highly valued.” By his will Sir Lesley Probyn left one hundred pounds to the Association, free of duty.

The Association also lost by death during the year a valued member in the person of Mr. Bihari Lal Gupta, C.S.I., who had a distinguished career in the Bengal Civil Service, became a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, and after his

retirement was selected by H.H. the Gaekwar to be Diwan of Baroda.

On the arrival of the Delegates to the Imperial War Council from India the Council addressed to them the following welcome :

"The Council of the East India Association offer their cordial congratulations and welcome to Sir James Scobie Meston, K.C.S.I., Colonel H.H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., A.D.C., and Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Kt. (the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council), on the important and historic occasion of their visit to England, at the invitation of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, as representatives of the Government, the Princes, and the people of India, to aid him, in conjunction with the delegates from the overseas Dominions of the Empire, in the deliberations of the War Council of the British Government."

The following replies were received from the Delegates :

From Sir James Meston :

"Will you kindly convey to the Council of the Association my warm and respectful thanks for the high honour they have paid me in their resolution of welcome? It is indeed an historic occasion, and we all feel not only the distinction, but also the grave responsibility, of being the Secretary of State's assistants in the representation of Indian interests in this Council of Empire. It is also a new and sincere pleasure to meet in consultation the representatives of the Dominions, from whom we have already received the most cordial friendliness. The result cannot but be the strengthening of the bonds that unite India with the other component parts of the British Empire, and the greater good of us all. The welcome extended to us by the Association will support and encourage us in our work.

"Yours sincerely,

"JAS. MESTON."

From H.H. the Maharaja of Bikanir :

" Will you kindly convey my sincere thanks to the Council of the East India Association for their kind congratulations and welcome as expressed in their resolution of March 26 ?

" I much regret that having to attend a meeting at the India Office prevented my being with you on Monday.

Yours sincerely,

" GANGA SINGH."

From Sir Satyendra P. Sinha to Dr. Pollen :

" Many thanks for your kind letter enclosing the resolution of welcome from the East India Association Council. I am deeply grateful for it to them, and to you for the kind words in which you proposed it. It was indeed kind of you to have quoted Lord Minto's more than kind reference to me.

" With kindest regards,

" Yours very sincerely,

" S. P. SINHA."

Following close on the completion of the Jubilee Year of its existence came the deaths of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the founder of the Association, and of his chief fellow-worker, Sir William Wedderburn, and with reference to these losses the Council placed upon record the following resolutions :

" This Council has heard with deep regret of the death of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the venerable founder of the East India Association (and its oldest member), and desires to convey to his family its sincere sympathy and condolences."

" From first to last Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was distinguished by unswerving loyalty to the Throne, by earnest devotion to the public interests and the welfare of India, by honesty of purpose, and by blameless integrity of life and character."

" More than half a century ago he opened the Proceedings of the Association with a loyal and temperate address on ' England's Duties to India,' and in what may be regarded as his last public utterance, delivered immediately after the outbreak

of the present war, he strongly urged his fellow-countrymen to support to the best of their ability and power 'the British people in their glorious struggle for justice, liberty, honour, and true human greatness and happiness'; and he declared that, 'until the victorious end of this great struggle, no other thought than that of supporting wholeheartedly the British nation should enter into the mind of India.' ''

"The services which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has from time to time rendered this Association have been recorded in its Proceedings, and will be always gratefully remembered."

"This Council desires to place on record its regret at the death of Sir William Wedderburn, and to convey to Lady Wedderburn and her family its respectful sympathy with them in their sorrow."

"Sir William joined this Association in the very first year of its formation (1867-68), and served on its Council from 1904 to the date of his death. He cordially co-operated with the Association in its efforts to promote the public interests of the inhabitants of India generally."

THE MAN-POWER PROBLEM : RECRUITING IN THE PUNJAB

By WILLIAM COLDSTREAM, Esq., I.C.S. (RETIRED)

THE Punjab, as is well known, has among its inhabitants some of the principal fighting races of India ; for instance, the Sikhs, Pathans, Rajputs, Jats, Rangars. Of 338,000 men in the Indian forces on January 1, 1917, nearly 160,000 were from the Punjab ; and up to the end of July of last year, 200,000 fighting men and followers had been raised since the commencement of the War. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, has devoted himself with great earnestness to stimulating recruiting, and the authorities there set before themselves the aim of raising at least 15,000 men a month while the War lasted. Before the War, the agency was usually provided by the military, the various regiments deputing their own recruiting officers to the various places where recruits were to be found. The work has now been entrusted to the civil officers of districts, so that their local influence may be brought to bear. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has been paying a series of visits to the headquarters of each important district, holding Durbars and addressing the people, both with a view to rewarding past exertions made in the district, and marking with due appreciation the numerous instances of individual gallantry, and also of stimulating the people to persistent and vigorous effort. Some districts have greatly distinguished themselves; for instance, Rawal Pindi, Jehlam, Rohtak. Of the last-named district, upwards of 10,000 men were serving in the Army on January 1. These men were principally Jats or Rangars who have come to the front with marked distinction.

The Times reported lately that in January of this year 13,500 men had been recruited in the Punjab. In Jehlam

and Rawal Pindi, one young man in every four is in the Army; in Rohtak and Attock, one in every seven; in Ludhiana and Gujrat, one in every eight. In Garhwal—a hill district on the confines of the Punjab, whose inhabitants are, ethnologically, near the Gurkhas—the population is under half a million, and only Brahmins and Rajputs are enlisted. Over 25 per cent. of the men of these castes have joined the colours. In the battalions of the 39th Regiment of Garhwalis alone enlistments since the War began have reached the total of 7,100 men. Some of the Garhwali regiments, it is well known, have covered themselves with glory in France.

The Hissar district deserves to be mentioned as having contributed in one month (December, 1917) no fewer than 1,866 recruits to the Indian Army. It is believed that no single district in India has contributed so many recruits in one month; the bulk of them were Hindustani Mahomedans and Jats.

Throughout the Punjab there are certain small areas and townships which are famous for the supply of gallant soldiers. Kalanaur, of the Rohtak district (Rangars), and Mittha Tiwana, in the Shahpur district (Tiwana Rajputs), are two well-known centres of the kind. There is at present in hospital in London a duffedar of the 31st Bengal Cavalry (Jacob's Horse), a Tiwana of the said township, Mittha Tiwana. Four of Alam Khan's relatives are in the same regiment, and perhaps thirty or forty troopers, also of the same village. The Tiwanas have been a fighting clan for generations, and a century or more ago they resisted the advancing forces of the Sikhs long after the rest of the district had fallen before them. They gave their name to one of the Bengal cavalry regiments. For some time the 18th was called "The 18th Tiwana Lancers."

The Commissioner of Rawal Pindi recently arranged to hold a recruiting Durbar, and Honorary Captain Nawab Muhammed Mubarriz Khan Tiwana promised to produce at it a hundred recruits, and to give Rs. 4,000 to be used in

encouraging recruiting. He was true to his promise, and, fired by his example, others also came forward, so that no fewer than 400 men were obtained at this one meeting. All the recruits presented by Malik Mubarriz Khan were his tenants, except two, who were relations. Their presentation meant a considerable personal sacrifice on the part of the Malik.

Some castes hitherto not much known for their military aspirations have, at the present hour of need, come forward in satisfactory numbers. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was able to say at a recent Durbar at Jullundur that the Arains were speedily establishing their position among the martial races of the district. They have, however, even in the past, not been without their distinguished soldiers; for instance, Honorary Captain S. B. Ghulam Hussain Khan, who lately passed away, was a distinguished Mutiny veteran. Iman Bakhsh, of Chukeke, disguised as a fakir, many years ago went, at the orders of Sir Alfred Lyall, from Cabul to Samarkand to find the Amir Abdul Rahman and conduct him to his throne in Cabul. Subadar Muhammed Ali, also an Arain, after being wounded four times, retired on pension. He received the order of merit, and was mentioned in despatches.

The martial spirit of the Punjabi does not seem to desert him when he settles beyond his native province. *Cælum non animam mutat.* The gallant Saran Singh of Philaur had gone to Australia. He left his land there to join the Commonwealth forces. He went with his regiment to the Front, and finally met a glorious death, fighting side by side with his Australian comrades in arms.

The Empire can look to India as containing a great reserve of splendid fighting material. The visits of the Indian officers from various cavalry corps to London during the last two years have thoroughly brought this home to the public. It is very satisfactory to know that such resources exist, and can doubtless be more and more largely drawn on.

INDIAN FRONTIER AND THE WAR

By IKEBAL ALI SHAH

FREQUENCY of border feuds and forays have always kept the Frontier Province of India in bold relief, as being the only jarring imperial outpost. Often have mere marauding skirmishes of the tribesmen just brushed past the incidents of bringing about a breach of friendly relations between the Amir and the Indian Government; but thanks to the wisdom of those at the head of affairs, the sharp points of misunderstandings were soon blunted, and the hillsmen were found to be the chief offenders.

The European war, more than anything before, has created a desire in the thinking minds of this country to know of the events taking place in that region of British possession; and it may be asserted, that not a few were dubious regarding the behaviour of the Frontier tribes. Occasional outbursts of agitation manifested themselves, not unexpectedly, and in all cases were effectively dealt with. But we—who stand outside those troublesome atmospheres—may ask what is the root cause of these perpetual outrages, and remonstrate not a little vehemently against such useless and continual irritations, which these Afridis and others prove themselves to be in the hour of trial.

To those acquainted with the conditions of life of the Jirghs it is clear that the evil which vents itself with such fury every now and again is not of recent growth; perhaps they are under the delusion that the British prestige is

weakened, and the time of striking has come. These people are born with an acute martial spirit, and the idea that a day will come when a Khyberman will beat his sword into a ploughshare cannot be discerned in the hazy and distant future. A desire "to see blood," as the hillmen put it, permeates every bosom, as also a wish to acquire money by any means whatever. Clan will fight against clan—just as their great-grandfathers had quarrelled in years gone by—over the right to water their land first, and had killed each other over the waterway. Cold iron settles all their individual disputes ; and as generations have lived and died in this manner, a changed temperament cannot be predicted for the thousands yet unborn.

Looking at the map of the North-Western Frontier Province, one can readily see that the labours of various Boundary Commissions have not been in vain, and that there is a well-defined geographical line drawn to separate India from Afghanistan ; but between the Durand line and British possessions lies a strip which is populated by clans with varying relations to the two Governments. Tirah and Waziristan are left alone to manage their own affairs as "independents" ; there is a similar understanding with the tribes of the Upper Kurram Valley ; while a third faction at Chitral are semi-independent, for they have an official adviser attached to the Chief's Court.

From the above it will be observed that the difficulties in the way of administration are very great, while the various clans differ slightly as far as ethnological difference is concerned ; yet the tribal characteristics of all the Jirghas is remarkably similar. They have a belief in a common religion, and with slight variations the same language is spoken throughout the whole country.

The character of a tribesman is by no means easy to define ; a crude democratic spirit has been nurtured in his bosom, which is, in a strict sense, a misconception of the word freedom ; for a man would bitterly resent any effort on the part of another to endeavour to control his opinion,

or, indeed, advocate a cause which he may be denouncing. And it is owing to this spirit of lawlessness that all powers of the Moghals in the past have been set at naught through trying to force them to crouch beneath despotic sceptres.

As to the raids into British territory, they can safely be assigned to two main causes : first, and chiefly, priestly influence ; secondly, the unproductiveness of the country, which leaves the majority of the people without a settled avocation in life, and they, for mere subsistence, are lured on to join the gangs of raiders. Further, the natural tendencies of these hillsmen make them subject to fanatical obsessions, and consequently the Mullahs, in order to win their own ends, take advantage by preying on the minds of the tribesmen, and inflame them to sudden passion of religious wars, loosely understood as "Jehad."

The British Government has devised many schemes to calm this turbulent people ; and one of them, which has most effectually met the case, is a generous distribution of money amongst the clans, and thus to a very great degree quietude has been guaranteed. But the pernicious effect of a widespread preaching of the Mullah will always remain a problem. "I have known these Mullahs," once wrote Amir Abdur Rahman Khan—"they are like the priests of the time of Peter the Great who created great mischief in Russia. These Mullahs pretend to the people that Paradise and Hell are within their power and authority."

Every religion, it must be admitted, has certain dogmas which at one time or another were wrongly interpreted by purely diplomatic and circumstantial pressures ; but never has any article of faith been so lightly treated or wrought such mischief at the hands of designing men as that of the "Jehad." The sinister wisdom of policy which singularly characterized the reign of the late wise Amir had long before seen through this circumstance, and hence no stone was left unturned to overrule the opinion of the Church in Afghanistan : the present tranquillity of that country is in a great measure due to his foresight. His Majesty Habi-

bullah, as we have seen, has nobly knelt at the feet of his father, and wears the mantle of that great man not unworthily. Both of these rulers realized the necessity of bringing their feelings into harmony with the sentiments of the people, and also understood the importance of curbing the power of the border Mullahs who have been the guilty perpetrators of many disturbances. Any open defiance of the authority of these Mullahs would have been a grave mistake ; it was manipulated so delicately and gradually that at last people began to awake to the truth that waging war at the bare insinuations of their so-called religious heads was suicidal.

Reverting to the political connection of the Indian Government with the tribesmen, it may be added that, in the beginning of the war, German intrigue had reached these parts of the country, and, as is commonly the case, the Mullahs embraced the opportunity of influencing the people to rise in arms. Skirmishes and tribal raids into Peshawar and other towns resulted. It will be as well to remember that such raids are not always approved of by the majority of the clansmen, but by nondescripts who have no land within the British jurisdiction, and have every facility of hiding in the hills and escaping scot-free : these are the leaders of such guerilla warfare.

It is, therefore, a very unfortunate circumstance—and at times it is difficult to believe one's own eyes—when a shower of bullets are poured on to the soldiers from the "friendly villages." The real state of affairs is that the raiders, finding no retreat possible, hide themselves in the "friendly villages," and almost compel the peaceful clans to give them shelter ; this sometimes being denied, they open fire and thus bring the inhospitable villagers under the displeasure of the Indian Government, if the official does not detect the fault.

Not infrequently, however, the head of the clan is held responsible for the conduct of his men ; but it is not always possible for him to put a check on this lawless people.

Myriads of ways are adopted by these gangs of robbers to gain entrance into Peshawar, and certainly one of the cleverest was in 1912, when a group of mourners carried a coffin through the city from the hills, apparently making their way to the mosque ; when the procession reached the centre of the Hindu banker's street, the bier was placed on the ground, the white covering was hurriedly thrown from the "sham" corpse, and the confederates, seizing their rifles, attacked the rich banker's house, and before any adequate force of resistance could be mustered the raiders had escaped, leaving the banker almost penniless.

It is of real consequence to appreciate that a large number of these raids have the looting of the Hindu bankers in view. The reason is to be found in the lenders charging very high interests, sometimes as much as 56 per cent. ; and many a sorrowful incident can be recalled when a money-lender has dragged his victim to the court, and the debtee has returned hardly better than a destitute. A reform in this connection is a sore necessity.

A great deal might be said about fanatic zeal, which has caused many an anxious moment to the British officials and the Amir ; but it is also correct to assert that any well-organized hostile movement which may shape itself in the borders must of necessity have a very serious religious basis, otherwise all efforts will prove futile and barren. The British Government has avoided such a clash admirably ; care has been exercised as to the freedom of religious observations in the Jirghas, and it is undeniable that this caution has proved itself a source of power.

The spirit of national integrity ranks only second to faith in a tribesman's heart, and to destroy this will amount to rendering them lax and feeble. From the geographical position of the North-West of India, as also the historical records, it is obvious that no attention can be too great to strengthen the position of the Indian Frontier against all possible onsets. The friendly attitude of His Majesty the Amir leaves nothing to be desired, and one sees the dawn

of an era when these relations will for ever remain as such ; but yet, sandwiched as Afghanistan—particularly Wakhan—is between independent kingdoms, it is not improbable that one day the region of the Mid-East may become the seat of active warfare. The Amir will stand to defend his country and bar the road to India, leaving us the Frontier hills as the second line of defence. It is therefore imperative to keep these men in the Frontier imbued with warlike spirit. The physical ebullience of their own race makes them one of the finest fighting elements in the Indian regiments, and their cavalry charges have often been highly commended in this War.

The prevalent condition is no more alarming than that of twenty years ago ; it is their characteristic to be always at war, and to eradicate this inherent trait of their temperament would amount to nothing less than blunting the weapons for the defence of the Indian Empire.

JAPAN AND SIBERIA

By "SHOSANKEN"

FORMULÆ and irresponsible catchwords have been one of the curses of this war. They have time and again served as excuses for inaction, hidden incapacities otherwise too evident, or, like straws on broken waters, proved the more treacherous when they appeared most tempting. The latest "gag" is "Japanese intervention in Siberia." Journalists have put forward cut-and-dried schemes of wholesale occupation of Siberia by half a million Japanese, like a miniature Genghis Khan's army sweeping all before its advance along the Trans-Siberian Railway, the distance from Japan to Moscow being the mere military promenade of 6,000 or 6,500 miles. Others, less sanguine, would be content with a Japanese occupation as far as the Urals or as far as Irkutsk only; others again, falling into the other extreme, clamour, or beg, for the despatch of Japanese troops to the Western front. This is by no means a new proposal. M. Pichon, who was for a while French Ambassador in Japan, was, we believe, the first to put it forward, early in the war, when communications between Japan and Europe were still fairly easy; and recently some Japanese writers have revived it, as, for instance, Professor Nainzo Naruse in a pamphlet published by the Concordia Association of Tokyo. The Japanese Parliament and Press have for some months discussed this question of intervention, and the opinions expressed show very considerable differences, as much in the conclusions reached as in the arguments offered or the premises on which they are founded.

It must not be forgotten that Japan has contributed to the credit side of the war the capture of Tsingtao and the policing of the Pacific; that her Navy is helping us in Europe already; and that the situation in China, long before the Russian debacle, and also since China joined the Allies, has not been free from anxiety.

But, leaving the actual situation for a while, it may not be amiss to consider the question from an academic standpoint. Is it policy for Japan to intervene, and, if so, is it practicable? We think that the first part is really the most important. We are faced with a vast country the populations of which is heterogeneous, and the bulk of whose inhabitants are lacking in education; indeed, in Siberia itself they are still in the most profound ignorance of Western ways and of European culture. In Russia we see the autocratic Government replaced by chaos, or at any rate by a faction whose leaders appear to set more importance upon words than upon sense and facts—folks who, like the average "Socialist," live in the indefinite future, behold countless Utopias in the hallucinations of their minds, and proceed to pull down the fabric to which they object before getting together an efficient substitute. Intellectuals, so called, whose criticism is destructive, not constructive, whose only common point of contact is a hatred of that which exists as a normal evolutionary development, whether they call the representatives of that development "bourgeois" or "aristocrats," in fine contempt of the very connotation of this last word; they are dreamers. We prefer to be charitable and to look upon their actions as the irresponsible vagaries of somnambulism, or at any rate the acts of semi-responsible brains, than to brand them traitors to their race, to the Allies of their country, to the civilization which Western Europe is trying to uphold against the modern Moloch. Men that have for years nursed a grievance, they have congregated in our midst where they have enjoyed every liberty, but their mental kinks seem to have become all the more acute. German influence, so-called "German philosophy,"

German Socialism and its offspring, anarchy, have exalted their hates and perverted their senses; they have become unilateral thinkers. The Boche, whose "socialistic" feelings have not yet found any expression except in "hot air"; the Boche would-be anarchist hero, ready to kill an autocrat by proxy, gave them a free passage from Switzerland to Russia, well knowing that the enthusiastic reformers would—consciously or unconsciously—play Germany's game.

Now, these men found in their own country a "bouillon de culture" already sown with the germs of dissension, of discord, of revolt—soldiers without learning, ignorant peasants ready to believe the last speaker, especially if his arguments embodied promises of peace and a share in the property of others. To those who have studied the psychology of masses, however cursorily, the result came not as a surprise, but as a foregone conclusion. But there are no dreams without end, unless they end in death; no somnambulism without a period of healthier life. A dream may be broken by sudden silence or sudden noise, or by pain, and there are portents that show that the Russian dreamers are awakening, that they are feeling the German yoke, brought upon their necks by their deluded leaders, more burdensome than that of the late Tsar. Why should they yield all to the Mittel-Europa slave-drivers? Once they believed in their popes and in their Little Father, so remote from the peasant that, distance lending enchantment to the view, he could not be held responsible for the malversations of his underlings of various grades of rank and rapacity. They must awake, and perhaps responsible leaders will arise from the people in a truly national reaction. If we postulate that the wreckers are not traitors in the fullest sense of the word—that is to say, that although they have let us down, betrayed us, in fact, and by repudiating the financial liabilities of their country have made the betrayal more complete still; yet they may have thought that they were working for the good of Russia. If, then, we give them the benefit of this presumption, of these extenuating circumstances, we can but hope that,

if they have any real love for their country, they will attempt to reconstruct it, and the first step in reconstruction is *a co-ordination of all efforts*. They have recently declared that they stood neutral in the World's War; it is almost ludicrous for the self-appointed masters of Russia to dictate its destinies, but if they can go so far as to conclude a dishonourable peace, enforce it upon their country and remain in power, they might turn the other way, and, becoming traitors in earnest, join hands with the enemy. If they mean to keep Germany out of Russia, out of Siberia; if they intend to prevent the incursions of Germany into Asia by all the means a reconstructed army would put at their disposal, then they have surely a right to do their own policing in their own country.

Although the parallel is not strictly accurate, the history of the French Revolution is worth studying at this juncture. When the duly elected Representatives of the People, led by the force of circumstances and the stupidity of the King, established a new form of government, the marches of France were threatened by foreign potentates; but the nation was homogeneous: it rose to support the newly-born Republic and to assert her right to be mistress in her own home, free from dictation from beyond her frontiers.

We wonder whether the Russian people, apart from the Bolsheviks, might not adopt a similar attitude, should the Allies, as a whole or by deputy, attempt to coerce, or merely to interfere in the evolution of the new régime. It is true that there has been a demand for intervention on the part of a few Russians; that others have asked for the help of the Allied nations in a general and somewhat vague manner; but what help and for what purpose? Munitions and guns for Russian to kill Russian when we need them to kill the Boche? It shows a curious misapprehension of the situation; let those who ask for effective help prepare the way for it, and then, but we believe not until then, will it be policy for Japan to enter the scene, *at the bidding of the true representatives of Russian opinion*. This does not imply "recognition" of the Bolshevik administration so long as it places

German interests before Russian interests, but to interfere in a row between two or more Russian groups would be to invite trouble.

There is, of course, another aspect of the question—that is, the possibility of the present Russian Administration, or whatever plays the rôle of it, allowing Germany and its allies to penetrate across Russian territory into Asia, to threaten India, to make of the Trans-Siberian a German highway. If the Russian Administration had so lost all sense of dignity and decency as to allow the prisoners now still in Siberia to become armed, so as to assume an offensive attitude towards us, intervention would no doubt be reasonable; but even then it might involve, not only Japan, but the whole of the Allies in complications if such an intervention were forced upon Russia, against the wishes, not necessarily of the "central Administration," but of the local authorities, supposing that such local authorities have sufficient power to stop unfriendly action against us, should they wish to do so.

The Japanese Administration and the Allies Representatives have been at pains to make it clear that the landing of troops at Vladivostock was merely an act of protection for the Allied Consulates and their nationals—with over 3,000 Japanese amongst them—who were threatened with the excesses of mob law. Even this has caused protests: Chitcherin on that occasion described the landing of Japanese marines as the fulfilment of a long-awaited opportunity, and called upon the soldiers and workmen to defend the authority of the Soviets against the Japanese, denouncing the welcome offered to the latter by the Vladivostock Municipal Council as traitorous (April 12). In fact, the Bolsheviks Administration does nothing but protest; like a "conscientious" objector, it has opposed verbiage to German swords, and it cannot help protesting when the Allies seek to safeguard their interests in the Far East. With such a mentality it is obvious that the occupation of the Trans-Siberian by a Japanese army would bring forth such torrents of words that the men now awaking to

the fallacies of Bolshevikism might conceivably be deluded into believing that intervention means aggression; their activities, instead of coalescing into a torrent of anti-German action, might, on the contrary, be turned against us. Such is our reading of the dilemma, and our opinion, for what it is worth, is, as expressed above, that unless a fairly united Russia asked for it, the landing of a large Japanese force would be a mistake. The collaboration of Japan and China, as promised in the recent agreements, should have a powerful influence in shaping the behaviour of the extremists in Eastern Siberia.

This much being said, the question of practicability remains; it is not merely a question of shipping, involving considerations of tonnage, on which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to enter without official information, but, moreover, the Japanese soldier requires certain forms of food which cannot be found by the side of the Trans-Siberian. The genius of General Terauchi made the supply of all necessaries a clockwork performance in the Russo-Japanese War, but then the conditions were different from the present. Moreover, Japan's supply of metals, steel especially, is not adequate to her present needs, and it is doubtful whether sufficient extra tonnage and material could be manufactured promptly.

Public opinion, as already stated, is divided. We hear from clear-minded Japanese friends in Japan that they look upon the defection of Russia and the probabilities of her neutral attitude helping Germany as a danger against which measures must be taken, but the Government seems disinclined to take a strong and definite stand. Some of the papers take the view that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance gives Japan carte blanche and a mission to police the Far East, a contention which the [Kobe] *Japan Chronicle* repudiates with its usual acerbity of manner; others seek in an expedition a derivative for the lack of enthusiasm shown by some Japanese conscripts for military duties (and the *Japan Chronicle*, of course, makes capital of it); but the more responsible and influential papers, like the *Asahi*, the *Yomiuri*

Shimbun, and the *Nichi-Nichi*, lean towards non-intervention beyond Vladivostock, and call for an attitude of friendly commiseration for, and sympathy with, Russia in her troubles, the *Yomiuri* fondly believing that the arrival of Japanese troops in Siberia would cause the middle-class Russians to join them in the fight against Germany.

Needless to say, there are in Japan not a few admirers of Germany and of German ways. Amongst the descendants of a military caste, those that have been educated in Germany have kept an enduring respect for the hard work of the plodding German; they admire the efficiency of the machine, although we hope they do not lose sight of the barbarism, of the cruelty, of the "efficient" blackguardism which has characterized Germany during this war, and much of which could be seen before 1914 by those who were not wilfully blind. Thus, amongst military men and medical men in Japan, and amongst many of the lawyers and engineers, German had become the language in which they wrote their dissertations for world-wide reading, and the number of these men increased steadily. Although the militarist section of the Japanese population is strongly in favour of military action in Siberia, whilst the commercial section is not, they still watch all German moves in this war with critical attention, and their articles in the Press are not always devoid of a bias in favour of German methods; there have been examples in the *Kokumin*, and, even in the *Jiji Shimpō* the cloven hoof has appeared quite recently. Already in March Dr. S. Takahashi, in Parliament and in the *Kokumin*, was calling upon his country to intervene in Siberia, owing to Russia being unable to defend herself against Germany, and the same journal called for the resignation of Viscount Motono because he could not get the Japanese Cabinet to agree to a policy of intervention, at the very time when Viscount Uchida, just returning from Petrograd, urged caution in dealing with a people ready to rush from one extreme view to the extreme opposite, and requested the Japanese Press to refrain from Bolshevik-baiting as a daily

sport, whilst the French Press might be commended for its diplomatic handling of the Russian situation. In fact, both the *Hochi* and the *Kokumin* have consistently advocated drastic measures in self-defence against the German penetration of Siberia, and the latter paper holds that the Russians who are still pro-Allies will go over to the Germans if Japan does not act promptly—a possibility already foreshadowed by the *Yomiuri*. Both the *Hochi Shimbun* and the *Jiji Shimpō* gave prominence to the Siberian question by means of maps and special articles, and early in April Viscount Motono, Minister for Foreign Affairs, was heckled by Mr. Mochizuki and Mr. Shioda, his answer being non-committal. Mr. Ozaki, late Mayor of Tokyo and leader of the *Kenseikai* party, blamed the Government for not announcing sooner its policy of not making an enemy of Russia; he thought it desirable for the Allies to remain friendly with those Russians who were hostile to Germany, but he thought measures should be taken against the pro-German Bolsheviks. The debate was somewhat heated, and was concluded without the leaders, Viscount Kato (*Kenseikai*, minority) and Mr. Hara (*Seiyukai*, supporters of the Government) taking part in it. The Premier, Viscount Terauchi, in closing the Session, mentioned that the Diet might be summoned in the near future; this was construed into a warning that the Government had decided to intervene and would require votes of credit, but nothing has been done up to the end of May, and, although there is but little doubt that armed intervention would be welcome by a large section of the Japanese nation, both as part of what the Japanese consider their duty to the Allies and, in the mind of some as a means to consolidate the position of Japan in Manchuria by acquiring a larger sphere of influence in Siberia, it is impossible to guess what may happen. China, notwithstanding its recent agreement with Japan, has filed a protest against the control of a small portion of the Manchurian Railway being handed over to the Japanese by Kerensky without her consent. It is but a small matter, but the

Chinese have now and again resented the somewhat high-handed ways of their neighbours; they have in the past been egged on by the Germans, and now they receive support from certain American writers, so that Japan needs tread warily, and it is a relief to find that her present Government shows a full appreciation of its heavy responsibilities.

May 30, 1918.

Since the above was written further information has reached us respecting the German penetration in Finland, the Bolshevik surrender of the Murman line, the attempt to coerce the Black Sea fleet into actual surrender, and the co-operation of German prisoners with the Red Guards and the Soviet Government in Siberia, which tend to show an unabated desire on the part of the Lenin-Trotzky-Chitcherin demago-dictatorship to please the Boche, while protesting against any Allied interference in Siberia. News has also been published of Russian groups asking again for Allied action against the Bolsheviks. A letter just received from Kyoto, dated 30th of April, written by a well-informed Japanese, says : "It seems very difficult to understand the attitude of the Powers on the Siberian question, for they are awfully jealous of each other, and the result, so far as we know, favours the Boche." It is unfortunate that such an idea should prevail in Japan ; the papers up to early May (being the last at hand) are quite divided in their opinions—as much, indeed, as in March—though with greater leanings towards non-intervention, quite manifest, as in an *Asahi* article by Professor Suyéhiro Shigeo (Kyoto University), who, taking the Vladivostock affray as his text, warns his countrymen against a Russo-Japanese collision, and the *Nichi-Nichi* follows suit. Viscount Miura Goro, one of the foremost independent politicians in Japan, gave it as his opinion on the subject on the 16th of April that Japan should get ready, but refrain from actual interference until such time as the German menace in Siberia materializes, as otherwise the fear that some Powers entertained of Japan "profiteering" at their expense would cause misgivings and lead to trouble later. Professor Tanaka Suiichiro (Chair of Political Science, Keio University) thinks it impossible for Japan to do much now ; action should have been taken earlier on to prevent the Russian lower classes from grasping the power. European working classes may have enough influence to bring their respective Governments to recognize the Russian Soviet administration, but Japan cannot do otherwise than set itself against the Leninites. Professor Tanaka, whom we count amongst our best friends, is a sound man, well up in European history and politics, and his opinions are worth quoting. We have no doubt that he, also, fears that intervention, with the best intentions, might be misconstrued by the Russians much in the same way as the aggressive *Yorodzu* looked upon the Bolshevik proclamation against the Vladivostock landing as a sort of declaration of war.

CORRESPONDENCE

'A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR'

INDIAN LANGUAGES AND ENGLISH

To the Editor of the Asiatic Review.

MADAM,

When Mr. Panikkar, the other day, told us of the advantages Hindi possesses, compared with English, as a common language for India, I ventured, very diffidently, to urge that, in Bengal at least (the only part of India about which I am at all competent to speak) it will not at present be either desirable or even possible to dispense with English. Bengali prose style owes much to English models.—in the hands of such masters as the late Bankim Chandra or Sir Rabindranath Tagore, it is perfectly idiomatic and indigenous Bengali. But it essays to say, and succeeds in saying, things not, I think, before attempted in Indian literature. Anyone who has read Sir Rabindranath's remarkable trilogy of novels, "Chokher Bali," "Gora" and "Nauka Dubi," in the original will readily admit that what I very diffidently urge can hardly be denied. If I venture to reassert this, it is because I have just received a letter from Sir Rabindranath himself which indirectly supports my contention. We all know with what remarkable skill and success he renders the verse of his "Gitanjali" and other collections of lyrical verse (marvels of suggestive and haunting melody) into English prose. This is what he himself says on the subject:

"It was a lack of mastery of your language which originally prevented me from attempting English metres in my translations. But now I have become reconciled to my limitations, since through them I have come to know the wonderful power of English prose. The clearness, the strength, the suggestive music of well-balanced English sentences make it a delightful task for me to mould my Bengali poems into an English prose form. I think we should frankly give up the attempt to reproduce in translation the lyrical suggestiveness of the rhythm of the original verse, and substitute in their place some new quality inherent in the new vehicle of expression. In English prose there is a magic which seems to transmute my Bengali verse, and makes it once more original in a different manner."

It is given to few, of course, to write what is unmistakably fine literature in two languages. There are few examples in the languages of any country. What I venture to say is that Sir Rabindranath can not only put his

exquisite Bengali verse into beautiful English prose, but that his still more beautiful Bengali prose owes some of its extraordinary power of expression to his mastery of English. From English he has acquired qualities (I am sure he would not deny it) which he could not have gained from Hindi. In his verse he owes no debt to any foreign source. There he has behind him the tradition of an ancient verse literature and a slowly accumulated treasure of technique which could not be bettered by borrowing from any external source. But Bengali prose is a thing of yesterday. It is as modern as Calcutta itself. It is used to express the needs, emotions, interests, aspirations, of a great modern community which desires, and rightly desires, to hold its own in the community of modern nations. No man who has made a careful, an impartial, and a sympathetic study of the masterpieces of Bengali prose can fail to see that here is (perhaps more than in the other literatures of India) a most fruitful marriage of Eastern and Western conventions of prose representation of thought and emotion. It is a process with which we are familiar in the history of the literatures of Western nations, all of which have borrowed freely from one another without in the least sacrificing their own originality and independence. It is not a case of slavish copying, but of the use of methods hit upon in this country or that.

That, Madam, is why I venture to say once more that Bengali, at least, has still something to take from Western literature and, let me hasten to add, much to repay to those who have the wit to accept the payment. There are, for example, in Bengali works, such as some of the remarkable tales of Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri, which would delight, I venture to think, Mr. F. W. Bain, while Mr. Bain's delightful romances, in the hands of a master of Bengali prose, would be at least as full of charm and revelation as in their author's exquisitely apt English prose. Mr. Panikkar's judgment may have been affected subconsciously by his political ideals, by his desire that India should be wholly independent of Western borrowings. But it is too late to put the clock back. As well might we close Indian ports to external commerce, and tear up railways and telegraph posts. Man, we must remember, has learned to fly, and the old exclusiveness, intellectual and physical, is no longer possible. Let all who will by all means learn the treasures of Hindi literary art. But, once more, Bengal certainly (and perhaps other provinces also) has absorbed something of Western ways of thought and expression which it were a serious loss to throw away. Not by exclusiveness, not by boycotting, but by frank, loyal, cordial competition in the great field of art and science and literature, will a reviving India come by its own again. Sir Rabindranath, among others, has shown the way, and Mr. Panikkar's own academical successes prove that he too may be capable of beating us of the West on our own ground. He will be welcomed and helped by all who know of what remarkable feats the Indian intellect is capable.

I have ventured to say this much because it is possible that Mr. Panikkar may imagine that I as an old man (and an old official) may be prejudiced in favour of Western studies and the use of English, and against Hindi as

a typically Hindu language. Such is not the case. I have the highest admiration for the only Indian literature with which I am acquainted, and only regret that I know so little of it. I think Bengali is now quite capable of being used as an educational and administrative medium, and am quite sure that young Bengal will be all the better for being taught and examined in the language in which it thinks. But I am equally convinced that English as a second language is necessary as a means of acquiring, not merely the physical and scientific achievements of the West, but also as supplying a valuable intellectual and literary stimulus and new conventions of literary technique.

I will gladly admit that English used merely as a means of passing examinations in a dull utilitarian spirit is an evil. But English used as Sir Rabindranath uses it, as every wise and well-educated Englishman uses the leading languages of Europe, that is a different thing altogether. It can supply the due reward of disinterested study, the intellectual joy of happy comprehension. Those of us who have even dabbled in Indian languages have had some taste of that great and lasting pleasure, and I am pretty sure that so admirable a master of English as Mr. Panikkar will, on second thoughts, agree that the notion of boycotting English in favour of Hindi is not one that can be well or wisely put into practice. Surely it should rather be the desire of such able and patriotic Indians as he to raise the literary art of the various Indian languages to the same level of accomplished and supple expression as has, through some four centuries of practice and experiment, been obtained by the greater modern languages of Europe—languages, be it remembered, philologically akin to those of Northern India. They must be lovingly studied, then, and not used as they too often are now, as mere mechanical media of instruction, as the fit material for textbooks and crambooks and helps to satisfying the weary and uncritical minds of overworked examiners.

How far my very diffident remarks apply to Western India I cannot say. But I appeal confidently to educated Bengalis of both sexes (and the ladies of Bengal have recently written charming and accomplished prose and verse) to say whether this is the time to abandon the use of the Western language best known in India, and hitherto most fruitful in its influence on Indian thought and expression. I wish the task of defending the (right) use of English had fallen to younger and more capable hands. But I will venture to say, in conclusion, that if I have seemingly opposed Mr. Panikkar's aims, he will probably find that we only differ, at bottom, as to methods, a matter as to which difference of opinion is inevitable, and the discussion of which, rightly conducted, can do no harm nor hurt to anyone.

Your obedient servant,

J. D. ANDERSON.

A NOTE ON THE BALTIC GERMANS

*To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW***MADAM,**

"Pourquoi vous entourez-vous d'autres gens que de Russes ? Je n'aime point ces Livoniens. . . . Pourquoi ne point donner leurs places à des Russes ?" Such was the speech of Napoleon at Tilsit in 1807 to the Emperor Alexander, and whatever else it shows, it indicates that he regarded the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces as a people unlike and inimical to the inhabitants of Russia.

We are told by a competent authority* that the Baltic Germans "cannot be called Germans." But why ? The ancestors of the Barons who rule in Livonia, Estonia, and Courland, are descendants of those Germans who came in the train of either the German Bishops who Christianized the country or the Knights and Grand Masters of the Brethren of the Sword or the Teutonic Order of Prussia. Riga was founded by Bishop Albrecht in 1201, and did not cease its connection with Germany till it was ceded to Poland in 1582, becoming Swedish with the other Baltic Provinces under Gustavus Adolphus. Libau was actually under the administration of Prussia in 1560. Reval was purchased from its old settlers, the Danes, by the Teutonic Order in 1346, with the rest of Estonia. Courland was a possession of the Teutonic Order, and under the Kettler dynasty (1642-1682) showed some prosperity, which it lost when it fell under Russian suzerainty under the Empress Anna Ivanovna, who bestowed the duchy upon her German-descended lover Biron or Büren, whose horse-boy ancestors hailed from Mecklembourg in 1638. But this change of allegiance, this acquisition by Russia of Courland and the rest of the Baltic provinces, did not affect the position of the nobles. They—perhaps to distinguish themselves from the Estonian and other serfs, of hated and servile blood—clung to their appellation of "Germans." The daughter of the last Duke of Courland (Peter, of the Büren line), Dorothée Duchesse de Dino, although she had, in a measure, assisted Prince Talleyrand to rehabilitate France at the Congress of Vienna, wrote of herself to her death as "née allemande," and her maternal kinsfolk, the von Medems, and Eliza von der Recke, the beloved of the poet Tiege, would have been greatly surprised had the name "German" been denied to them.

The few Estonian, Courland, or Livonian nobles who (how did they do it?) rose above the level of the rest of their race, who by the German domination were reduced to long-suffering serfs, quickly were forced to Germanize themselves to retain their position. This was so marked in Estonia that there could be no intermingling. "An aristocrat," says a clever writer, "is an *Estländer*, the peasant an *Esthe*. The noble's wife is a *Frau*, the peasant's a *Weib*, and any transposition of these terms would be deemed highly insulting." The proverb ran: "Estonia is a heaven for the nobles and the clergy, a gold-mine for the stranger, and a hell for the peasant." Jacqueries have broken out from time to time (e.g., in 1560),

* "Russia's Agony," by Baron Heyking, D.C.L., the ASIATIC REVIEW, XIV., No. 38.

but through all the changes of mastership—Polish, Swedish, and Russian—the “Baltic Barons,” as they are called, have kept their lands, and proudly refused any intermingling with their former slaves, intermarrying wholly among themselves or with East Prussian families.

These Estonian, Courland, and Livonian nobles, however, set the example in 1816, 1817, and 1819 of freeing their serfs—the first emancipated in the Russian Empire—from bondage. It was well meant, but it was not wholly altruistic. “It is quite a pity,” writes a lady in 1842, “that our admiration for so noble a deed should be in any way interrupted by the troublesome collateral circumstances of their being the gainers thereby”; for by emancipation of his serf the owner escaped all responsibilities (and they were sometimes heavy) for them. To show the distinction between the races we quote again. The serfs took surnames—for the first time in their history—and came to their master and mistress for help. “The gentleman took the dictionary, the lady Walter Scott, for reference . . . and homely German words were given, or old Scottish names revived, which may one day perplex a genealogist.” But the noble did not give his own name, to avoid any risk of “vile identity.”

The result of all this was that the Baltic Germans kept the authority they had gained. They, thanks to Germany, had a language and a culture taught in it, and they availed themselves of it. The Lutheran Church was in their hands, and gave them patronage and power. The Russification of the Baltic provinces fell more hardly upon the illiterate Letts and other aborigines than it did on them, whose sons were often educated in Germany. The German theatre was theirs, and they were (though often Russia’s most loyal and most progressive subjects) a hyphenated people, German by descent and culture, Russian by allegiance, but above all opposed to their former peasants, and anxious to support any power which would allow them to remain “top dog” in the Baltic provinces.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

“ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SINGAPORE”

TO THE EDITOR, “ASIATIC REVIEW”

DEAR MADAM,

February 6, 1919, will be the hundredth anniversary of the hoisting of the British flag on the island of Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles, in accordance with a treaty concluded between himself, on behalf of the Honourable East India Company, and the Government of the State of Johore.

In connection with the celebration of this important centenary in the Imperial history of Britain, it is proposed by a representative committee of the principal residents to produce a comprehensive and authoritative history of Singapore covering that period of a hundred years. This history will form an adequate record of the rise of the chief town in British Malaya and the seat of Government of the Colony of the Straits Settlements, and of its Imperial value as a factor of British influence in the East.

To aid in the collection of material not now accessible to the promoters of the scheme, a London committee has been formed, and the committee hopes to obtain the co-operation of retired residents of the Colony and the descendants of deceased Singaporeans. This committee invites all who possess or have access to documents, maps, pictures, pamphlets, old manuscripts, and other records having a bearing on the progress and development of Singapore, to be so good as to lend the same, and any reminiscences of old residents would be gratefully received.

Communications should be sent to Major W. G. St. Clair, care of G. Brinkworth, Esq., St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4.

Yours, etc.,

W. G. ST. CLAIR

(formerly Editor, "*Singapore Free Press*"),

THOS. H. REID

(formerly Editor, "*Straits Times*").

LONDON,

June 15, 1918.

THE POSITION OF MODERN LANGUAGES

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

BY FRANCIS P. MARCHANT

IN August, 1916, the Prime Minister appointed a Committee to inquire into the position of modern languages in the educational system of Great Britain, and their report (Cd. 9036) has lately been presented. "Modern languages" in their reference signify living foreign languages, but allusion to the study of English as a preparation, and to Latin and Greek as competitors for rewards and recognition as well, could not be avoided. "Modern studies" in the report embrace all the knowledge (historical, economic, etc.) of foreign countries to which the languages serve as a key. The list of 136 witnesses includes many of the most representative men in the country, commercial, financial, industrial, and educational. Universities were visited, and questions sent to colleges and schools, but circulars sent to business firms and individuals only elicited 25 per cent. of replies.

The report, which is a model of English, opens with a history of modern language study in Great Britain. It is interesting to trace the gradual apprehension of the necessity of organizing "modern studies," and the provision made at English and Scottish Universities. But though educational authorities are fully alive to the position, .

the public on the whole has continued to be indifferent, and the provision of an adequately trained and qualified staff of teachers has lagged behind the establishment of teaching posts and the allotment of school hours. The deficiencies are still serious and patent; and they will not be remedied until a juster sense of the practical value and intellectual dignity of the study of modern languages and modern peoples prevails in the public as a whole, and in all its sections.

The observations on the non-European languages will possess especial interest for our Eastern readers. The languages of India, China, Persia, Malaysia, and Africa, are an absolute necessity for administrative purposes. Opportunity is needed, with incentives in the way of scholarships and prospects. Germans have been busy in India contrasting their efforts in Indian studies with British achievements. Mr. (now Sir) E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D., Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, was an important witness in this connection. The report of the Treasury Committee (Cd. 4560-1) of 1909 cleared the ground by investigation. Generous Government support is urged for the Oriental school, while the active schools at Oxford and Cambridge should not be allowed to suffer, and provincial schools are recommended. £100,000, or even £200,000, would not be an excessive estimate, since "in such matters the nation is one economic unit." Scientific research into little known languages by trained philological and phonetic scholars is insisted upon; and in contrast with what has been done in other countries, it is pointed out that there is only one laboratory for Phonetic Research—viz., at University College—at the head of which is Mr. Daniel Jones, also a witness. It is considered that before going out to Asiatic or African countries students should have preliminary instruction in the rudiments, and preferably from English teachers, with phonetic training.

The observations on Russia and her language deserve serious attention, of which "the national ignorance was almost complete," though during the ten years preceding the war interest had been aroused. We had left great industrial enterprises too much to the Germans, whose "peaceful penetration" was apparent to those of us who had been in Russia.

The future of Russia is even more uncertain than that of Germany; but, unless the worst should happen, Russia should offer a great opening, which can only be used by a nation which has studied, as well as the language of Russia, her social anatomy, the character of her people, her geography, and her economic conditions and capacities.

There is no royal or easy road to the acquisition of the language, as the writer has found during long years of study. "The need of grammars and other aids to study is being gradually supplied, but a satisfactory dictionary is not yet available." In spite of its influence, Russian literature is considered to be of little educational value, and Russian history is not recommended for school study.

Of the European countries which make contributions to knowledge, the order of importance is France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Spain, which merit a first-class place in University "modern studies." Scarcely any discussion is necessary to demonstrate the value of French; and although the study of German has lost what popularity it possessed, it cannot possibly be ignored. "It will in any case be impossible to oust the use of German in commerce, even for our own purposes at home, apart from any question of competition in neutral countries." As to Spanish, insular ignorance on our part has led to loss of South American trade to Germany, whose ambitions in that Continent have been long revealed. The study of

Spanish has apparently been better organized in the United States. Italy is asserting herself against German "peaceful penetration." (When in Milan, in 1913, the writer was more than once addressed in German in the streets by applicants for pecuniary assistance, hailing from the Fatherland.) Minor languages, of which Portuguese is the most important, must not be neglected. University College has made provision for Scandinavian studies, while Modern Greek, the Balkan languages, Rumanian, Czech, and Magyar, must not be lost sight of. The foundation of a London school of European languages is suggested, with affiliated institutes.*

Artificial languages received a measure of attention, and Dr. John Pollen was a witness on behalf of Esperanto. This "skilfully constructed language" has met with remarkable success, and as grammatical rules and difficulties have been minimized, its acquisition is easy, and mainly a matter of vocabulary. "It might conceivably come to hold a prominent place in the work of continuation classes." It is suggested that the Government, conjointly with our Allies, might appoint a committee of inquiry into the whole question of artificial languages.*

It is tempting to enlarge upon this scholarly report, with its many important conclusions and recommendations. Four members sign a series of reservations. Education is recognized as a necessity as well as a profitable investment by democratic countries, and its improvement is a vital need in the work of future reconstruction and recuperation. "What has been done through the study of the dead peoples of Greece and Rome can be done, we conceive, through the study of the living peoples of the habitable globe in proportion to their several contributions to the art of living." Our national education is far behind the requisite standard of requirement in respect of foreign relations. Here is the explanation :

The prospects of modern studies depend on the esteem of the public. All classes and almost all sections of the public have rated them below their true value ; in the upper classes parents have been indifferent to learning ; in the lower classes they have taken a short-sighted view of the children's interests. Until all classes and all sections have come to see personal and national advantage in furthering them, due progress can never be made.

* The British Esperanto Association have issued an interesting leaflet (to be obtained from 17, Hart Street, W.C. 1) embodying the conclusions of the Committee on the subject of artificial languages. There are said to be 300,000 students, but the British Esperanto Association are of opinion that the number of those who have learned Esperanto and support it might be put at well over a million. The number of Congresses and those who attended would seem to bear out this view. The Esperantists welcome the suggested inquiry. The late Dr. Zamenhof foresaw the time when such an inquiry by the Governments of the world would be inevitable. The Committee think that "it is unlikely that any artificial language can ever have much literary value," but the British Esperanto Association proceed : "Although much has been done to enrich the literature of Esperanto . . . signs are not wanting that as the language develops writers will be forthcoming whose works may be of distinct literary merit. Without doubt the language is capable of the widest possible use in this direction. It has richness, precision, flexibility, to an unrivalled degree. It can express the nicest subtleties of thought. Appropriateness of figure, beauty of style, poetry of diction, variety and exactness of expression, power and vigour of description—these are the elements of literary merit, and for these Esperanto offers full scope."

THE ROAD TO VICTORY*

MOST Army officers, and particularly those who belong to the Indian Army, have read, and to their advantage, "Britain at Bay" and "War and Policy," and the author is thoroughly cognizant with the problems of the Indian Frontier, which he visited in the company of Lord Roberts about the time when General Kaufman, the first Governor-Général of Turkestan, constituted a possible menace to English interests in Afghanistan. The younger generation of Indian Civil Servants will remember him as the pioneer Professor of Military History in the University of Oxford, who for the first time brought the teaching of the principles of modern warfare to the banks of the Isis. Moreover, he has been a great inspiration for many a young Oxford subaltern who is now fighting in France, now an actor in the everlasting drama of which four years ago he was a student in an All Souls' lecture-room.

There are circumstances which invest Professor Spenser Wilkinson's opinions with quite extraordinary importance. He foresaw the war. Half the present volume was written before 1914, though no one would detect it from the contents of these chapters. Still more important, his utterances in the first months of the war do not ridicule him in the light of subsequent events. Most important of all, he knows his subject. Jomini, Clausewitz, Colin are thoroughly familiar to him. He is conversant with the theories that guide the present-day French and German schools of military thought. And now, at the crisis of our fate, Professor Spenser Wilkinson offers to his countrymen, in "Government and the War," some of the results of his protracted labours.

* "Government and the War," by Spenser Wilkinson. 6s. net. Constable, London.

"I have tried," he writes in his preface, "to set forth the lines upon which a British Government must work if it is to attain victory, and I believe that, if these main ideas are rejected, defeat is certain. To seek diligently for the truth, and then to express my conclusions so that they may be understood by any reader—that has been my attempt to serve my country."

The two most striking chapters in the book are entitled "The Theory of War" and "The British Constitution and the Conduct of War." Therein are contained practical proposals of paramount importance. We quote as follows:—"How then are we to insert a strategist as the inner spring into the Government machine? Consider the machine. In the British system the King's executive power is wielded by the Cabinet, a committee of Members of Parliament chosen by the Prime Minister, who assigns to each of them the headship of a Department. The Prime Minister is the head of the Government, the Chairman of the Committee. As long as there is a Prime Minister, he will be the director of England's action in the war. Our view of war shows us that the only way to get the most out of the nation's forces is to arrange that the director shall see war just as it is, and shall be inspired by the theory. Common-sense suggests, therefore, that the strategist should be brought into direct personal contact with the Prime Minister. The object is that the Prime Minister should see with the strategist's eye, think his thoughts, and make his resolves his own. . . . The arrangement proposed, the only one possible except a military dictatorship, which would be madness before victory has revealed a great man, involves a slight change in the composition of the Cabinet. The Secretary of State for War would become a Minister for the administration of the Army and the Prime Minister would undertake the general management of the war, directing the Navy through a naval strategist and the Army through a military strategist. What the two strategists should be called matters nothing. They would perhaps be best secured from disturbance if they were simply the Prime Minister's private

secretaries. . . . The real function of the members of the Cabinet is to explain the actions of the Government to the House of Commons. . . .”

Although in sympathy with these suggestions, we cannot but add that any system is doomed which does not provide for the weeding-out of incompetents. And it would appear that though a Prime Minister might by following Spenser Wilkinson's idea see with the strategist's eye, it does not follow that he could judge whether the said strategist was the best the country could produce. Apart from the question whether the best brains were in the Army before the war or not, the present position is that practically all the brains have gone into the two services—a situation which had a parallel in the Imperial Napoleonic Army. We have been too apt in some wars to treat incompetency in military leadership as a black crime, instead of regarding it as a misfortune, the punishment for which should be removal. The inevitable result was that there was hesitation instead of the utmost promptitude in making changes when the occasion required it. The removal of incompetents leads to the gradual instatement of the true brains of the country. There can be no other way. Mr. Lloyd George has not been afraid to make changes.

It must also be remembered that the strain on the leaders of modern warfare is so great that few Generals, however gifted, are able to stand it for long. Napoleon in the twentieth century could certainly not have directed campaigns stretching over twenty years.

But Spenser Wilkinson's method is rather rigid. He seems to postulate from the first that the ablest naval and the ablest military strategist have been discovered, and that they are therefore in position at the right and left side of the Prime Minister. The failure of the younger Moltke at the Marne showed that the much-vaunted Prussian military machine had succeeded in placing at its head an incompetent. The defender of Sebastopol was a Colonel in an army that has always been notorious for its abundance of Generals. Reputations made in peace-time are only too often falsified by

the iron test of war. We feel tempted to enunciate the proposition that in war when the two sides are in every respect equally matched, and they both hurl themselves into the contest with equal zest, victory rests with the army in which genius reaches the top first. If this be true, we can only regard with equanimity a system of government for the conduct of war which absolutely guarantees by its flexibility that the best men will with no more ado reach the top. When flexibility has thus achieved its work, rigidity must step in and sustain the work to the victorious end.

There are also several passages in "The British Constitution and the Conduct of War" which we feel it our duty to reproduce here :

"Lord Kitchener's brave effort to do too much had one good result. It led to the formation of the Ministry of Munitions, a first recognition of the wisdom of distinguishing between supply and command." The author points out that through recent changes a Secretary of State for War was appointed without becoming a member of the supreme executive—the War Cabinet—and that apparently from that time the Chief of the General Staff has communicated directly with the Cabinet. (The position of Lord Milner is, however, we understand, somewhat different in this respect to that held by Earl Derby.) He proceeds : "I cannot help thinking that the completion of the development would be reached if the Chief of the General Staff became, under whatever title, a member of the supreme executive committee. The General Staff would then in all probability become an independent office for military direction or command, while the maintenance and supply of the Army would become the work of a minister of military administration and supply, with which the Ministry of Munitions would be closely associated. In that way the two functions—command and supply—would each have the place indicated by experience and the theory of war."

With regard to the Cabinet Committee of Imperial Defence, the author is extremely illuminative : "An excellent institution for keeping the representatives of the Dominions in touch

with the ideas of the Imperial Government and for enabling them to explain their own ideas." And he quotes Jomini to some purpose when he adds : "Nothing is so bad as a council of war either at the headquarters of an army or at the seat of a government."

Truly remarkable has been the flow of war literature : combatants and non-combatants have related their own experiences with wonderful poignancy. No one has dealt with the war as one whole thing.

So there have been many "war-books" written since August, 1914. Since that date Professor Wilkinson has given to his countrymen a book on War.

ANCIENT AND MODERN GREECE

AN article on "Hellenic Ideals and Britannic Democracy," by Mr. Drakoules, appeared in the *British Citizen*, May 25. It points out that "the best interests of Greece are inseparable from the cause of England, democracy being the soul of Hellenism just as it is of Britannic civilization." Mr. Drakoules urges that Hellenism, restored to its natural frontiers and in organic, permanent alliance with England, would be the only guarantee for peace and progress in the Near East.

We have received an interesting paper by Mr. Nicholas Papanicoly, a Greek journalist, on the relation of modern to ancient Greece. We regret that we have only space for a short extract, giving the substance of his subject. The struggle of the Greeks against the Turks, their brave deeds, and the ensuing liberation of the race from the hated yoke of four centuries, naturally recalled the exploits of the ancient Greeks. Comparison has produced criticism, and in the irrelevant discussion as to whether the modern Greeks are really the descendants of the ancient race or not the vital issue has been forgotten. The world ceased to think of the Greek cause because the descent is disputed. Proceeding from these premises, the writer says : "*It is not because they breathed the same air and spoke the same language as Aeschylus and Epaminondas, but because they were fighting for their liberty, civilization, and religion, that the sympathy of Christian Europe was given to the men, the great men who restored to independence the ancient birthplace of freedom and civilization.*"

GREEK NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I. GREECE—A “CROWNED REPUBLIC”

GREAT changes have occurred since the last number of this series appeared in the *ASiATIC REVIEW* in August, 1917, when it was recorded how, despite much opposition, New and Old Greece had become once more united as a “crowned republic” under the leadership of M. Venizelos.

Speaking in the Chamber, the Greek Premier had said that the world was slowly giving up the institution of kingship, and it rested with existing monarchs, by their conduct, to hasten or defer that process. Despite the blow dealt to the monarchical idea by the ex-King Constantine, the Government, and doubtless the Parliament also, were of the opinion that it was expedient to give the monarchy another trial. It was, of course, a final trial; but M. Venizelos felt assured that the Greek people and those who represented it would wish to make possible the prolongation of the system of a “democracy presided over by a King” which had hitherto prevailed, and certainly subsequent events tend to justify the wisdom of the decision.

II. GREEK LABOUR AND THE INTERNATIONAL

An event of outstanding interest in the summer of 1917 was the participation of Greece in the Inter-Allied Labour Conference which met in London on August 28, when she, in conjunction with South Africa, recorded her vote against the Stockholm Congress, and so helped to defeat the project of meeting enemy Socialists under undesirable auspices—an act of loyalty to pro-Entente interests which has not as yet been pardoned, to judge by the attitude of the conveners of subsequent Labour Congresses.

A strange bias was shown by the publication of “neutral” Socialist resolutions in the Congress proceedings, while pro-Entente Greek labour resolutions and telegrams were ignored and suppressed. This led to the

statement by pacifist Socialists that Greece was among those countries that adhered to the war aims as formulated by Inter-Allied Labour, and promulgated at the Conference that met in London last February. Dr. Drakoules, who left Greece in order to be present at the February Conference, and is still in England as representative of Greek Labour, has most vigorously repelled such an idea. In a statement headed "Greece and War Aims" appearing in the *Morning Post* (May 18, 1918) he wrote that he failed to understand how it had come about that Greece should be supposed to accept the proposal for an International Congress that should include Majority German Socialists. . . . Thirty years of Socialist endeavour among the working classes of Greece gave him "the right to rectify an impression misleading to the British public with regard to the attitude of Greece." The Greek workers, he stated, "share exactly the views expounded by the American Labour delegates as to war aims."

The War-Aims Memorandum of the Inter-Allied Labour Conference of last February has an important section on territorial adjustments, which deals with the problems of Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, the Balkans, Italy, Poland, Palestine, Turkey, Austria-Hungary, and the Colonies. Rightly enough, the principle of allowing all peoples to settle their own destinies is offered as the solution.

"But what about Greece?" I asked of Mr. Drakoules, when discussing the Memorandum in question.

"Anyone who has grasped the Balkan situation would take exception to the omission of all reference to Hellenism, which is the chief factor in the problems connected with the Balkans and Turkey," he replied.

"The omission of the Hellenic factor seems due to lack of knowledge rather than to indifference," I observed, "for the Memorandum deals justly with regard to the circumstances which have left a great portion of the Italian nation outside of the kingdom of Italy."

"And that is why I am here," said the Greek Labour Leader. "I have come to Great Britain in order to acquaint the Labour world with the facts necessary to enable it to deal as fairly by Greece as it has done by Italy. It is from exactly that same standpoint that the Hellenic problem must also be examined, in a Memorandum aiming at Democratic and Labour ideals.

"The Greek element in the Balkans is distinguished from all others, inasmuch as *it never tends to acquire territories that do not belong to it, while all other elements tend to covet Hellenic territories.*"

"In face of this fact, the wish for the complete freedom of those peoples to settle their own destinies may prove a *pium desiderium* not sufficient to prevent wars," I interjected, and he smiled.

Referring to the problem of the Turkish Empire the Memorandum again misses its aim, since it makes no reference to the Hellenic element under Ottoman rule, the existence of which it still ignores, although its authors here certainly realize that it may prove impracticable to leave it to the subject peoples to settle their own destinies, and suggest, therefore, "a Commission acting under the super-national authority or League of

Nations." This is well enough, only with the Hellenic nation the case resembles that of Italy, with a difference thus explained by Dr. Drakoules.

"The authors of the memorandum themselves bring this difference to my mind," said he, "inasmuch as they declare that they have no sympathy with Italian Imperialism; and it is just this Imperialism which is absent from the Hellenic factor. It has absolutely no tendency to Imperialism, being democratic by tradition and temperament; and it should have been the first care of any Greek admitted to the Conference to have entered a protest* against treating the Hellenic problem as one of the minor considerations in the Balkans, instead of referring to it in the terms in which reference was made to Italy—*i.e.*, that

"The British Labour Movement declares its sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside . . . and supports their claims to be united with those of their own race and tongue."

"These words are just as applicable to Greece as to Italy, as every reader of Modern History knows."

Dr. Drakoules declared himself to be in full agreement with the view expressed in the Memorandum—that "the peace of the world requires that Constantinople should be made a free port, permanently neutralized." He would wish for the sake of that peace that Constantinople, side by side with permanent neutralization, might become the seat of the Greek Government, even should it be placed, as the Memorandum suggests, under the supernational authority, or League of Nations.

I objected that this issue had been ruled out by Mr. Lloyd George in his war aims by his declaration that Constantinople must remain the Turkish capital.

The wistful, far-away look that I had observed so often in the gaze of the inhabitants of his native Ithaca came into the speaker's eyes. With tragic sadness, wherein was a shade of bitterness, he replied :

"British Liberal leaders of old, with historic and classic discernment like Gladstone and Canning, would have shuddered at the suggestion!"

It is strange that no effective protest seems to have been lodged against this complete omission of Hellenic claims in the Labour War Aims Memorandum. Indeed, so far as I am aware, the only reference to the fact of this grave omission has come from Mr. Drakoules.

A Greek weekly, published in London, appears to endorse this omission with some emphasis, since it seems to regard those who signed this defective Memorandum as adequate, indeed admirable, representatives of Hellenic aims and aspirations. Thereby it approves also of adhesion to the now no-longer-existing International Socialist Bureau and the projected Congress with unregenerate enemy Socialists—surely an anomalous attitude for friends of the Entente to adopt. What is the true inwardness

* A pamphlet entitled "The Eastern Question" has come to our hands. There is nothing in it suggesting that its authors even thought of the omission of the Hellenic problem in the Memorandum.—EDITOR, *A.R.*

of the motive for ignoring the fact that Greece in August, 1917, was instrumental in frustrating the sending of Entente delegates to Stockholm? Surely justice to Greece and her Allies demands the setting forth of both sides of the truth, by writers conversant with the facts.

III. TOWARDS RECONSTRUCTION

There is a crying, world-wide need to-day for an adequate formulation of those positive ideals of life and conduct of which *Germanism* and *Kultur* are the blank negation. I learned with joy, therefore, from its originator, that a Committee has already been formed with the appropriate name **HELLENIC IDEALS COMMITTEE**.

The fundamental conception presented is that knowledge goes together with goodness, and that goodness must be predominant in the new cycle of human history which is to begin at the termination of this war. The adjective "Hellenic" is appropriate because—

- (1) The essence of Hellenism, in the sociological acceptation of the word, is completely opposed to Germanism.
- (2) Hellenism appeals to the emotional nature of man, in contradistinction to the war-spirit which has made civilization up to now so masculine.
- (3) The Platonic Trinity—Truth, Goodness, Beauty—is, in the last analysis, the foundation of all that we can conceive of sanest and noblest in human life.

The promoters of this movement are not, however, content with presenting old truths in a new form, but are, on the contrary, bent upon formulating principles deduced from the discoveries of the leaders of modern thought. For example, that the new age will be a woman's age, in the sense that regard for others and for the future will be substituted for regard for self and for the present moment, is a development borne out by present tendencies. The future of mankind can no longer be built upon the conceptions of the fighting male, as Benjamin Kidd expresses it. Since Labour will obviously be the corner-stone of organized Freedom, the inspiring force of Socialism must undergo a revolution, in the sense that goodness will no longer be considered as an element alien to Socialism, because Socialism will be seen to be ethical as well as scientific, and cannot, therefore, be represented by interpreters who disregard the importance of goodness.

THE HELLENIC IDEALS COMMITTEE will thus focus its energies on the significance of the ethical element in conjunction with the intellectual. Consequently, it will systematically invite thinkers and students to consider that, in contrast with the obsolete mode of thought, we shall be more and more guided by that spirit which sacrifices individual interests to collective ideals, organizes the present with a view to the service of the future, and seeks scientific truth, not for the purpose of material gain *per se*, but for moral and spiritual upliftment.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

ORIENTALIA

THE BIJAK OF KABIR. Translated into English by the Rev. Ahmad Shah. Published by the author at Hamirpur, U.P. 1917. Pp. 236.

At last English readers have the means of making full acquaintance with Kabir's *Bijak* and are no longer dependent on a few excerpts or sayings from this most authentic collection of the many poems of various metre ascribed to him. We owe this good service to the Rev. Ahmad Shah, a learned S.G.P. missionary,* who in 1911 published a carefully revised text of the Old Hindi original, superseding the five previously printed texts, which were all full of errors. The undertaking was one of considerable difficulty, for Kabir wrote—or more probably dictated—in a fifteenth-century dialect peculiar to the neighbourhood of Benares, impossible now to control, and his poems are full of colloquialisms and obscurities, both intentional, in the way of highly mystical allusions, and otherwise. The form of language is as remote from modern Hindi as is Chaucer from present-day literary English. If the fixation of the text is difficult, for there are no ancient MSS. to consult, the translation is also by no means a light task. Mr. Ahmad Shah has had to grapple with all these many difficulties, and in the opinion of competent judges has achieved a large measure of success. His renderings are always clear; they are, moreover, in excellent English, the revision of which has been supervised by his colleague, the Rev. E. W. Omerod. The notes are of good service, especially in the interpretations given of the many symbolical terms which are so lavishly scattered throughout the poems; but they might have been added to with advantage. The general title of the collection, *Bijak*, indicates, as Kabir says himself, "the secret of the treasure which is hidden"; it means literally a chart or plan locating hidden treasure. The contents of the *Bijak* comprise in all some 2,100 couplets (*shlokas*), the majority of which will be new to the English reader. The whole subject is treated by Mr. Shah with sympathy and discrimination. He gives the contradictory Moslem and Hindu traditions of the legendary life of Kabir, and endeavours to disentangle from them the few historical facts that can now be recovered about one whose religious influence, direct and indirect, has been very extensive and is still considerable in Northern India. He then summarizes the leading ideas of the teaching of the *Bijak*, and adds a short account of the myth, devised by the poet, which underlies its cosmological references, showing that in

* Translator of the *Quran* into Urdu and Hindi, and author of a Concordance and Comprehensive Glossary of the *Quran* in English and Urdu.

this respect at least Kabir was more systematic than is generally supposed. It is, however, not for any formal system that Kabir is famed. He was essentially a prophet and reformer, simple, direct, one-pointed. Love of God is the unvarying burden of his gospel; brotherhood and religious toleration the chief lessons he would inculcate. He is unsparing in his ridicule of mechanical forms and ceremonies, of sacrifices, and all pretence and outer shows of piety; of the false learning of those who are the slaves of religious books and systems of philosophy. "All men are of one blood," he cries; "what is the knowledge that keeps us separate?" Throughout the *Bijak* he wages truceless war on caste and ritual and scripture, and is in constant conflict with orthodox Moslem and Hindu alike. From a number of references it is plain his life was frequently in danger and that not infrequently he was treated as mad. Everywhere his poems bear witness that he was utterly fearless in exposing hypocrisy, both by vigorous invective and also by the milder but no less efficacious weapon of humour. But so great was his sincerity and inner good feeling that he is said to have frequently disarmed his opponents. From the many figures of spinning and weaving in the poems it is clear that, as tradition affirms, Kabir was a weaver. He may have been born a Moslem or brought up in a Mohammedan family; but what he has to say about the faith of Islam might very well have been derived from outer observation. Though Mohammedan tradition claims that Shaikh Taqi was once Kabir's *Pir* or spiritual instructor, the poems do not reveal any special knowledge of Sufism. Far otherwise is it with respect to Hinduism; Kabir is steeped in Hindu thought and mythology, and his mother-tongue is Hindi. There is, then, higher probability that, as Hindu tradition claims, Kabir was at one time a pupil of Ramananda, in the line of Ramanuja the father of all modern Vaishnavite sects. But he was ever himself and original, and his whole spirit is opposed to anything in the nature of orthodoxy. Tradition says that Kabir lived to the ripe old age of 120 years, right through the fifteenth century and into the early years of the sixteenth. Whatever were the direct moulding influences on his own religious life, it is evident that his influence on future religious thought was far-reaching. Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was an enthusiastic admirer of Kabir. It is even said that two-thirds of the *Adi Granth* is Kabir's—that is, presumably, permeated with the influence of Kabir's teaching. At any rate, Gobind Singh himself expressly states that "the religion of Kabir has become Khalsa." Khalsa (Purity) is the distinctive name of the Sikh religious community. Kabir is the pioneer of Hindi literature and the father of all Hindi hymns; in this literature Sur Das and Talsi Das not only succeed him, but reflect his teaching. More directly, Kabir's twelve disciples, almost all of whom were low caste or no caste, each established an independent order, and so spread his doctrine far and wide, and to them succeeded many sects and movements, some of which continue to the present day. Everywhere in Northern India, and especially in the North-West, the poems of Kabir are beloved by the people, and sayings of his are on all lips. This is due to his use of folk-speech;

he is one of the most distinguished examples in India of a spiritual teacher who used the tongue of the people to win the heart of the people. Such is the impression one gleans from a study of the few available sources in English. Mr. Ahmad Shah's appreciation of Kabir's position in Indian religious thought is slightly different, but substantially the same, when he writes: "While it cannot be denied that thoughts resembling his are to be found in the writings of Hindu philosophers, and especially Moslem Sufis of all ages, yet the presentation of them is peculiarly his own. His influence was considerable, and his work valuable, in its constructive as well as in its critical and destructive effects, and may yet play a large part in the development of Indian religious thinking." But a short notice can do no more than announce the publication of this valuable addition to our knowledge of Kabir and his teaching; to deal with the latter even superficially would require a lengthy article.

G. R. S. MEAD.

HAMPI RUINS. Described and illustrated by A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey Department, Southern Circle. (*Madras Government Press.*) 4s. 6d.

A good guide-book to the ruined capital of the Vijayanagar Empire has long been wanted by the tourist and student of South Indian history. Mr. Longhurst has undertaken to supply this want in a sketch of the history of the Vijayanagar dynasties and an analysis of the various influences which helped to shape the architecture of the period. For the historical section of his book the author claims no originality; it is compiled from Mr. R. Sewell's well-known book, "A Forgotten Empire," the District Gazetteer, and other works, in which the *ex parte* accounts of Muhammadan writers have been repeated with too little discrimination. In view of the unbridled excesses committed by most of the Muhammadan rulers of the Dekkan, the charges of cruelty and insult made by them against Rāma Rāja as an excuse for their own duplicity and barbarity should not have been accepted as proven. Mr. Longhurst also omits to mention the reason given by a more impartial writer, Cæsaro Frederici, or Rām Rāja's defeat at Talilcota—the treachery of his Muhammadan body-guard. The evidence is particularly valuable, as he visited Vijayanagar two years after the great battle:

Neither does the author, in dealing with Indian architecture and religion, make any attempt to diverge from the beaten track. The chief interest of Vijayanagar to the architectural student lies in the fact that in regard to building craftsmanship it was the parent of the great Bijāpūr school; just as Hindu Benares was the mother of Musalmān Jaunpur, Hindu Dhār the mother of Musalmān Mandu, Hindu Lakhnāti the mother of Musalmān Gaur. A careful study on the spot of the technique of the Vijayanagar buildings would certainly be a valuable contribution to archaeological and historical research. The student can get no further who contents himself with Fergusson's wholly unscientific and arbitrary classification of "styles," and with a method of writing architectural history long ago discarded by the best European experts. The key to

the understanding of Indian architecture, and of much that is otherwise incomprehensible in Indian religion, lies in the study of its symbolism. On this subject there is no light whatever to be found in Fergusson's pages. He neither understood it nor realized the importance of it; but merely treated symbols as so many labels for the compartments, such as "tree and serpent worship," into which he, to the everlasting confusion of his readers, divided Indian art and religion. Christianity itself would be equally confusing to the non-Christian if Hindu or other critics were to attempt an analysis of it under such headings as "Cross-worship," "Sheep-worship," etc., based upon an archaeological study of the paintings in the Catacombs.

Mr. Longhurst has not succeeded in illuminating his subject more than other writers of Fergusson's school have done, but his book is pleasant reading and contains a great quantity of useful information carefully arranged and very fully illustrated by an excellent selection of half-tone plates. The plan of the ruins would have been more interesting if an attempt had been made to indicate the lay-out of the principal streets. The Government Press has done its work admirably, and produced the book at a remarkably moderate price.

E. B. H.

INDIA

THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH INDIA (1818-1858). By G. Anderson, M.A., and B. Subedar, B.A., B.Sc. (London: *G. Bell & Sons*; Bombay: *A. H. Wheeler & Co.*) 1918. Price 4s. 6d.; Rs. 3.8.

This is a very useful volume of extracts from contemporary authorities on a period in the history of British India which has in late years fallen into comparative neglect. It is a time that should not be forgotten. What was the result of the final conquest of the Mahrattas by the British in 1818? Was there in India, as Mr. Romesh Chander Dutt thought, a period of peaceful progress? How, then, did the Sepoy War come into being? Or was it, as readers of Kaye might be inclined to believe, a time of continual, if suppressed, agitation, which the rash though well-meaning policy of a masterful Scotsman at last forced into the open in the form of mutiny and revolt?

The best way to answer this question is to study the *ipsissima verba* of the chief actors in the forty years which Mr. Anderson and Mr. Subedar have dealt with in this book. "It is a mistake," they say—and very truly—"to trace an event such as the outbreak of 1857, which had so many aspects, to such simple causes as the policy of one single ruler during a brief period of time." Was the Sepoy War indeed, we may also ask, an end or a new beginning? It is not for us to answer this question within the limits of a review. We need only say that no safer guide towards an understanding of the question, and of all that goes before it, can be found than in the sober and judicious pages of the book now before us. The editors have taken very great pains in the collection of their material, from MS. as well as printed sources; and their comments, so far as Indian

history is concerned, are always sober and without prejudice. As regards English history not quite so favourable a view can be taken; it is, for example, no sign of intimate knowledge that the editors believe the Tory party between 1848 and 1866 to have been chiefly engaged "in looking back angrily to the days of their past glory, and in cursing the name of their old leader." But for all that is written about India the book deserves very warm commendation, and it should prove invaluable for students.

W. H. HUTTON.

WARREN HASTINGS IN BENGAL, 1772-1774. G. M. E. Monckton Jones.
(Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 1918. 12s. 6d. net.

When Colonel Malleson wrote his Life of Warren Hastings in 1894—the last large biography of the great Proconsul, I think, that has appeared—he thought, no doubt, that he had dealt with all the many interests of his subject. Sir John Strachey and Sir James FitzJames Stephen had already investigated the Rohilla war and the *affaire Nuncomar*; Sir George Forrest had at least begun his most profitable researches. But no one can read Colonel Malleson's book to-day without seeing how imperfect it is, and most of all, perhaps, in its account of the civil administration of Bengal. It is this defect which Miss Monckton Jones has stepped in to rectify, and by thorough study of the vast material at the India Office, as well as in the additional MSS. in the British Museum, she has prepared herself to write a monograph of sterling value on a part of Hastings' career which has been much neglected. Her book is a very great success.

Her main thesis, the key by which she finds her way through many long-closed chambers, is the real interest Hastings took in the rural population of Bengal. "He made the economic, religious, and social rights of the people his first care, and built up the prosperity of the State upon the welfare of the cultivator." His work in this regard was mainly accomplished between 1772 and 1774, and Miss Monckton Jones makes the hardly exaggerated claim for it that it is on the foundations then laid that stability of the English rule in India still rests.

She introduces her subject by a careful description of the state of Bengal in 1770, with special reference to the agricultural population and with occasional comparisons with to-day (I wonder, by the way, why she is content to quote the 1901 census and not that of 1911; and she should certainly have referred to the largest edition of Baden Powell's classic work). It is a tangled subject, and one which has of recent years been often written about, but I do not know of a clearer or more accurate survey than that of Miss Monckton Jones. The documents which she prints are of great importance. The memorandum of Hastings on Kasim Ali is a good example, which shows the penetration and perspicacity of the writer: it is unearthed from the British Museum: I am not sure if I should place it quite as early as does the Editor. Whenever it was written, however, it shows Hastings probably instigated the substitution of Mir Kasim for Mir Jafar. The result was one of the earliest examples of that ignorant opposition by which his work was so often thwarted, and it marks the conclusion of the first period of his Indian life.

It was during the sojourn in England which followed this that his great ability became recognized, and he returned to India, first to Madras, then again to Calcutta, with an experience which enabled him to recreate the Government of Bengal. The story of this work, the rural reorganization, has been less well known than that of the political and military successes which saved the Presidency from the Mahrattas. It is now unfolded by Miss Monckton Jones with an admirable section of justificatory documents. I need not dwell on the details, which perhaps will only interest specialists: it may be as well to note here that they are all inspired by the desire to benefit "the people whom as our subjects we are bound to protect." Nor need I follow Miss Monckton Jones in her investigation of the questions of revenue, justice, and land settlement. She rightly calls attention to the plan of Hastings and Barwell 1775, to be found in the minutes of the Governor-General and Commandant of Fort William, of which she says: "It has been little regarded by historians, and unfortunately it did not take effect; for the Directors, despite the many warnings contained in reports from Bengal, preferred the pernicious system of annual leases, advocated by Francis." The book has a most excellent index and glossary.

W. H. HUTTON.

A HOME RULE QUADRILATERAL

1. MAHOMED ALI JINNAH: AN AMBASSADOR OF UNITY.
2. THE STORY OF A BLUNDER. By Vyasa Rao, B.A.
3. INDIA FOR INDIANS. By C. R. Das.
4. INDIA'S CLAIM FOR HOME RULE. (Ganesh and Co., Madras.)

I wish I was more familiar with the inner mind of modern India, and so better fitted to appreciate the very interesting life and writings of the subject of this memoir, Mr. Jinnah. Unfortunately, I was never on such intimate terms with my Indian friends even when I was in the service as my friend Sir William Wedderburn was throughout the much longer period of his service, and when I felt India (thirty-two years ago) I was for a long time detached from Indian associations and, perhaps, not unnaturally drifted back to my own family and my own people, though I never lost interest in the country. Consequently, in anything I may say now it must not be supposed that I am speaking with any special knowledge. I shall simply take the book as it stands, and say exactly what strikes me about Mr. Jinnah, judged from what I find in it.

It is quite easy to see from his own speeches and writings, even without Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's graceful introductory sketch, that he is not only a very charming person, but also a man endowed with unusual common sense and saneness of expression; so that what he says about "Home Rule" or "Self-Government for India" must be worthy of the most careful consideration. Now, in his speech explaining why he joined the Home Rule League he says (in one place) that the people of India demanded a substantial "share in the administration of the country"; and, speaking as an ex-bureaucrat of fifty-six years' standing, that is exactly what I

have long thought they ought to have. But that is quite a different thing from what is generally described as "Home Rule" or "Self-Government," and something quite different also from what Mr. Jinnah himself demands in his speech on the Congress-League scheme in December last, when he seems to have been so carried away by his audience as to have rather lost his balance and occasionally become incoherent (see p. 171), unless, indeed, he has been badly reported. The whole of this speech is, to my mind, less reasonable than the rest of the volume; and, with the best will in the world, I have not been able to discover how he personally thinks any scheme of Home Rule would work "immediately," as the extremists say. He taunts those of us who object to "immediate" Home Rule (or even to fixing an exact date for the introduction of self-government on Colonial lines) with a failure to state our scheme for the future government of the country; but we are satisfied with the cautious plans of the Government for gradually giving the Indians a greater share in the present system of government, and (in the words of the oft-quoted Clause D) so attaining "a system of self-government suitable to India through constitutional means, by bringing about a steady" (*not hasty*) "reform of the existing system of administration, by promoting national unity" (which we bureaucrats, with some quite recent experience of cow-killing riots, think has not yet been fully attained); "by fostering public spirit among the people of India" (of which there is so far no great evidence); "and by co-operating with other communities for the same purposes." With all that most of us would agree; but as my chief business is to indicate *bonâ-fide* difficulties likely to be met with in introducing any complete system of *immediate* Home Rule, I should like to ask Mr. Jinnah a few questions as to the exact form the government would assume if he could have his own way. The Viceroy would, no doubt, take the place of a Colonial Governor under the Secretary to the Colonies who would be responsible to the English House of Commons. But would he have power to dismiss a Ministry and dissolve the Parliament (when it is constituted) if it seemed to him to be necessary at any time to do so? Is it intended that the Army should be kept up as at present, with a substantial backing of English troops, or how? And, if so, is it to be under the orders of the Viceroy for the defence of the country? or under the Parliament? To keep the peace, which is still the first duty of any civilized Government, would not at present be very easy under any scheme of Home Rule unless the Viceroy was entrusted with the control of the Army. As I have pointed out quite lately in the ASIATIC REVIEW, India is likely to be "as much dependent (for many years) on the British Navy as on the Army," and the two peoples must, in my opinion, make up their minds to work together on *absolutely equal terms* for a long time to come; for one cannot but agree with Mr. Jinnah's fierce denunciation of the unequal treatment of Europeans and Indians, largely owing to race and colour prejudice, chiefly on the side of the Europeans.

It is pleasant to turn from this burning question to Mr. Jinnah's address to the Bombay students (p. 134), where he is quite at his best, as he is

also in the really eloquent words on the War with which I should like to close this brief note:

The future historian, while chronicling the cataclysms and convulsions of these times, will not fail to note the conjunction of events of boundless influence and scope that have made the fortunes of India so largely depend on the united will and effort of this generation. These events have, of course, flowed from the world-shaking crisis into which Europe was plunged in August, 1914. What this dark period has meant in accumulated agony, suffering, destruction and loss to mankind, is beyond any standard of computation known to history. With the unfolding of this appalling tragedy have emerged into light stark, elemental forces of savagery that lay behind a bright and glittering mask of "Kultur," which threaten to sweep away the very foundations of civilized life and society. The issues which are in death-grips on the battlefields of three continents go to the roots of the principles on which the fabric of modern civilization has been reared by the energy and toil of countless generations. Freedom, justice, right and public law, are pitted against despotism, aggression, anarchy and brute force, and the result of this deadly combat will decide the future of mankind—whether the end will come with a stricken and shattered world, lying bleeding and helpless under the iron heel of the tyrant, with the whole of humanity stripped bare of its hope and faith and reduced to bondage; or whether the hideous nightmare will pass away, and the world, redeemed by the blood of the heroic defenders of civilization and freedom, regain its heritage of peace and enter a period of vaster and more glorious synthesis and reconstruction.

His speech on "Internments" (p. 142), which should be read in connection with Mr. Vyasa Rao's outspoken articles on the "Story of a Blunder," will be read everywhere in this country as well as in India with an amount of sympathy which may easily become a serious danger to the State.

I have always thought that the internment of Mrs. Besant was not only a blunder, as Mr. Vyasa Rao says, but a stupid blunder; and he makes out a very strong case against the Madras Government, of which, I imagine, Lord Pentland was only the spokesman; but surely when he comes to discuss the *Anti-Home Rule* movement in Madras and Mr. Teagaroya Chetty, he is neither fair nor logical. He says it is a truism to say that "the bulk of the population" are neither Home-Rulers nor followers of Mrs. Besant; but surely, when he proposes to upset the present system of Government, "the bulk of the population" have a right to be consulted; and as we are to have representation and responsible government under "Home Rule," some way must be found of ascertaining their wishes. For to whom is this new Government to be responsible if not to "the bulk of the people"? It is part of Mr. Vyasa Rao's business as a politician to find out some means of ascertaining the opinion of the "bulk of the people." His highly-coloured picture of their miserable existence on pp. 33-34, even if at all accurate, has really nothing to do with the case. Does he mean to contend that Home Rule would relieve them of all their troubles? If not, what is the object of this tirade and catalogue of miseries, with which we are all too familiar, unless it is to create an unfair prejudice against the present system of government? Is that his real object?

It certainly reads as if it was; and, if so, we may fairly reply that no Government has done more for the "bulk of the people" or relieved them of persecution at the hands of their former masters (the class to which Mr. Vyasa Rao himself belongs) than the British Government. They are still, no doubt, sunk in ignorance and poverty, as they have been from time immemorial, but they have more freedom and more knowledge of their rights than they ever had under their old masters, and Mr. Vyasa Rao knows this quite well.

Still, there is much in his booklet that is useful and sagacious, though it is too often expressed in a tone of captious and carping criticism which is by no means calculated to conciliate the powers that be, or gain the end we ought all to aim at—viz., *the mutual goodwill of English and Indians*. It is true enough that the British must make up their minds to very different conditions for their future stay in India; but it is bad policy to stir up bad blood between them, and I am surprised that a man of Mr. Vyasa Rao's intelligence and family associations should adopt this attitude of covert hostility to the British. It was not always so; and it would seem that he has been in some way embittered, or else has fallen under the malign political influence of Mrs. Besant and her "immediate" Home Rule. To suggest, as he does on p. 58, that India is "governed simply for the profits of tea and jute, or the pay and allowances" of the bureaucracy, is a libel of which he ought to be ashamed. The following extract from the "*Hindoo Patriot*" might serve him as a text for a sermon of another complexion:

"In the providence of God, the Britisher and the Indian have been brought together for some wise purpose, and, to quote the words of the poet,

"It is the secret sympathy,
The silver link, the silken tie,
Which heart to heart, and mind to mind
In body and in soul can bind."

How we wish these dinners should multiply rather than be things few and far between; for we believe that out of the contentment that is born of hearty meals sympathetic Englishmen will become yet more sympathetic, apathetic individuals will learn to evince interest, while fulminating people will cease their fulminations for the common good of the Britisher and the Indian alike. Politics and dinners in the West, indeed, fit each other so nicely."

J. B. PENNINGTON.

INDIA AND THE WAR. By St. Nihal Singh. (*Britain and India Association*, London.) 2d.

The well-known publicist, St. Nihal Sing, here records in a concise form some of the admirable services rendered by India during the war. He reminds us that "when Europe's destiny was trembling in the balance, India despatched a large contingent of British soldiers in her employ, as well as Indians, and that in respect of the men of the first line India's effort was not far short of Britain's." "Her sons," he writes, "faced the Germans on the Continent earlier than any other Empire forces."

Finally, he sets out briefly the claims of the Indian National Congress and Muslim League, upon which subject he promises us a further pamphlet.

LOVERS' GIFT AND CROSSING. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. London :
‘ Macmillan.

(Reviewed by the Lady Katharine Stuart.)

Beauty and fragrance freshly gathered, rich blooms of original thought, pale clusters of exquisite fancies, reach us once more from that generous soil the mind of India's Maha Rishi. To how many lives, one wonders, has he not brought healing of the mind, refreshment of the spirit? Those in captivity, those doomed to interminable hours in prisons or on beds of sickness—they alone know the full extent of this ceaseless ministry of the poet. He comes like the angel of old to the apostle enchainèd, bidding the fetters fall and leading out the soul to loving service. To assure him once more that this ministry of song has been a benediction, to remind him again that he has become an angel-friend to half the world, is this perchance to offer in humble gratitude the nectar of the gods—to an immortal? We hope so.

Above the thunder of the guns the songs of the poets are even now uprising in splendid harmony. The unity of the spirit is theirs. Let the poet bide his time till the rude earth, like an awakened soul, throw tawdry pomp aside as an outgrown plaything, model its demeanour upon that obtaining among the spirits of the spheres in the kingdom of the heavens, become content to live and love and sell all its diabolical death-traps for a lilt of angel-song—a psalm of *life!* Let us reverently realize afresh the omnipresence of that Divine Incarnation, that Supreme Poet who became incarnate loving-kindness, whose meek life and death and risen majesty are the eternal epic of the earth, of whom the Creator cries : “ *This is My beloved Son; hear Him.* ”

The voice of India, what note in the cosmic melody is hers? Her heritage is the benediction of the pure in heart. Where the dim-sighted fail India perceives God. Listen :

“ Where the earthly king appears, guards keep out the crowds ; but when you come, my King, the whole world comes in your wake. . . .

“ None needs be thrust aside to make room for you.

“ When love prepares your seat she prepares it for all. . . .”

Again :

“ You hide yourself in your own glory, my King.

“ The sand-grain and the dewdrop are more proudly apparent than yourself.

“ The world unabashed calls all things its own that are yours, yet it is never brought to shame.

“ You make room for us while standing aside in silence ; therefore love lights her own lamp and comes to your worship unbidden. . . .”

And yet again :

“ My King's road that lies still before my house makes my heart wistful. It stretches its beckoning hand to me. . . . It leads me on

I know not to what abandonment, to what sudden gain or surprises of distress. I know not where its windings end. But my King's road makes my heart wistful. . . ."

Thus the psalmist of the East. Does it not move us, this voice calling across the chaotic ruins of civilization—above this howling desert of a life? Listen, then, to the Answerer of the West, singing its offer of friendship and freedom:

"Allons ! the road is before us !
It is safe. I have tried it ; . . . he not detained.
Camerado, I give you my hand ;
I give you my love, more precious than money ;
I give you myself before preaching or law. . . .
Will you give me yourself ?
Will you come travel with me ?
Shall we stick by each other as long as we live ?"

ASOKA. By James M. Macphail, M.A., M.D. (*Free Church Mission. The Heritage of India Series.*) Pp. 88. (Calcutta and London : Oxford University Press.) rs. 6d. net.

A small monograph, intended to provide a cheaper book than Professor V. A. Smith's work. Compendious and useful; but the author, like others of his calling, cannot refrain from introducing comparisons with Paul and the Christian doctrine.

MIDDLE EAST

TWENTIETH-CENTURY BABYLONIA

THE ARAB OF MESOPOTAMIA. Published by the *Times of India*.

The series of Essays contained in this interesting but all too brief book on Mesopotamia reveals intimate knowledge about countries which have suddenly sprung into importance since the war, and were hitherto, generally speaking, ignored. Yet we deal here with a race as ancient as the Jews, and which, as they, has given to the world a great founder of a religion. After coming into great prominence under their first Khaliphs, the Arabs have more or less retreated into the desert. It protected them to this day, at least to a certain extent, from being dragged into that whirlpool of Western civilization from which their co-religionists the Osmanlis have not derived much benefit. With their fine physique, their swift movements, and slender appearance, the Arabs have kept up the tradition of chivalrous qualities for which they were known of old. Such a personality, evidently, is the ruler of the desert, Ibn' Saud, so well described in these pages. "A politician, a ruler, and raider not only, but also a commander who knows how to hold in his hand the political entity of his people." His adherence to the British received public confirmation in a Durbar of Arab Shaiks held at Kuwait, where he was invested with the K.C.I.E. on the occasion, while two other powerful Arab chiefs, the Shaik of Muhammarah and the Shaik of Kuwait, proclaimed their adherence to the British cause. In a spontaneous speech Ibn' Saud pointed out that, whereas the Ottoman

Government had always tried to weaken and dismember the Arab nation. British policy aimed at uniting and strengthening their leaders.

To those who are acquainted with the religious faith of the Arabs, who are mostly Shias, whilst the Osmanlis are all Sunnis, the adherence of the Shias to the British, in opposition to the Turkish cause, will not be a matter of surprise. The origin of this greatest schism of Islam which divides Arabs, Persians, and Osmanlis into two different camps, goes back to the earliest days of the faith. As is explained in the "Essay on the Shias and their Position in Iraq," Ali Ibn' Abi Talib, a cousin of Muhammad, by marrying Fatimah, the only surviving child of the prophet, was regarded by the Hashimid family to which he belonged as the one on whom the Khaliphate should devolve. But the Quraish, the tribe of the prophet and his companions, selected Abu Bakr for the reason that, when dying, Muhammad asked him to conduct the prayers in his stead. After Abu Bakr, Omar was chosen, and then Othman. It was only when the latter was murdered that the Hashimids at length succeeded to raise Ali to the Khaliphate. But after the fight at Siffin, as with the popes of Avignon, an anti-Khaliph was chosen by the people of Damascus in the person of their Governor, Muawyyah Ibn' Umayyah. Needless to say that the partisans of Ali did not recognize him. When the latter was murdered at Kufah his son Hasan was chosen Khaliph. But in order to avoid discord, Hasan, a very noble-minded, pious man, refused the honour; and thus the house of Umayyah remained in undisputed possession until the death of their Khaliph in 680. It was then that the schism more openly declared itself between the people of the Iraq, who had always been hostile to the Umeya's of Damascus, and the Syrians. The former refused to recognize Yazid Umeyas son, and invited Hussain, the second son of Ali and grandson of the prophet, to claim the Khaliphate. Unlike his brother Hasan, he trusted their promises, and set out from Mecca with an insufficient force. Yazid succeeded in cutting off Hussain and his adherents from the River Euphrates. What happened on that occasion still arouses, although 1,200 years have passed away, indescribable passion of anger and sorrow when this tragic event is recited in annual commemoration amongst the Shias. This explains the chasm which divides Islam, and which has caused the question of the Khaliphate hitherto to be disputed. Thus, the radical difference between the teaching of the Shias and the Sunnis rests to this day on the question of the Khaliphate. The Shias maintain that one child, a son of Hussain by a Persian mother, had escaped the general slaughter at Karbala. To him and his descendants the Shias look as the true heirs of the Khaliphate, the last of whom, Muhammad al Mahdi, had vanished, according to them, in a cave at Samarra, north of Bagdad, in the year 878. He, they believe, will reappear in the fullness of time, and establish the true Khaliphate. The Sunnis, on the other hand, claim the Sultan of Turkey as their Khaliph, a claim which is based upon the renunciation of the Khaliphate in favour of Selim I. by the last Abbassid Khaliph of Egypt. He, however, has been proved to have been only a mock Khaliph, the Abbassid Khaliphate having ended with the fall of Bagdad.

We now turn, after this somewhat lengthy but at this moment highly important exposition on the much-vexed question of the Khaliphate, to another Essay in this book, devoted to a "Tribe of the Tigris," which brings before us names that ring through the heroic legends of Arabia: Bani Tanim, Bani Babiah, and Abu Muhammad. The canals from the Tigris and the marshes into which they lead had been, we are told, so seldom visited by Europeans during Turkish times that these tribes and their modes of life were almost unknown. But since 1915 one of these great groups of the Lower Tigris came completely under British control. They live in reed huts which are as mobile as the tents of the *Yadawins*. Their women move freely and unveiled, and often play an influential part in their communities. It is true that the cry of the Zihad (Holy War) brought these tribes who occupy Ottoman Crown land against us in the beginning. But they submitted as soon as we established ourselves at Amarahand, and have since shown themselves loyal and willing to meet our demands for labour on roads and railways.

Another tribe described in these pages are the "Star-Worshippers of Mesopotamia." They are known as the Sabeans, and are mentioned in the Quran, together with the Jews and Christians, as the people of the Book. They pray to the polar star because they say it is situated at the very dome of heaven—hence their appellation. They practise baptism every Sunday, and refer to themselves as the disciples of St. John. They are strikingly handsome, and treat their women, who can even attain to priesthood, as their equals.

A valuable addition to these Essays on "Mesopotamia" is the description of "Asiatic Turkey" by Gertrude Lowthian Bell. It is satisfactory to hear from her that, except arising from Turkish neglect, these countries have suffered hardly any material damage from the war. Of Palestine she writes as being singularly attractive, "with its grey limestone rocks, silvery olive-groves, upland vineyards, valleys full to the brim with hyacinths, anemones, and cyclamis, and a sea-coast bordered with orange-groves. Her description of Damascus, too, breathes the atmosphere of one who has long lived in that capital of modern Arab civilization, rich in fruit and flower and running waters: a Paradise on earth, as its citizens were accustomed to declare. We cannot follow her, however, when she refers to the Kurds as having many of the virtues of a primitive civilization! Everyone who has lived in Asiatic Turkey knows that the Kurds were always only too ready to rob the thrifty Armenians, and to perpetrate massacres and untold cruelties on this helpless people. They have been repeatedly proved to possess a ferocity in their dealings with the Christians which far surpasses that of the Turk. And what is more, they massacre out of lust for gain, and not on account of religious fanaticism, as is often the case with the Turk. Whilst wholesale massacre, such as the recent ones in Armenia, those of Adana in 1909, and last, but not least, those terrible ones at Constantinople in the time of Abdul Hamid, were perpetrated, and unfortunately not prevented, it is gratifying to hear of courageous individuals such as the British Consul at Adana, whom the author points out as having his intervention saved many Christians. There

is another instance (there must be many) of an American Consul at Brussa, the father of the writer, who prevented a massacre which was to take place, by boldly going to the Pasha and telling him that the latter must prevent this calamity, otherwise he would have to tell his Embassy at Constantinople that he had warned the Pasha, without the latter taking any notice. And those, we must remember, were times before the invention of telegrams and the telephone !

Miss Bell concludes her survey on Asiatic Turkey with an interesting description of the "Anatolian Coast," a land where history and legend is Greek. She brings us to towns such as Ephesus, Pergamon, Smyrna, and Brussa—the matchless plain of Brussa, where so many tourists cross over on horseback to the ancient Nicæa. Here we are on classical ground, for we remember that after European Greece had ceased to play a dominant part it was Asiatic Greece which continued to influence the thought of mankind. Let us hope that these interesting countries, which she knows and describes so well, may soon, as she foreshadows, come into their own again.

L. M. R.

LES TURCS ONT PASSÉ PAR LÀ. JOURNAL D'UNE AMÉRICAINE PENDANT LES MASSACRES D'ARMÉNIE. By Helen Davenport Gibbons. Traduit de l'anglais par F. de Jessen. (Paris: Berger-Levrault.)

In Armenia even in peace-time slaughter has always been the order of the day. These letters, written with the grace and charm of a sympathetic woman, who, as an American missionary, witnessed the massacres, reveal the hopeless condition of a country where security of life and property were at no time granted to its inhabitants. During the massacres, which were systematically engineered in Turkey from 1894 up to the present moment, the American missionaries have always acted as the devoted friends of the Armenians, sometimes laying down their lives in attempting to help them. The author quotes a Sheikh who, on receiving the order to massacre, refused to obey, saying that Dr. Christie, who had shown him much kindness, was a friend of the Armenians. She declares that the prestige of her country owes more to men like him than to its embassies and consulates.

On the other hand, she realized that the Armenian question was a matter of European and international politics.

"Toutes les grandes puissances sont également coupables sans distinction. Oui, en Angleterre, en France, en Allemagne, tout cela est égal aux gens; cela ne les touche pas parce que cela se passe trop loin. Ils ignorent les horribles résultats de la politique égoïste poursuivie par les hommes qui sont à la tête des affaires. Je pense toujours à du sang quand on parle de la diplomatie européenne."

These words, written before the war, have since proved to be prophetically true. We need only refer to the pamphlet on "The Tragedy of Armenia," by Henry Morgenthau, the late American Ambassador at Constantinople which has just been published (Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., Ltd. 3d. net.), to realize how the Turks took advantage of the fact

that the Great Powers were at war with each other to evolve a plan for the destruction of the Armenian race. "They concluded that once they had carried out their plan, the Great Powers would find themselves before an accomplished fact, and that their crime would be condoned, as was done in the case of the massacres of 1895-96, when the Great Powers did not even reprimand the Sultan."

NEAR EAST

THE FUTURE OF ASIA MINOR

CRESCENT AND IRON CROSS. By E. F. Benson. (*Hodder and Stoughton.*) 1918.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE GREEK POPULATION IN TURKEY SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE EUROPEAN WAR, ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL REPORTS OF HELLENIC DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR AGENTS. (*Constable and Co., Ltd.*) 1s. net. 1918.

(Reviewed by JOHN MAVROGORDATO.)

It was quite right that a book should be written on the position into which Turkey has been guided by Enver and Talaat under the influence of German policy in the Near East; but we are not convinced that Mr. E. F. Benson was the right man to undertake it. An analysis of the German hold on Turkey is of the highest interest at the present moment, when the discussions of the Pan-Turanian ideal in the Turkish press show that Turkey herself is beginning to resent it; but we are not helped to understand the situation when we are told that "spiritual blood, no less than physical blood, is thicker than water, and Gott and Allah, hand-in-hand, pledged each other in the cups they had filled with the blood that poured from the wine-presses of Belgium and of Armenia." (p. 6). This is Mr. Benson at his mildest. A few pages afterwards, describing the inception of the first Armenian massacres, he tells us that Abdul Hamid "begot in the womb of his cold and cunning brain a policy that was all his own, except in so far as the Bulgarian atrocities . . . may be considered the father of that hideous birth. But it was he who suckled and nourished it, it was from his brain that it emerged, full-grown and in panoply of armour, as from the brain of Olympian Zeus came Pallas Athene" (p. 18). So much for Abdul Hamid. As for the New Turkey, "she has been put out like a candle, and all that is left of her is the smouldering wick ready to be pinched between the horny fingers of her stepmother. There she stands, her stepmother, with her grinning teeth already disclosing the Wolf . . ." (p. 55). It is not clear whether such language comes naturally to Mr. Benson, or whether he thinks it a suitable vehicle for conveying to the ordinary man the sufficiently unpleasant facts about Turkey and Germany. We should have thought that a simple statement of these facts unadorned by melodramatic rhetoric would have carried greater conviction while consuming less paper. Whatever the reason, Mr. Benson becomes "virtually and actually" (p. 199) incoherent when-

ever Germany is mentioned, and, not content with the metaphor of the wolf disguised as a stepmother who snuffs the Turkish candle, refers to her within the space of a couple of pages as a crab, an octopus, a cat, and a walrus (pp. 252-254). He also calls the Kaiser "the Master-egalo-megalomaniac of Berlin" (p. 103), an expression for which we have been prepared by a previous reference to "his colossal egalo-megalomania" (p. 30), but which remains to us "practically and probably absolutely" (p. 210) incomprehensible.

Mr. Benson gives a good account of the Armenian massacres of 1915, largely derived from evidence collected in Lord Bryce's report. A case against Germans and Young Turks as clear as this requires nothing but dry and precise statement, and nothing could shake such an indictment except the sort of Albert Hall language which Mr. Benson affects. It is a needless exaggeration, for instance, to say that 90 per cent. of Turkish trade passed through the shops and offices of the Armenians (p. 86). It is probably not true that, "apart from those who escaped over the Russian frontier and the handful who sought refuge in Egypt, the race exists no longer" (p. 107). Mr. Benson "cannot see any reason for supposing that Armenian men exist any more in the Empire" (p. 107). Yet in a later chapter he foresees "a prosperous future" for an autonomous Armenia under Russian protection repopulated with repatriated Armenians (p. 211). And there is one very good reason for supposing that the Turks themselves consider their task unfinished. The Turkish press has lately been filled with ominous complaints of atrocities committed by Armenian irregular bands on Mohammedan subjects in Eastern Anatolia after the retirement of the Russian troops. *Sabah* of March 13, for instance, says that "the Armenians of the Caucasus are principally responsible for these atrocities, but native Armenians also, who have long enjoyed the favours of Turkey, have used the first opportunity to revolt against the Government, and to attack savagely their compatriots and neighbours." This can only mean that the Turks are even now preparing a fresh campaign to exterminate the Armenians who must have survived the first in considerable numbers.

Mr. Benson devotes an interesting chapter to the Turkish treatment of Syria and Palestine and to the noble work of American missionaries in protecting the native populations. In the course of this he refers (p. 127) to the deportations and persecutions of Greek villagers from Anatolia inaugurated in February and March, 1917. He had previously mentioned (pp. 41, 42) the deportation of Greeks from Thrace begun after the Balkan Wars; but he tells us in his preface that he ceased collecting material in June, 1917, and at that date there was no exact evidence of the extent of the sufferings of the Greek population. We now have in convenient form a translation of the Greek Government report, which extracts from official documents all that is known of the fate of the Greek population in Thrace and Asia Minor from the beginning of the war up to March, 1917. The report is naturally very far from complete; though Greece was officially neutral during the period with which it deals, her diplomatic and consular representatives obtained only glimpses of the process of

eliminating the Greeks which was being carried on throughout the Empire: and the situation is not likely to have improved since Greece entered the war against Turkey. But it gives an account of at least 200,000 Greek villagers "deported into the interior," with the usual dreadful statistics of murder, robbery, and "compulsory conversion." As in the case of the Armenian massacres, we are left with no doubt that all these horrors were approved by the German officials and with a strong suspicion that in some cases, at least, they actually initiated them.* The German authorities on different occasions used diplomatic variations of the following themes: (1) They denied the facts; (2) they admitted them, but pleaded military necessity*; (3) they admitted them, but professed that they were powerless to interfere in Turkey's internal affairs! It is hard to decide which is the most staggering of these German excuses. We are inclined to award the prize to the plea of unwillingness to interfere in Turkish internal affairs, in view of Mr. Benson's fifth chapter, "Deutschland über Allah," which is based very largely, as he tells us, on "certain sources of official information the nature of which he is not at liberty to specify." This chapter (pp. 150-200) will be of permanent value as a record of some of the methods by which Germany has acquired an unfailing control over every department of the Turkish Empire—the reorganization of the army, the industrial exploitation, and the various financial arrangements the common principle of which seems to have been that Germany lent unlimited supplies of paper money to be repaid by Turkey after the war in gold! In the light of this summary it is interesting to read in the narrative of Mr. Henry Morgenthau (American Ambassador in Turkey 1913-1916), recently published in *Land and Water*, that Talaat believed that he could make use of Germany so long as it suited him and no longer. "We shall use Germany," said Talaat to Mr. Morgenthau, "to help us reconstruct and defend the country

* We must quote two significant passages from the Greek Report (p. 5): "A German, Mr. Lepsius, sent on a mission to Constantinople in July, 1915, maintained that the Central Powers were unable to impose upon Turkey a different policy as regards the Hellenes. He confessed, however, that the persecutions of the Hellenes and those of the Armenians were but two phases of one programme—*i.e.*, the extermination of the Christian element in order that Turkey might become a purely Mussulman State."

"The Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople tried in July, 1915, to convince the Greek Chargé d'Affaires that intervention in such matters on the part of the Central Powers was a difficult thing, since the Porte considered anti-Hellenic persecutions as a question of home policy."

* The *Kölnische Zeitung* (quoted in the *Patris*, April 15/28, 1918) recently published an article from its Constantinople correspondent containing the following significant admissions: "The Turkish Government could not view with indifference the sentiments of the coastwise population, and, knowing them well, decided to cleanse the whole district of the disaffected Greeks. No one can condemn such drastic measures. That in the course of such wholesale deportations some unfortunate incidents must have occurred is easily intelligible. Even the Turkish papers admit that, owing to difficulties of transport and the propensities of subordinate officials, things happened which ought not to have happened. . . ."

until we are able to govern ourselves with our own strength. When that day comes, we can say good-bye to the Germans within twenty-four hours.”*

The rest of Mr. Benson’s book resolves itself into a defence of the Secret Treaties as they affect Turkey. Mr. Benson is careful to say in his Preface that “the chapter called ‘Thy Kingdom is Divided’ is in no respect at all an official utterance”, and merely represents the individual opinions and surmises of the author; and we have no reason to doubt his sincerity. For the three Treaties involved—the Agreement with Russia about Constantinople, dated March 7, 1915; the Treaty with Italy, dated April 26, 1915; and the agreement between England, France, and Russia as to their “zones of influence and territorial acquisitions” in Asiatic Turkey, concluded spring, 1916, and recorded in a memorandum dated March 6, 1917—only appeared in the Russian press in November, 1917, and were first published in England, by the *New Europe* and the *Manchester Guardian*, on December 20, 1917, January 17, 1918, and January 19, 1918, respectively. Nevertheless, Mr. Benson appears to have anticipated with some intelligence. Russia is to protect Armenia; the French protectorate will consist of Syria with Palestine, and of all the country from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and from Alexandretta to the Hedjaz; while England’s Mesopotamia will run from somewhere near Diarbekir to the Persian Gulf, partly because “it is intimately concerned with our safe tenure of India,” and partly because we alone can provide the necessary capital, and above all the necessary labour (*i.e.*, Indian), for the restoration of Mesopotamian prosperity.

Mr. Benson, after “scrapping” the existent Bagdad railway and designing another (Bagdad—Homs—Aleppo), proceeds to Asia Minor. Here he has some difficulty in finding reasons for giving Italy what he regards as her proper share; and being, *ex hypothesi*, ignorant of the Secret Treaty, he has to leave the Italian claims magnificently unsupported as the most astonishing of his own “individual opinions and surmises.” He begins by the modest suggestion that the towns of the Mediterranean coastline to the south and west of Asia Minor have been “extensively peopled and made prosperous by Greeks and Italians.” Next he gets rid of the Greeks—the date on the title-page of the book is 1918, but it was evidently written before Greece joined the Allies—by stipulating that, even if they redeem their pledge to Serbia, their claims “would more reasonably be concerned with the redistribution of the Balkan Peninsula, which does not come within the scope of this book.” He thus leaves himself free for the ingenuous prophecy “that Italy will legitimately claim (or perhaps has already claimed) the protectorate of this valuable littoral.” From “prophecy” he passes to delimitation, and takes the Italians gaily up the coast “as far as and inclusive of Smyrna”! “That at least,” concludes Mr. Benson, “Italy has every right to expect”! Mr. Benson does not mention the Dodecanese. I confess that I am left speechless.

I have said enough, I think, to show that the value of the book will be found in the evidence it incorporates rather than in Mr. Benson’s style.

* *Land and Water*, May 30, 1918, p. 8.

or presentation. By way of contrast I should like in conclusion to draw attention to an article published in the *New Republic* (New York) for April 20, 1918, by Mr. H. N. Brailsford, who has a sounder knowledge of Turkey and a stronger head in many ways than Mr. Benson. Mr. Brailsford, starting from the axiom that "the dividing line in the East is not race, or language, or nationality, but religion,"* urges the disadvantage, not to say the impossibility, of partitioning Turkey on strategical lines, on nationalistic lines, or on strategical lines with nationalistic pretexts. He suggests that if our real object in Turkey be not strategical or capitalistic advantage, but "reconstruction and good government, we shall have to abandon even the ideal of territorial autonomy, and, inspired by President Wilson's pregnant phrase "autonomous development," reform the Turkish administration by making use of the principle of cultural autonomy which it already contains. Already each Christian Church (and the Jews) forms a *Millet* or nation which confers on its members a distinct legal status. If the members of each religious community were to form a distinct register and vote separately, "each distinct religious unit, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Moslems, however scattered it may be, will elect its own representatives, a plan which eliminates the violence and chicanery hitherto usual in mixed districts. The unit of the whole system is the community grouped round a Church—a single village or group of villages, or a 'quarter' in a town." Mr. Brailsford shows in broad outline how this system, allowing for the greatest possible amount of administrative decentralization, might be extended so as to "give to each race and creed its own secure and liberal existence" and "bring the warring races together only to decide on matters which arouse no racial or religious strife—roads, harbours, water-supply, irrigation, and the like." I have given in a few lines the barest outline of the principle on which Mr. Brailsford thinks an honest League of Nations might reconstruct the Turkish Empire. It certainly deserves to be discussed in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. I cannot help thinking that it might satisfy a greater number of citizens than any scheme of partition, which would necessarily involve an indefinite number of irredentist minorities; and it would certainly put an end to the barbarisms so luridly depicted by Mr. E. F. Benson.

SERBIAN GRAMMAR. By Dragutin Subotić, Ph.D., and Nevill Forbes, M.A., Reader in Russian and the other Slavonic Languages in the University of Oxford. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

Until recent years very little attention was paid to the Serbian language in this country, and the number of scholars was limited. Students were

* "The Ottoman Empire does rest on a system of ascendancy, but it is one of Moslems over Christians, and not of Turks over other races. The official class is racially the most heterogeneous mixture in the world. The last Grand Vizier of the old régime was an Albanian. The "palace clique" which surrounded Abdul Hamid and ruled the Empire was composed mainly of Arabic-speaking Syrians. The chief soldier of the Revolution, Mahmud Shefket, was an Arab. The leading spirits of the Young Turk Committee include several Jews, and Talaat Pasha is actually a gipsy."

aware of the large ballad literature, in which field the collections of Sir John Bowring and "Owen Meredith" were known. In 1887 the late Professor W. R. Morfill issued a simplified grammar of Serbian, the first attempt in this direction in English, based upon the "Grammaire de la langue Serbo-Croate" of A. Parčić, published ten years previously, the famous "Vergleichende Grammatik" of Miklosich, and the Grammar of Daničić. The Serbiā, and Croatian languages are identical, but the Orthodox Serbs use the Cyrillic alphabet as usefully modified by Vuk Stefanovitch Karadžić, and the Roman Catholic Croats employ the Latin alphabet as arranged by Dr. Ljudevit Gaj, the Agram professor and apostle of "Illyrism." Liturgical books in some parts of Dalmatia and the islands are printed in the ancient Glagolithic, which is too cumbrous for a facile script, and a source of learned controversy. It is advisable for students to be able to read both Cyrillic and Latin characters, as some journals are printed in both.

The main dialects of Serbian are the Western, Eastern, and Southern, which Professor Morfill illustrates by the varied orthography of the words for "milk" and "faith"—e.g., *mliko*, *vira* (W.), *mleko*, *vera* (E.), and *mljeko*, *vjera* (S.); the last pair appears the most phonetic. In the work before us the dialects are given as the *što*, *kaj*, and *ča* (the respective words for "what"), and the first of these with the *e* subdialect is treated by the authors. The pronunciation, they say, is infinitely easier than that of the other Slav languages, and as to the orthography, Vuk said that "you write as you speak and speak as you write." In his inaugural lecture at Oxford, Dr. Forbes said that Serbian is the only one of the Indo-European languages besides Sanscrit to enjoy the use of an alphabet that accurately and without auxiliary diacritic signs corresponds to all the sounds of which it is composed. Before Vuk introduced his improvements (including the "devil's letter" *j*), the literary language was Old Slavonic modified by Serbisms, which goes back to the controversies of the eighteenth century. Related to Serbo-Croatian is the archaic Slovenish of the provinces near the Italian border and along the Adriatic, and Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes are included under the term "Jugo-Slavs," whose position has been already considered in the ASIATIC REVIEW. The term *Slovene* is primarily the name for all Slavs, and is employed by some of the Slovaks of Northern Hungary, who, with their Čech kinsmen, hope for an independent position.

Knowledge of the Russian alphabet soon leads to the acquisition of the Serbian, which loses a few letters, but contains convenient forms for *dj*, *lj*, *nj*, and the letters *č* and *đ*. The letter *l* has undergone phonetic decay, as in the words *soko* (falcon),* *so* (salt), *beo* (white), *imao* (he had). The capital is *Beograd* (Belgrade), and Salonika is *Solun*. From Turkish come the terminations *džija* and *-luk*, as in *kaved žija* (innkeeper) and *minderluk* (sofa).

In appearance the work resembles Dr. Nevill Forbes's very scientific Russian Grammar. The lessons are furnished with good reading exercises.

* Cf. *Sokol*, the great patriotic movement for physical culture originating in Bohemia, adopted by other Slav countries.

There is an extensive vocabulary for relationships, which includes separate terms for different uncles, aunts, and cousins, and there is a word for "husbands of two sisters." This may be accounted for by intense family and tribal sentiment. The future of "to be" is formed by means of the verb *hteti* (Russian *khotet*), to wish or want. There is an aorist, lacking from Russian. The following are foreign words: *jeftin*, cheap (Greek); *sat*, hour (Turkish); *frtal* (quarter), German; *valya*, to be worth (Italian). As in sister languages, the verbs are conjugated in aspects, a scheme unfamiliar to Western students.

This work will prove of great assistance to those desirous of acquiring the language of our much-tried ally, and in the better future which all trust awaits the Jugo-Slav movement there should be increasing demand for such works as the present one.

F. P. M.

RUSSIA

THE ECLIPSE OF RUSSIA. By E. J. Dillon. (*Messrs. J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., London.*) 1918. 16s. net.

(Reviewed by BARON A. HEYKING.)

At a time when the Government and the people of Great Britain are trying to grapple with the great political and economic problem of aiding the restoration of Russia, and in promoting friendliness and good feeling between the two nations, a British author has thought fit to publish a book on Russia, which to all intents and purposes is the extravagance of a super-critical mind. The case is made worse by the fact that the author is a man of prominent intellectuality, endowed with a plastic, epigrammatic, fascinating style of writing, and with a thorough knowledge of Russia, which give to his words exceptional weight. Under the influence of a hopeless pessimism and with a tendency to exaggeration, he is inclined to put reality out of proportion. His book cannot possibly do good to Russian or British interests. It is even difficult to trace the practical aims he pursues. He states that he wishes "to supply the public with relevant and well-sifted facts," but this commendable intention will not suffice to excuse the publication of a book which must scandalize the whole nation whose hospitality he has enjoyed for so many years, to a certain extent compromise the British in the eyes of Russians, and altogether obstruct friendly intercourse between Great Britain and Russia, which at the present juncture is sadly in need of encouragement and should not by any means be interfered with by such deterrents.

The uncomplimentary nature of the book may have arisen from "the disillusionments of the nations that trusted the promises of Russia and relied upon her help," as the author puts it. An English friend of mine writes: "I fear that much time must elapse before English people forgive Russia." But Russia needs not so much forgiveness as compassion for the calamity that has befallen her as a direct consequence of a revolution that was acclaimed and encouraged in England. Russia—the Russia of an established government—was a *bona fide* ally, and did not shirk any of her

obligations. Her present dismal conditions involve, of course, serious drawbacks, but they are of a purely temporary nature and cannot affect her intrinsic value as an ally, as a lucrative field for capitalistic enterprise, as a holder of untold mineral wealth (forest and agricultural), as a great employer of engineering and similar skilled labour, and as a customer for foreign commodities.

The revolution bursting at a time when Russia required all her strength for the conduct of the great war, compromised her fighting power and injured the cause of the Allies. But why did the explosion occur just then? At the outbreak of the revolution there was universal jubilation in Great Britain, as the danger of a separate peace seemed now averted. It is interesting to note what Dr. Dillon has to say on this point. He not only exonerates Nicholas II. from the charge of making a separate peace, and proclaims the "groundlessness" of "certain ignoble charges launched against the Tzaritsa," but reminds his readers that Nicholas II. was waging war on two fronts—one against our common enemies, and the other against "the Bolshevik offensive which had the support of the English and the French." "I venture to go further," he continues, "and to assert that, from the point of view of the Allies, the safest policy consisted in keeping Nicholas II. on the throne, while giving him a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to the Duma." Therefore, the untimely outbreak of the revolution, which broke the back of the Anglo-Russian alliance, can in no wise be considered as the work of the honest and faithful elements of Russia who concluded the agreement.

In books concerning Russia nobody expects at the present moment to read flattering remarks about the Tzar, the Court, and the bureaucracy, but it seems unnecessary for a Britisher to deprecate the Russian people, the Orthodox religion, and things Russian. Such an attempt on the honest intentions and future endeavours of Russia should be parried in a much more complete and authoritative way than it is possible to do in a few pages.

The author characterizes the Russian people as "easy-going, patient, shiftless, ignorant, unveracious, and fitfully ferocious" (p. 15); they are "the boneless man of Europe" of a "variability of character" (p. 19). There is "no constructive effort in them" (p. 20), as they suffer from "anarchist bias which has never been uprooted" (p. 26). "The predatory character of the State has been assimilated by the people," and "parasitism, which had theretofore been confined to the administration and its branches, had been democratized" (p. 10). The revolution led to "dismemberment" and "gangrenous decomposition," owing to the absence of "constructive revolutionary leadership" (p. 388). Hope was not to be expected from "the Byzantine Church with no international centre" (p. 59), and "Russian Orthodoxy devoid of intellectual and moral life and movement" (p. 91). As "the bulk of the population is intellectually benighted, morally obtuse, politically indifferent, and socially incohesive" (p. 391), it is "improbable that the various parts of the Tzardom will be put together again," and "the utmost that one can hope is that the Russian race will unite and come into its own" (p. 392).

These quotations suffice to reveal the author's trend of thought. It would, indeed, be sad if his harsh and uncompromising verdict on Russia were the "true story" advertised on the paper cover of the book. Has not Russia had a long and victorious past, abundantly proving thereby her vital energy? And did she not succeed in becoming one of the most powerful States of the world? Is it not improbable that such a gigantic entity, representing an economic world-factor of primary magnitude, should be wrecked by an upheaval mainly brought about by those hailing from the cosmopolitan slums of New York and the East End of London? Russia's intrinsic worth cannot thus be whisked away by destructive criticism. The temporary overthrow created by the revolution which, it seems, spells *finis Russie* to those unable to comprehend the Russian psychology, or suffering from bias, is primarily due to the overwhelming complexity of the nature of the revolution. Simultaneously, it sought to demolish autocracy, monarchy, bureaucracy, centralization, religious and racial intolerance, bourgeoisie, and economic inequality. No nation could bear the shock of such an onslaught; it is, therefore, easy to understand that the Russian revolution could only lead to chaos and destruction. The Bolsheviks, who assumed the grave responsibility of concluding a premature, treacherous, and ignominious peace with the enemy, tried to excuse their action with the subterfuge that it was forced upon them. Of course it was forced upon them, but not so much by the enemy as by the deplorable methods of the Bolsheviks themselves, who had made resistance impossible by undermining the whole State fabric with their incompetency and systematic disorganization.

But this tragic outcome of the revolution, not being in itself "final," cannot by any means serve as an example of the unsoundness and incapacity of the Russian nation. The rule of the Tzars and the bureaucracy had, to be sure, their great shortcomings, but they also had the invaluable advantage of representing a well-defined power based upon traditions centuries old. As soon as this power fell away, a void was created which it was impossible to bridge. The Russian State edifice was mainly rooted in the theocratic-monarchic idea of Tzardom. In serving the political purposes of temporal power the Orthodox religion had become atrophied, and when that power was wiped out by the revolution, religion seemed to lose much of its significance, receiving a set-back from which it can only recover gradually when it has found a new and more independent position. And certainly it will do so, since it is founded on the same Christian truth which has been the mainstay of all Christian States up to the present. That Russian Orthodoxy has "no international centre" like the Roman Catholic Church is not a drawback, but, on the contrary, a guarantee of its value. The national character of the Russian Church will enable her to be the rock *aere perennius* on which the Russian State edifice of the "New Age" will be built. A thousand times over the Russian people may be called "anarchic, nihilistic, and destructive," but there still remains the one unassailable ground of their religious fervour which is a positive asset and a uniting element of constructive power.

The future of Russia is not all uncertainty. The revolutionary gang

who are at present playing at ruling the State have a fair opportunity of putting their political and socialistic creed to a practical test. If they prove successful, Russia is bound to resuscitate; if not, and sufficient rope be given, the end will be the complete disaster and ruin of the country; then the necessity for authority will arise stronger than ever, and, under the guidance of the Church as the only remaining power, a new and permanent order of things will be created. Whenever a national centre is established, be it in Moscow or Kieff, the other parts of the former Empire will crystallize around it, as, sooner or later, weaker units are bound to sink all antagonism and co-operate with the stronger power. The right of self-determination will soon prove to be a *nudum jus*, since nations unable to maintain themselves against foreign aggression will have to join a State capable of defending them. It is only a matter of time when Russia will again come into her own, not only as a united race, but as a powerful State organism.

The only subject which inspires the author's laudatory comments is Count S. I. Witte, whom he declares to be "the one commanding statesman possessed by Russia since the days of Peter." Surely, here again is an exaggeration. Russia has had many "commanding statesmen" in no wise inferior to Count Witte. Indeed, in the eyes of many Russians, Witte looms as the evil genius who gave the country a kind of constitution unsuited to her practical needs; who invented a financial system which fostered the national vice of the people (inebriety); who introduced gold currency by a reduction of the value of the rouble, thus robbing the people of one-fourth of their capital; who was instrumental in concluding a shameful peace at a time when Russia was bound to win the war with Japan; and who was "guided by boundless ambition" which the author himself admits (p. 137).

"Between Slav and Saxon there yawns a psychological abyss" (p. 1). The Great Russians are a "hybrid race, a cross-breed of the former Slavonic inhabitants of the Dnieper valley with Finnish nomads of the country between the Upper Volga and the Oka," says Dr. Dillon (p. 30). The reader immediately asks himself, Why attempt to minimize the Slavonic character of the Great Russians, who are the chief protagonists of the Slavonic world? Why write in a way which is by no means conducive to closer relations between the two nations? But perhaps the author is not solicitous of political tendencies, and in consequence allows himself entire academic freedom of expression. Whatever may be the case, common fairness demands that this remarkable book should not escape the attention of the reading public. It is very ably written, and assuredly occupies a unique position amongst English books on Russia.

THE COSSACK. By Valentin Mandelstamm. (*Jarrold*, London.) 5s. net.

This is the story of the sufferings of a beautiful Russian girl whose home was overwhelmed in the maelstrom of the first German advance into Poland. When the history of the Great War comes to be written, there will be many obscure passages. Not the least important of these should

prove the narrative of the Eastern front. The upper classes in Russia have mostly been exiled, and a similar fate has overtaken the bourgeoisie. Officers who have fought valiantly for their country are now compelled to sell newspapers in the streets for their living. Under these circumstances competent Russian authorities for military history will be scanty. M. Valentin Mandelstamm has rendered a great service by giving us this vivid *coup d'œil* into fighting Russia—a Russia that had not yet been betrayed by pro-German plotters and syndicalist dreamers. There is, above all, an admirable description of the German commercial traveller in Russia who traded on the ignorance of his customers and jarred incessantly on his Slavonic surroundings.

F. J. P. R.

FAR EAST

JAPAN AT THE CROSS-ROADS. By A. M. Pooley. Octavo, 362 pp. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The author was from 1911 to 1914 Reuter's correspondent in Japan; the manner of his departure from that country need not receive our attention, but it may lead those who make it their business to study Far Eastern matters to think that his dicta upon Japanese affairs cannot be unprejudiced. Indeed, one could hardly come to another conclusion after perusing this new outburst of "criticism"; it is a sort of *Histoire scandaleuse* which Mr. Pooley has written. The gospel of Pooleystism is simple: The Japanese are a vain race, brave, brainy, but aggressive, hypersensitive to criticism, and their intelligence is merely imitative. . . . Having postulated this, Mr. Pooley gathers every piece of scandal which he has unearthed during his short stay in Japan, with a peculiar flair for such things acknowledged rather than admired by those who met him there, or dug out of the pages of the *Japan Chronicle*. His bile overflows in a fine display of indignation at the failings of a people he has described as merely "imitative but not initiative" (p. 20), and he takes his cue from his *Japan Chronicle* breviary to heap abuse upon the Japan Societies all the world over. If Mr. Pooley knew anything of these Societies, whether English, French, or American, he would know that they are not, as someone described one of them long ago, "a blue Hungarian band at the beck and call of the Japanese"; that although they contain, like every society in existence, ribbon-seekers and notoriety-hunters, they have brought together earnest students, art devotees, and other people, who are neither self-seekers nor automatic puppets ready to shout "Banzai" when they see a chrysanthemum. Mr. Pooley must try again; his sneers at Japan Societies are as cheap as they are beneath contempt. All this is all the more pitiful because Mr. Pooley's writings show here and there undoubtedly proofs of ability, and if he wrote with less animus he might make a stronger case, or at any rate have a better chance to be believed. In casting discredit upon all and sundry, he overshoots the mark. We know very well that there have been—indeed, that there are—scandals in Japan; that bribery and corruption are common. We have heard of the Formosan

sugar affair long before Mr. Pooley wrote about it. Are votes bought elsewhere than in Japan, at prices rising steadily from *yen* 4 to *yen* 8, "to compensate the voter for loss of time"? Has he heard of an Act to prevent illicit commissions in the United Kingdom, and of certain inquiries in the distribution of "honours and dignities" under the "old gang"? No? Well, we wonder, has he heard of the "palmes académiques," that small charge of the French Government, and even of other ribbons being given for "services exceptionnels"? No? Has he, perchance, heard of Panama, of the late M. Grevy? Truly the Japanese are an imitative race. Let us thank Mr. Pooley on their behalf for that gem on p. 20 (penultimate line)! Perhaps they thought King Hiram and Francis Bacon worthy models (p. 233).

And we could go on like that for several pages, *cui bono?* On the back flap of this book we have jotted some fifty notes of inaccuracies or questionable statements—space forbids printing them all, even in small print. Some misprints occur—in fact, not a few. Mr. Pooley does not even condescend to *spell* Japanese properly; nor is he kind to Count Okuma in making him a Tosa native instead of Saga, and Tokugawa Keiki was *really* called Nobuyoshi. His allusion to the Korean budget is in direct contradiction to the published statements in the "Financial Year Book" and "Progress of Chosen." An amusing statement on p. 234 is that "the steadier heads of the country are those now in the grave. . . ." Alas, poor (Nipponese) Yorick! And a lack of historical knowledge makes Mr. Pooley give too much prominence to the Hasami bogus gold-mine. Why, there was a similar trick played, in Japan, in the eighth century—imitation again, and again imitation in badly ballasting a boat. We have heard of a similar thing happening to a turbine-propelled liner built somewhere in Western Europe. As to the Press, which Mr. Pooley, late of Reuter's, spells with a lower case p: "A Japanese editor has absolutely no idea of fairmindedness, no idea of courtesy, no idea of decency, and but little idea of truth" (p. 323). Woe to the country that fails to pass the Pooley standard! This book contains information which the man in the street does not usually possess, and for which, we presume, he would hesitate to spend half a guinea; it will remind the well-informed of many an unsavoury mess, and they will scan its pages for some proof that Mr. Pooley has all that he fails to find in the "Japanese editor." May they find it! Those, however, who are not conversant with Japanese affairs, and who may take Mr. Pooley's work as a source of information, will only get the seamy side of Japanese history. There are far too many books which depict Japan as a paragon amongst countries and her people as examples of all the virtues. Probably no well-balanced history of Japan will be available until Murdoch's is completed; certainly this book does not bridge the gap. There is one fair page in the book, that devoted to Count Terauchi. But let us close on a smile. Once a German ordered "mirror-eggs" (*Spiegel-ei*) in a Tottenham Court Road restaurant; Mr. Pooley has followed him: Japan imports from England, Germany, Sweden, manganese iron alloy, *mirror-cast iron* (italics ours; manganese iron is

usually called *Spiegel eisen!*) However, see p. 22: "Given accurate data, the moderately intelligent can draw their own conclusions." Truly a fair and courteous sentence.

H. L. J.

MINERAL ENTERPRISE IN CHINA. By William F. Collins, A.R.S.M.

Pp. xii + 308, 8vo., with maps. (London : Heinemann.) 21s. net.

The author, who was for a while Vice-Chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce in Peking, has had unusual opportunities to study Chinese mining. This work is a valuable book of reference, in which he gives a general survey of the search for metal in China in ancient days, condensing into one chapter and a short appendix the main items of information extracted from many volumes. In fact, this part of the subject might have been expanded to great advantage to many times more pages. He then introduces his readers to the science of Feng Shui, the influence of which has so greatly handicapped mining, railway work, and all other undertakings capable of disturbing the hidden dragons, tigers, and other creatures which rule the luck of the mere biped native. Ninety pages suffice to describe the efforts of Europeans to develop Chinese ore deposits; a few more deal with Korea and with Chinese legislation, conditions of working, etc. The author shows how short-sighted the Chinese policy has been in the past, and he suggests improvements. His opinion of Japanese policy in Korea and China, being taken from Pooley's "Secret Memoirs of Count Hayashi," is not worthy of serious consideration. Mr. Collins, like so many others, seems to think that a European has only to squat in the East and then proceed to work mines or anything else as he pleases, without any control from the local government, merely because of the policy, "almost of altruism, in keeping open the markets of China for the interests of others" pursued by Great Britain for eighty years. This will cause the Oriental to smile. Not every nation or Government would have the kindness (or should this be folly?) to allow Germans to work Cornish tungsten and uranium mines, or to "bag" the rare minerals from India, and Mr. Collins must really not expect the Japanese to prove so accommodating in Korea. Their policy is "ourselves first"; and who shall blame them, considering how much gold (metal) and silver (metal) have been removed from the country, first by the Portuguese, who brought Papism in return, or by the latter-day comers after 1868, who had a nice appreciation of Exchange values?

Without approving of the introduction of Japanese to control Chinese works or enterprises, as is adumbrated in the recent reports of Sino-Japanese negotiations, we believe that the Japanese are better fitted to wake up China for the common benefit of their respective countries. Japan needs certain metals—needs steel, iron, coal, coke, and it is surely reasonable on her part to seek them in the nearest market—as the author recognizes on page 92. In fact, he might have instanced the appalling story of the Thiessen deal in French ores; but perhaps he has refrained from doing so out of friendly feelings to France, where his Preface was written (B.E.F., February, 1918). The restrictions alluded

to on page 217 as hitherto unpublished are, we presume, those referred to in the Japanese Parliament on March 12, 1918, by Mr. Ichinomiya Fusajiro, who, after mentioning that Japan produces only between 300,000 and 400,000 tons of iron yearly, said that a most serious obstacle was placed in the way of Japan obtaining ores from China by the "Provisional Law for the Working of Iron Mines, issued on November 25, 1915," which sought to exclude aliens from Chinese mines and to stop the export of metals. That law had been supplemented on February 8, 1918, by regulations compelling all Chinese mines under joint management to obtain permits from the Government before exporting iron ore or selling it to foreigners. This would cause great trouble in Japan, as the Toyo iron foundry was organized to get ores from Kiangsu, and the Japanese Government iron foundry (Wakamatsu) was supplied from Hanyehping. Viscount Motono, in a written reply, said that disputes in reference to the working of mines in South Manchuria under the agreement of 1915 were still unsettled, but that, as far as the law mentioned was concerned, the Japanese Government had taken steps to induce the Chinese Government to reconsider their decision; a settlement had been arrived at about the Taochung iron mine, and it was hoped that the Fenghuan Shan mine troubles would soon be settled. Recent reports show that the Japanese policy at Hanyehping is by no means welcome. We make no apology for adding this comparatively recent information to Mr. Collins's valuable book. Its appendices give full information about legislation and contracts, but he might have given the Japanese Consuls' names in Japanese: "Hsiao Chih Chang Tsao" may be according to Wade, but it is not a Japanese name. The argument about the use of mineral coal based upon the phosphorus percentage in cast iron does not seem sound. For instance, almost all the Japanese ores are rich in phosphorus, and gave fluid cast iron in moderately high furnaces in the Middle Ages, only charcoal being used, burnt near the smelting-place, as described in Japanese texts.

H. L. J.

GUIDES TO THE FAR EAST

The Imperial Japanese Government Railways have recently issued the final volume of their "Official Guide to Eastern Asia." This very thorough and encyclopædic publication, issued in the compact size $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, on thin paper, with many maps and illustrations, forms an indispensable work of reference for all students of the Far East, besides being a reliable source of information for the tourist. The Japanese can beat the German at his own game of compiling Baedekers; and the addition of well-selected, well-reproduced photographs of scenery and people, the addition of essays on religion, language, history, anthropological notes upon the various peoples described, and of vocabularies, make them more attractive and useful than anything yet published, though we do not wish to reflect upon the usefulness of the "Guides Madrolle" for those who know French.

The five volumes are divided as follows:

		Date of Issue.	Pages.	Maps.	Full-page Illustra- tions.	Inserted Illustra- tions.
Vol. I.	Manchuria and Chōsen	1913	448	19	16	79
Vol. II.	S.W. Japan ...	1914	586	15	6	104
Vol. III.	N.E. Japan ...	1914	497	25	6	64
Vol. IV.	China (Proper) ...	1915	538	23	9	163
Vol. V.	East Indies* ...	1917	549	26	6	57
Total	2,618	108	43	467

They owe their inception to Baron Gotō, the present Minister for Foreign Affairs, who in 1908, while Minister of Communications, entrusted the work to a Committee of Experts. The work was finally divided by Mr. Y. Kinoshita, Director of the Traffic Department of the Japanese Railways, with the assistance of Messrs. Tsurumi, T. Yokoi, and Washio Shogoro, the translation into English of a work of nearly 1,300,000 words being no light undertaking. For some curious reason, not quite clear, Chinese characters have not been given in the two volumes dealing with Japan, although they appear here and there in the first volume (Korea and Manchuria), and they are plentiful in Vol. IV. We cannot help feeling that they would have proved equally useful in Vols. I. and II. In these volumes we regret to find some misprints and a few errors—such as “coats of arms” (p. 105) for “suits of armour”; “Collins” for “Raphael Collin”; “Munetada” for “Umetada” (lxxix); “Tonochika” for “Tomochika” (cii)—but their number is so small as to astonish in a book of such magnitude produced under considerable difficulties. The eight pages of Japanese grammar are so compendious as to induce anybody to try to master the *spoken* language, and the historical section is also a model of condensation. If the further volume on the South Seas, which has been delayed by the war, materializes on the same scale and with the same qualities, it will prove a welcome addition to the subject. The books are moderate in price, averaging ten shillings each in Japan, and can be obtained from the Japanese Government Railway Department, Tokyo.

H. L. J.

GENERAL LITERATURE

ARCHÆOLOGY

NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIGHTS ON THE ORIGINS OF CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE.

This is the subject of an address delivered by Sir Arthur Evans, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1916. It was originally published as a pamphlet, and is now reprinted again in pamphlet form by the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, forming pp. 425-445 of the Smithsonian Report for 1916.

The Smithsonian Institution renders a great service to the cause of diffusion of knowledge by publishing separately this invaluable extract from its Report. The researches of Sir Arthur Evans in the field of the Science of Antiquity are universally known and admired, and his fame

* Including Philippine Islands, French Indo-China, Siam, Malay Peninsula, and Dutch East Indies.

as a patient explorer of unsuspected eras of former civilizations is borne out in the little brochure before us.

In the twenty pages of which his address consists, an incredible amount of information and inspiration is laid out before the eager student of unwritten history.

It would have been impossible for us to form any conception of races and worlds that have vanished, were it not for the archaeological researches of brilliant investigators like Sir Arthur. Even in the case of civilizations like the Greek, the Roman, and the Romano-British, for which there is classical literature and written record, we should be in the dark without the revelation arising from researches in the epigraphic field; and inscriptions and reliefs and from the scientific study of successive stages and successive deposits unveiled as in the case of Geology, the principles of which are indeed the same as those of Archaeology aided by Paleontology.

It is interesting to find, thanks to archaeological research, that there was a unity between ideas flourishing in Persia and ideas flourishing in Northern England under the influence of Roman domination, and to know that Crete is the birthplace of European civilization. We have more than a glimpse of the artistic, religious, and political attainment of South-Western Europe of 10,000 years ago, and it is no longer correct to regard Greece as the most ancient source of our civilization in record.

"Till within recent years it seemed almost a point of honour for classical scholars to regard Hellenic civilization as a wonder child, sprung, like Athena herself, fully panoplied from the head of Zeus. . . . A truer perspective has now spread before us. It has been made abundantly clear that the rise of Hellenic civilization was itself part of a wider economy, and can be no longer regarded as an isolated phenomenon. Indirectly, its relation to the greater world and to the ancient centres to the south and east has been now established by its application to the civilization of prehistoric Crete, and by the revelation of the extraordinary high degree of proficiency that was there attained in almost all departments of human art and industry."

Of the achievements of Sir Arthur Evans in the exploration of Crete I can speak from personal experience, having visited the field of his work at Knossos and seen all those characteristics from which, in the words of Sir Arthur, it is proved that "the Cretan branch belongs to a vast province of primitive culture that extended from Southern Greece and the Aegean Islands throughout a wide region of Asia Minor and probably still further afield."

Cretan culture was never absorbed, it seems, by external influences which affected it, but it has preserved its own original impress, and there was an interaction between Egypt and Crete; while the combined Minoan and Pharaonic civilizations exercised a decided effect upon Hellenism up to recent developments of the classical times.

A remarkable similarity between those ancient surroundings and our modern manners and habits cannot fail to attract the attention of the student.

"The modernness of much of the life here revealed to us is astonishing. The elaboration of the domestic arrangements, the staircases story above story, the front places given to the ladies at shows, their fashionable flounced robes and jackets, the gloves sometimes seen on their hands or hanging from their folding chairs, their very mannerisms as seen on the frescoes, pointing their conversation with animated gestures—how strangely out of place would it all appear in a classical design. Nowhere, not even at Pompeii, have more living pictures of ancient life been called up for us than in the Minoan Palace of Knossos."

We learn that 2,000 newly-discovered clay "tablets show many details of the conduct of public and private affairs in Minoan times, and it appears that the origin of these clay tablets, like that of the chariots, lies in the farther East, and is connected with the expansion of Minoan culture to Cyprus.

Not only has the Minoan civilization expanded to Cyprus, Phœnicia, and Palestine, but it took firm hold on Greece, Sicily, and Spain, and it is no hyperbole to say that the Minoan Hall is the prototype of the Greek Temple.

We are indebted to Sir Arthur Evans for the addition to our knowledge of the "Minoan Civilization," as he so aptly names it—an era of human culture which lasted from the thirty-third to the twelfth century B.C., and left its stamp on a long later period far and wide.

"The Roman Empire, which in turn appropriated the heritage that Greece had received from Minoan Crete, placed civilization on a broader basis by welding together heterogeneous ingredients, and promoting a cosmopolitan ideal. . . . Civilization in its higher form to-day, though highly complex, forms essentially a unitary mass; it has no longer to be sought out in separate luminous centres, shining like planets through the surrounding night. Still less is it the property of one privileged country or people. Many as are the tongues of mortal men, its votaries, like the immortals, speak a single language. Throughout the whole vast area illuminated by its quickening rays, its workers are interdependent and pledged to a common cause."

Thus from strength to strength light advances. A lighted torch is being continuously transmitted to successive generations, emanating from the old cave-dwellers of the Palæolithic world—and that constitutes progress. We cannot but wonder how that torch was kindled.

P. E. DRAKOULES.

DREAMS: WHAT THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY MEAN. By J. W. Wickwar.
(A. and F. Denny.) 2s. net.

This little work gives some excellent explanations of the many chaotic states of consciousness during sleep, and does not deny that there may occasionally be prophetic qualities in dreams. It forms a concise and interesting handbook on the subject, and is unbiassed except for a too sweeping indictment of the pscyho-analytical schools of psychology.

E. R. S. S.

MYSTICISM AND CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM.

THE NATURE OF MYSTICISM. By C. Jinarajadasa. (*Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.* rs. 6d.)

A Hindu Theosophist, Mr. Jinarajadasa, has written in short compass an account of mysticism in various forms, which goes some way towards clearing up the confusion of mind which many of us recognize in ourselves no less than in others in dealing with this subject. The author distinguishes seven types of mysticism. These types are :

- The mysticism of Grace.
- The mysticism of Love.
- Pantheism.
- Pantheistic mysticism.
- Nature mysticism.
- Sacramental mysticism.
- Theosophical mysticism.

The principle of classification is somewhat hard to discover, but he has much that is interesting to say of each.

In all the types he shows us the Hindu religion under one aspect or another. He recognizes, however, though somewhat imperfectly (his knowledge of Christian doctrines being obviously limited), that mysticism of certain types is implicit in Christianity also. Further, he criticizes that form of "nature mysticism" which expresses itself in "New Thought" as the seeking for riches and prosperity. But the usefulness of the book is, perhaps, rather in the train of thought that it is likely to start in the reader educated in the Christian tradition than in what it actually says. To the reader it becomes plain, and perhaps for the first time, that "mysticism" is *not* a name for one thing under various forms, an attempt, that is, to identify oneself with the soul of the universe, thought of as "Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love"—but is merely the general name for an attempt at such unification with some spiritual power, whether such a power be a mood of the human mind or something existing out of space and time, or both of these. There may be, therefore, a mysticism of Mammon as well as a mysticism of Christ, and what more natural than that in such an age as this there should be a mysticism of Mammon, the reflection on the inner life of the search after wealth, the exploitation of the world, which has distinguished the modern age? Such a mysticism Mr. Jinarajadasa sketches (without so naming it) as the attitude of the "New Thought" movement, and claims that Hinduism is free from it. However this may be, there is another form of Nature mysticism, expressed, as we believe, in the worship of Kali, of which this book says little, but from which Hinduism is obviously not free. The worship of Nature as Tiger as well as Lamb; the refusal to distinguish between those aspects of life with which we desire to identify ourselves and others; the attempt to go back on our human heritage and deny its gains. This form of mysticism is, of course, the mysticism of Pan, sometimes called Pantheism, though this term may be used in another sense.

It is a real help to clearness of thinking in considering this question to use the names of the old gods, which represent those powers or moods, whatever be their nature, because it helps one to see what the religion of Christ really does for the mystic. He who adores the Christ ideal can enter into Nature mysticism without danger, because he has as its core and centre the Divine Man incarnate in the worlds, but, above all, in Humanity, and manifested in the Christian Revelation. The mystic who has Christianity behind and within him will not be tempted to worship other gods. The warnings to the children of Israel of this danger are greatly needed now because so many of us have forgotten Christianity, and the false gods are more dangerous than ever because they masquerade under a cloud of fine words. Let us call them by their names, and then let men worship them if they must; but, at least, let them know what they are doing. This is not to say that there are not noble or high ideals in other religions as well as pitfalls and dangers, it is only to claim that Christ is indeed the Way.

Mysticism is the inner side of religion; but no mistake can be greater than to suppose that all religions are necessarily one. Rather, just in proportion as the worshipper has the mystic consciousness, in so far, that is, as his religion on its inner side is real to him, just in that proportion is it essential that his mysticism be of the right type: that it be of a kind which will lead him to identify himself with all that is best in his nature, and not with its lower elements. It is a lesson that this generation needs to take to heart: "Ye know not what spirit ye are of;" but if we turn to the pages of the Gospels we have an unfailing test.

S. B.

THE HEART OF ALSACE: FROM THE FRENCH OF BENJAMIN VALLOTTON.
(Heinemann, London.) 6s. net.

We do not recall having seen a book which gives such an insight into conditions in Alsace-Lorraine under German rule. Written by a distinguished Swiss novelist, the author of the now famous "Potterat and the War," "The Heart of Alsace" takes the form of a narrative of personal experiences of a young Swiss tutor in an Alsatian family. The Pan-German official and the Alsatian-born German, on the one hand, the Alsatian living in Alsace or emigrated to France, on the other, are very accurately described. The narrative, which commences a few years prior to the war, is continued to include in the form of letters the events of the actual struggle, and reveals the cruel plight of the Alsatian conscripts in the German Army, who are forced to fight against their own cause. These latter portions of the volume are particularly well composed, and the description of the French entry into Mulhouse is highly dramatic:

"Now the band plays and the flag is unfurled. It is the great march past so often dreamt of! I think of many famous entries: Milan, the triumphant returns, and the dreams of the vanquished of 1870."

The loyalty of Alsace is shown in the following anecdote:

"We were billeted in a working-class quarter. All the inhabitants rushed out, offering wine and all sorts of things. It was becoming

rather too strong. I had to restrain them. But a young bright-eyed girl came to me, saying: ' You must let us give things to your men, Lieutenant. We have been waiting for you so long.'

Alsace-Lorraine has waited nigh on fifty years, and this, we trust, will be the hour of her deliverance.

F. J. P. R.

MOUNTAIN MEDITATIONS. By L. Lind-af-Hageby. (*Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*)

Miss Lind-af-Hageby's services in combating vivisection are world-known; her energetic and self-sacrificing work in every field connected with the cause of humanity deserves general recognition. Versatile, adaptive, experienced, a child of the Twentieth Century, she has quaffed the cup of knowledge. She has read much and observed no less, and now—her reward: a mind free from the taint of prejudice, a judgment untrammelled by the vice of hasty generalization, and—most important of all—a soul which is Hope. Her intellect is indeed an oasis in a desert where much reading too often leads to cynicism, much writing chokes the printing-presses with repetition and rot, much thought points the way to despair. Romain Rolland chose as the title of his notorious screed "*Au-dessus de la Mêlée.*" Perhaps he thought himself on Mt. Olympus in the clouds, the fond belief of many a human ostrich whose head lies buried in the sand. "*Mountain Meditations*" is the unequivocal answer of one who sees clearly what is at stake in this far-flung war, and who in Alpine solitudes—if you will—sees Eternal Truths. "*Reconstruction*"—Miss Lind-af-Hageby writes in a memorable chapter entitled "*Religion in Transition*"—"is a blessed word: we cling to it, we live by it. . . . Perhaps some great and wise spirit brooding over our world, learned with the experience of æons, of human attempts and mistakes, smiles at the deadly earnestness of the intention to reconstruct. *I do not care.* We have reached a pass when all life and all hope are centred in this faith: the faith that we can make anew and good and beautiful the distorted web of human existence." The author then proceeds boldly: "The War has not taught us what civilization is. But it has taught us what it is not." Then follows a passage of remarkable grandeur condemning pseudo-civilization: mechanical ingenuity, commercialism, material prosperity. "But we feel vaguely, yet insistently, that civilization is a state of the soul; it is the gentle life towards which we aspire. It is based on the gradual substitution of moral and spiritual forces for brute force." Here it is well to remember, though the author does not insist upon it sufficiently, that brute force, the denunciation of which is at present so rightly voiced, consists not only of bayonets and militarism. We can conceive of trusts, caste, exploitation of the ignorant in all its forms, whether it be commercial, religious, intellectual, or political, proving to be weapons quite as deadly.

Then, again, in the same chapter, she deals with the dogmas of Huxley and Haeckel, Joseph McCabe, and Sir Harry Johnston. And she strikes them shrewdly when she says: "Our little rationalists imagine that they

are hitting the foundations of religion when they successfully assail the crumbling walls of dogmas. Religious life escapes their fire. . . . Love knows instinctively that it is not made of dust."

"Religion in Transition" is her best chapter; "Nationality" very suggestive; "Reformers" recounts the experiences of the author with that interesting fraternity in her Piccadilly office. Some of her descriptions are rather thinly disguised—e.g., the mercurial lady in green who deals in statesmanship and high politics, who knows everybody of importance, and who controls the fate of nations through her magic influence behind the scenes." Also, the gentleman "who is forming a Society for the Revival of Greek Clothing." It is a chapter of delightfully spontaneous humour, devoid of sarcasm or cynicism, generous. "Mountain Tops" vies with Leslie Stephen in the descriptive force she employs. With bold strokes she lays the glorious Alps before us. It contains a delightful anecdote about the Russian painter Vereschagin, in the Pamirs.

"Mountain Meditations" reflects the thoughts, perfectly expressed, of one of the most gifted women of our time.

F. J. P. R.

WHAT TO DO ("Papers for the Present.") Issued for the Cities' Committee of the Sociological Society. *Headley Brothers, Publishers, Ltd., 72, Oxford Street, W. 1.* 6d. each ; post free, 7d.)

Under this plain and practical heading the "Cities' Committee" of the Sociological Society has brought out, as introductory to its "Papers for the Present" Series, a concise statement of social faith, and a series of definite injunctions which result from that faith. Of the Papers themselves more will doubtless be said in a later number of this Review, but, meantime, those who believe in the need for a somewhat drastic reconsideration of social questions and assumptions cannot afford to ignore them ; they will repay careful consideration.

"What to Do" itself is a direct challenge to the prevailing school of social reform which has expected all good to flow from further increases of State action, and generally to that belief in the State which culminates in "Prussianism." It lays down "the resorption of Government into the body of the community" as the aim of social progress, and the means as moral renewal, re-education, and reconstruction. To this end it puts forward in ten short numbered paragraphs the "social imperatives" that the writers of this school of thought deem most urgent. Some of the chief of these, as at least it seems to the reviewer, are the development of voluntary co-operation ; decentralization and the revival of local interest and civic spirit ; the socializing of our financial system ; the realization of the eternal difference between the temporal and the spiritual power ; the development of international contacts ; the reconsideration of educational methods, and the change from a book education to one largely based upon the crafts and primitive occupations, and going on to a study of the world around. All these points and others are dealt with at length in the Series, but the whole point of view is so refreshingly different from the

usual, that it is difficult in a few lines to give an idea of its scope and interest. Those who feel that the war has shown us that a new outlook is required if Europe is to recover from its present troubles cannot afford to neglect these Papers, or the "Making of the Future" Series of books, to which they refer readers for further study.

PEACE SPEAKINGS FROM PEKING. By A. E. Grantham. Pp. 295, 8vo., with frontispiece. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

This book might have been described in a sub-title, in the fashion once prevalent, as a "History of China à l'Usage des Gens du Monde"; it is, in fact, a historical romance rather than a history, for it contains but half a dozen dates, only one footnote, and no index. There is nothing stodgy or dry about it; the Author apparently loves his subject and has mastered his material, discarding detail, and giving only a broad impressionist picture of Chinese history. In style, verbosity worthy of Alexandre Dumas is somewhat too evident, with now and then, as an anticlimax, an explosive sentence of telegraphic type à la Bart Kennedy; two words, four words, or even one word, in a line. We would commend this work to those who seek a royal road to a general knowledge of the subject and who like a chatty book; but we wonder where the author got the idea of "crocodile-jawed howitzers" as modern implements of warfare.

J.

SHORTER PARAGRAPHS

We have received a pamphlet entitled "Religion and the New Democracy," which is an essay on "Truth as the only Permanent Foundation of a True State Religion." The writer declares that Truth can only be acquired by living in harmony with the Divine Order and Laws; that Truth can only be received into, or by means of, the Intellect; and that it can only be tested by Reason, and only promulgated by the medium, the only medium which is common to us all—viz., reason expressed in terms of the sciences. Accordingly he asks for a Royal Commission, or some similar inquiry, into all the doctrines, etc., of all the so-called Christian cults or churches, and report as to how much of these are in harmony with Truth and agreeable to Reason, and to recommend and set forth a body of doctrine suitable for a State religion and for teaching in the State schools, and for use in all the State's activities, and as a basis for all the State's legislation.

The London Bureau of the Zionist Organization have published a welcome addition to their authoritative series of pamphlets, entitled "Zionism and the Jewish Problem," by Leon Simon. It surveys the difficulties with which Zionism has to contend, and examines the clauses of the Basle programme.

The British-Italian League is doing excellent work in familiarizing the English public with Italian war aims. "Irredentism and the War" and

"The Trentino" are the titles of their first two pamphlets. The congress of the oppressed nationalities of Austria, held in Rome recently, foreshadows Italy's rôle as the liberator of the Slavs of the Balkans. The present publications throw a vivid light on Hapsburg oppression, and recount the martyrdom of Battisti and Oberdan.

Miss Constance Maud, whose descriptions of French life are unrivalled, contributes a welcome article to the *Nineteenth Century* on "Women in France."

Sir Harry H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., has contributed a noteworthy article to the *Journal of the African Society* entitled "The Importance of Africa." The position of the Africans he enunciates as follows :

"The white man has not got in Africa another America or Australia, a new world in which he need but little take into account the rights, wishes, prejudices, suspicions of the anterior races—the aborigines—numbering, perhaps, only thousands to his millions, or tens of millions to his hundreds of millions, and inferior to him in physical strength. In shaping our plans in regard to Africa, we have to give full value to the existing native population of 120 millions, for the most part as strong-bodied as the whites, as fond of home and tenacious of rights as we are, and, in some cases, as proud of long descent, as conscious of a great past of achievements, as could be the inhabitants of any European State."

The OCCULT REVIEW, edited by Ralph Shirley (William Rider and Sons, 8, Paternoster Row, E. C. 4), one of the most interesting magazines on our Library Table, maintains its high standard of excellence, unimpaired. Its leading feature, now, as hitherto, is the editor's comprehensive "Notes of the Month," which are models of incisive discrimination.

The June number completes the twenty-seventh volume, and the accompanying index will cause those concerned with the field of occult research to wish to possess it.

The May issue contains in many respects one of the most significant articles of the month, "The Cathari: their Religious and Industrial Work," by Daisy Wilmer. Students of Eastern metaphysics and Theosophists will be interested in the controversy *re* Reincarnation which is in progress.

The June number of the ROUND TABLE contains several articles on the situation in the East and on Russia.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- "India in Transition," by H.H. the Aga Khan. (Lee Warner.)
- "Boundaries in Europe and the Near East," by Sir Thomas Holdich. (Macmillan.)
- "Wine-Dark Seas and Tropic Skies," by A. Saponi-Middleton. (Grant Richards.)

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (1917).

- J. J. MODI: Ancient Paliputra (1916).
- J. J. MODI: Early History of the Huns (1916).
- P. V. KANE: Ancient Geography and Civilization of Mahârâsastra (Part I.).

THE MEGLITHIC CULTURE OF INDONESIA. By W. J. Perry. (Manchester University Press, Ethnological Series No. III.) Octavo, xiii + 198 pp., with Views, Maps, and Sketches. (London: Longmans.) 12s. 6d. net.

We have reviewed in these pages the previous volumes of this series, and in this book, as in the others, we perceive the guiding hand of Professor Elliott Smith. Indeed, Mr. Perry's work is another stone added to the edifice, shall we say the pyramid, of evidence the erection of which, if successful, will uphold the theory of the learned anatomist that all megalithic constructions bear witness to the migration of mighty builders from the land of Egypt in the hqary past; stones and buildings of vast proportions, whether they are remains of tombs or of temples, marking their passage from the Nile to Europe, to Japan, to Mexico, to Oceania. We shall need more than mere coincidences of structure, of possible use, or of tradition, to accept this *in toto*, and the skeletal remains which, we submit, would more completely prove this hypothesis have so far proved too scanty, even though the armenoïd discoveries in the Chatham Islands are strong pieces of evidence. We find, then, two undercurrents of research in Mr. Perry's work: to seek evidence in support of Professor Elliott Smith, and to support further the association between sun-worship and megalithic remains—a thesis which has been expounded lately in respect of Oceania by Dr. W. W. H. Rivers.

Mr. Perry has ransacked the literature bearing upon Indonesia, and he has systematically noted, tabulated, analyzed, the data thus collected from many sources, mainly Dutch; he has adduced a personal argument from the association of megalithic remains with mines and the other sources of wealth—pearl fisheries, terraced cultivation, etc.—and his generalizations are interesting. But it is sometimes dangerous to generalize too far. A dozen years ago, a Boche called on the present writer; he had walked from Bayswater to Chelsea, and he had discovered a “stone remains of the phallic cult in England” . . . in Hyde Park—in that pretty bit of scenery which was, we believe, planned by the late Lord Redesdale. Upon this being told him, he said he felt sure that if it was indeed modern, it must have been put there through some unconscious survivals of mental processes! It may be possible for modern seekers after truth to miss the mark through seeing in a stone more than it ever was intended for, and one shudders to think of any ethnologist discovering in the Japanese custom of setting stones of all sorts in their landscape gardens a survival of some forgotten ritual. Yet when Mr. Perry comes to study Japanese folk-lore, he will find enough to add another chapter to his book: the husband and wife rocks of Mioto no Seki with their solar association; the stone of the weeping wife, sole remnant of Sayo Himé; the phallic rock of Hachimangu (Kamakura); the wealth-giving rock of Enoshima; the Sessho Seki into which a fox-woman was once changed; the stone standing upright on the slopes of Tateyama (Etchu), 7,000 feet above the sea, remaining to this day, where the wife of a doughty climber sought to follow her husband—all these and more can be made to fit into his story, together perhaps with the stone figures surrounding the *misasagi*, like the Siberian

Baba; not to mention the Ming Tombs and their stone colossi; and we gladly mention them to show that we are not altogether unconvinced.

In Japan and in Formosa Mr. Perry will find additional material, in Formosa especially; and if Mr. Ishii's translations of Formosan Folktales were not kept from the Printer through the war, he would find in them several cases of incestuous unions, with curious results; in the cases of people issuing from stones, to whom Mr. Perry alludes, they become the ancestors of tribes *after* their incest had been permitted by the Sun; also men fighting the two Suns, one of which, being wounded, becomes the moon, etc.; but we are not at liberty to encroach further on this point, although our own opinion is that much of the folk-lore of Japan is derived from farther south, and in that sun-worshipping land burial-mounds, dolmens, large stone sarcophagi, are numerous, and are continuously described, one having been excavated quite recently in which there swords were found. Another line of inquiry which suggests itself, but has apparently not been thought of by Mr. Perry, is the custom of head-cutting common to Indonesia, Formosa, and Japan. Has it a connection with the megalithic "culture"? Is there also a link with the practice of tattoo? Is it through a "neolithic survival" that in Formosan folklore the unfortunate owner of a *vulva dentis* is operated on with a whetstone until brought to a more normal state? Truly, Mr. Perry's, book yields food for thought. Stone implements are called "thunderbolts" in so many places that it seems an unimportant matter. The word is used in China, and stone implements treasured. The writer has in his possession a polished jade axe which was at a later date in the Sung period engraved with dragons and an archaic inscription; and when he was a child all stone implements in the vicinity of Chartres were called "pierres de-tonnerre" by the peasants from whom he obtained them. Mr. Perry has produced a very useful work, which should find its place amongst often-consulted books of reference, and we hope that he will be able to enlarge the scope of his researches in a direction which, as he says, promises to help in understanding the development of civilization.

H. L. JOLY.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE

The principal article in the creed of the weekly journal known as *Light*, 6, Queen Square, Southampton Row, London, W.C. 1, price 2d., or 2½d. post free, is the assurance, based on actual evidence, that the human spirit can and does survive separation from its material investiture, and that intercourse between spirits incarnate and discarnate has not been confined to the long past, but takes place in the present day. Beyond this it has no special axe to grind, but is interested in all branches of psychical, occult, and mystical research, including hypnotism, psychotherapy, clairvoyance, thought transference, and psychic photography. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and other distinguished writers are frequent contributors; and under the able editorship of Mr. David Gow, a poet and writer of high attainments, *Light* has become the leading journal of its kind in the English-reading world.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

India and the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference—Return of the Montagu Mission—Society of Arts—India and Empire Day—Royal Asiatic Society—Indian Gymkhana Club—Distressed Students' Aid Society—Royal Geographical Society—Anglo-Indian Temperance Association—National Indian Association—British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union Conference—Central Asian Society—Lyceum Club—Anglo-Russian Literary Society—Armenian Society.

THE assembling of the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference for the second year in the heart of the Empire is an event of vital importance to East and West. In addition to Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, India is represented by H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala and Sir S. P. Sinha, one of India's representatives last year.

Special interest attaches to the return from India of the Montagu Mission after an absence of nearly eight months, and the outcome in legislation is awaited with an eagerness unique in the annals of the British connection with India. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, member of the India Council, who delayed his departure from India to take up the appointment last year by special request of the Secretary of State, accompanied Mr. Montagu on his return to England, and has now undertaken his new duties at the India Office, his Indian colleagues being Sir Prabshankar Puttani and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan.

Mr. Montagu's first public appearance—outside Parliament—since his return, was when he presided at the meeting of the Indian section of the Society of Arts, at which Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha's paper on "Indian Cotton and the Cotton Mill Industry" was read by Sir Charles Armstrong. In a comprehensive and illuminating paper Sir Dinshaw dealt with the development of the industry, discussed the problem of Lancashire and Bombay, pointed out the rapid expansion of Japan's cotton trade, considered financial and social conditions, and, with regard to the future, said: "Mill-owners will be wise in their own interests, to put their house in order from now, so as to be prepared at the proper hour to make a cautious but bold spring forward. It is a settled conviction with them that India can economically prosper only when she is mistress in her own

house and able to carry out her own fiscal independence without any of those bonds and fetters which hitherto have circumscribed her efforts in various directions. There is the growing patriotism to work India in the interests of the Indians themselves. Such a spirit is most likely to evolve changes undreamt of hitherto. But whatever may be the changes, it is to be hoped that Lancashire will try to understand India better than it has hitherto done in a spirit of the greatest comradeship, rather than of any unhealthy rivalry ; and that, on the other hand, India will, in an equally friendly way, endeavour to learn many lessons in the cotton industry which Lancashire alone is capable of teaching."

Mr. Montagu, speaking at the conclusion of the lecture, said that one of the great lessons taught by the war was the importance of increasing, by all possible means, the self-sufficiency of the Empire and its separate constituents, and in India this result could be best achieved by the development of the industries for which she had the raw material and the water power. Sir Henry Birchenough's Committee had expressed the opinion that all the cotton required by the British Empire could in time be grown within its own territories. Of all sources of supply, actual or potential, they regarded India as offering the most promising prospects of any considerable increase of output within a reasonably short time, and from an Imperial point of view the prosperity of India was at least as important as the prosperity of Lancashire.

The Union of East and West and the Poetry Society shared the honours in giving India prominence on Empire Day. The Union organized a representative gathering at the Grafton Galleries, presided over by Sir Frederick Pollock, at which Sir John McCall, representing Tasmania, Mr. Edward Lucas, representing South Australia, gave addresses on the Imperial aspect of the celebration ; and Mr. Laurence Binyon made India real by a most illuminating lecture, illustrated by lantern slides on Indian painting. Sir John McCall emphasized the fact that within the British Empire practically all the raw materials needed can be obtained, and urged the necessity for a more business-like handling of this important asset. Mr. Lucas followed Sir John's example in paying warm tribute to the services of India during the war, and insisted that there is now no East or West, but a common humanity. There must be more sympathy and understanding all round, and the strength of union which will not permit the trampling upon freedom, right, and justice.

Mr. Binyon's lecture, with its admirable lantern-slides showing specimens of Indian painting from the Ajanta frescoes to the modern Calcutta school, was designed to support his declaration that art and literature reveal a people, and that art is a language all can read. He made appreciative reference to the work of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy as a revealer of Indian art to the West, and expressed the conviction that the modern Calcutta school, while retaining the old traditions of the art of India, would build in the future a position worthy of the past.

The Poetry Society organized for last month a series of "revues of

national poetry," and India's turn synchronized with Empire Day. Mr. Harendranath Maitra was the exponent, aided by Mr. Edmund Russell, as the story-teller. Mr. Maitra showed that from the days of the great epics to Tagore Indian poetry was chiefly religious. It was always sung to God; religion, poetry, and music were a great trinity which should not be separated. There were always disputes in the realm of politics and creeds, but when religion becomes a song disagreements vanish. It would be a good day for the true union of East and West when Tagore and Kalidasa were taught in the schools of Britain.

At the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society the influence of personality is dominant; it is personality illuminating the achievements in research and output during the year in this country and abroad. Tribute is paid to the workers as well as to their work. This year the personal element was particularly marked. There was the presentation of the Society's Gold Medal, given once in three years, to Mr. Vincent A. Smith, whose patient and learned research into the past history of India was worthily rewarded. In thanking Lord Reay, President of the Society, for his appreciative and understanding words when presenting the medal, Mr. Vincent Smith generously declared that the honour done to him would be interpreted as done to the rising school of Indian historians. The new enthusiasm for the study of Indian history and antiquities, he observed, is giving birth to a multitude of publications, many of which are of high quality. Indians, Hindus and Moslems, trained in scientific Western methods possess obvious advantages in the field of Indian historical research not open to Europeans, and the new spirit is giving birth to historical societies in various parts of India, including the Feudatory States. A further and unique personal interest in the anniversary meeting was the presentation of an address and testimonial to Mrs. R. W. Frazer, who for more than twenty-five years was assistant, then secretary, to the Society. It was the first time that a woman had been appointed to this important office, and to Miss Hughes must be attributed very much of the prosperity and progress of the Society and its world-famous Journal. Lord Reay and other speakers expressed warm admiration of her splendid services, and declared that though she has resigned, her marriage with Mr. R. W. Frazer, the present secretary, ensures a continuance of her interest.

The Indian Gymkhana Club is doing well in this season's matches. The first was played on the "home" ground at Acton on May 4. From the middle of June there have been two teams playing every Saturday, and the first eleven has played a number of mid-week matches. Victories for the Indians were scored against Westminster School and Epsom College, as well as several military teams; Charterhouse and Eton defeated the Gymkhana, and the match against Harrow ended in a draw.

The first century of the season was made by C. H. Gunasekara, vice-captain of the Gymkhana, against Epsom College; he hit up 129 runs, and in the same match M. P. Bajana, captain of the Gymkhana, took seven wickets for two runs by his deadly bowling. The tennis courts are in

full swing, and the competition for the Walker Challenge Cup is likely to be very keen. Visitors interested in the Club are warmly welcomed at Acton, which is near Acton Town Station (District Railway); the ground may also be reached by tram from Shepherd's Bush to Twyford Avenue, or by motor buses, 17, 49, and 49a. The hon. secretary, Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, 10, King's Bench Walk, Temple, London, E.C. 4, will be glad to give information with regard to the Club.

The Seventh Annual Report of the Distressed Indian Students' Aid Committee shows that during 1917, the period covered, valuable help has been given to students who, largely owing to the prolongation of the war, have found themselves in unavoidable difficulties. It is not only that remittances from India have been seriously delayed, but men ready to return to India have been kept waiting for passages for two or three months. A loan at such a time, enabling them to meet expenses until the time of departure, has been of great value. The report speaks a plain word to parents and guardians in India as to the urgency of sending remittances regularly. It admits that some students are extravagant and idle, wasting both time and money, but "the stoppage of remittances is a cruel and unsatisfactory way of dealing with the position." There are others whose difficulties have nothing to do with conduct. Ill health and anxiety may be responsible for failure to pass examinations. Miss Beck, 21, Cromwell Road, London, S.W. 7, is hon. treasurer of the committee, and help in carrying on this useful work will be warmly welcomed.

At the Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, the President, Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, pointed out that the solution of geographical problems of the highest importance would have to wait until after the war. Aerial progress would play a part, little expected four or five years ago, in future geographical exploration. In India, he said, considerable aerial work had been done, and he mentioned that when the full story could be told of the geographical mapping done in Mesopotamia and Palestine, many people would be filled with astonishment.

The three Indian members of the India Council were present at the Annual Meeting in London of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Society, and warm tribute was paid by British and Indian speakers to the fine personal influence of Mrs. W. S. Caine, hon. treasurer of the Association, whose recent death was so keenly deplored. Sir Herbert Roberts, President of the Association, called attention to the temperance reforms demanded by the leaders of Indian opinion, and he was strongly supported in his appeal for progressive measures leading to prohibition by Sir Donald Maclean, Colonel Sims Woodhead, Sahibzada Aftab Khan, and Mr. Bhupundranath Basu.

Sir James Meston, K.C.S.I., presided over the Annual Meeting of the National Indian Association, and emphasized its important work as a link between East and West by terming it the "liaison" society. Liaison

officers at the front have to interpret the Allies to each other as well as carry out their special military work. Sir James pointed out that these officers were specially important when the enemy tried to push a wedge between the Allies ; it was, he added, largely due to the excellent work of the National Indian Association and kindred societies that misguided and infructuous attempts to push a wedge between Britain and India had been brought to nought. The vital necessity for the extension of educational facilities to Indian girls was well to the fore throughout the meeting ; Sir James laid stress upon it, as also Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Sahibzada Aftab Khan, Sir William Duke, Lady Pinhey, and Mrs. N. C. Sen. Lady Pinhey told of an Indian girl, whom she knew well, who was much more interested in an arithmetic paper which she had to prepare for school the next day than in her betrothal ceremony. Lady Pinhey also urged the importance of British women in India learning Hindustani, and thus qualifying themselves to come into friendly and sympathetic relations with zenana ladies. "If they had had my experience," she added, "and had known the affection, sympathy, and perfect courtesy of the women of the East, they would find their social gatherings (purdah-parties) far more interesting than the ordinary life of an English-woman in India." Mrs. Sen maintained that, given the right spirit of sympathy—the spirit which characterized the work of the National Indian Association—there were no insuperable difficulties in the development of friendship between British and Indian women. All had been drawn together by co-operation in war work.

India was well represented at the Third Biennial Conference of the women of the Empire called together in London by the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union, which preceded by a few days the assembling of the statesmen of the Empire for the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference. One evening was devoted entirely to India, and political, social, and religious aspects of life were dealt with by Indian and British speakers. Consideration was given to many pressing problems of the day particularly affecting women and children, but not overlooking Imperial affairs, for which women's help is necessary if a true solution is to be found. There was a demand for women Members of Parliament, women as judges, magistrates, and jurors ; the nationality of married women, the endowment of motherhood, equal pay for equal work, divorce law reform, the social evil, women and political parties, the responsibility of the citizens of the Motherland for their fellow-citizens in the Overseas Dominions, and international government, were among the subjects discussed. It has been suggested to the Government that it would be wise to invite women of the Motherland and the Overseas Dominions to confer with the representative statesmen now in conference. Canada has set an example within her own borders of representative women called to confer with the Government and Ministers of State.

It goes without saying that the question of Russia still occupies a foremost place in the world to-day, and in its eastern aspect is one of vital

importance to India. The Central Asian Society has had two lectures of special interest concerning Russia. The first was given by Miss Czaplicka, Mary Ewart lecturer in Ethnology in the School of Anthropology of the University of Oxford, and the first woman to be the leader of a scientific expedition. Her subject was "The Evolution of the Cossack Communities." She was followed by Mr. Arnold Toynbee, who spoke on "Russian Moslems since the Revolution." Miss Czaplicka's paper, which won high praise from the President of the Society, Sir Henry Trotter, Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Mr. E. R. P. Moon, and others, dealt in an illuminating way with the historic sequence of events concerning the European and Asiatic Cossack, which have led to the position to-day, and traced the history and meaning of the word "Cossack" (Kazak), as used in Central Asia and in European Russia. She discussed the two sections of Cossack communities which made their home in the Don and Dnieper regions, pointing out that the history of the latter is bound up with that of Poland-Lithuania and of the Ukraine. Summing up the various problems, which had been treated by her with knowledge and skill, Miss Czaplicka concluded with that of finding a *modus vivendi* between the Cossacks and the Russian peasant village community. If the Cossacks continue to be used for military service, some other compensation ought to be provided for them than grants of enormous stretches of land, which they neither can nor wish to cultivate. As to the pressing question of the Ukraine, Miss Czaplicka declared that it was difficult to conceive a permanent bond between Germany and the Ukraine against the more natural ties which link the Ukraine with her neighbours. "But should Cossack communities be permanently deprived of the influx of Ukrainian blood, their racial character may become still more Asiatic, with the great Russian element politically predominant, and racially acting as a filter through which various Mongols and Tartars pass in the process of becoming Russified. If oil is to be poured upon the troubled waters of the present Russian chaos, the work will be done by the groups which prove to be the most highly organized, and the sooner the external and internal problems of the Cossacks are settled, the greater will be the rôle they will play in the remaking of Eastern Europe."

Before the war, said Mr. Arnold Toynbee, Russian autocracy crushed all free movement; though the country teemed with nationalities, parties, classes, sects with cherished individual aims and original points of view, this full and overflowing life was held down by Tsardom, and Russia presented herself to the world politically as a military machine, not a nation or a commonwealth of peoples. Russian Moslems passed unnoticed, but they were bound to be important. They numbered, said Mr. Toynbee, nineteen millions, of which sixteen millions were Turkish-speaking—that is, twice as many as in the Ottoman Empire. Geographically, they are likely to be one of the main transitional elements between European and Islamic civilization. They include Moslems who are practically Europeans professing the Moslem religion; others whose predecessors a century ago were isolated and fanatical, and still in the dark age of barbarism; yet

others again who are modern industrialists, specialized agriculturists, self-supporting peasants, and pure nomads. After a survey of the Russian Moslems of the Volga and Ural regions, of Siberia, Khirghistan, the Caucasus, and Central Asia, Mr. Toynbee pointed out that they came under Russia at very different dates, that they are widely scattered, that they are at varying stages of civilization and forms of economic life. After the Revolution these various forces found free play ; the first tendency was towards unity and cultural autonomy. In April, 1917, the Caucasian Moslems held a conference, at which the Shia Sheikh-ul-Islam and the Sunni Mufti embraced ; a month later there followed an All-Russian Moslem conference at Moscow, at which the official language was Russian. Out of it came an All-Russian Moslem council, also an All-Russian Ecclesiastic council. Even the feminist movement made itself felt ; there were over one hundred women among the eight hundred delegates at Moscow, and one in six appointed to the Ecclesiastical Council. The dominant note was Islamic brotherhood and a Moslem group within Russia. The second tendency was towards federation and political territorial autonomy. This tendency has won, helped, according to Mr. Toynbee, by the Bolshevik revolution, which has turned the scales all over Russia for separatism against unity. He characterized it as an unhappy turn of policy, adding that probably it is merely a symptom of the general disorganization of Russia, and that if Russia, or part of her, comes together again as a federation, the idea of unity among the Russian Moslems may revive.

Dr. Harold Williams, for many years *Daily Chronicle* correspondent at Petrograd, and well known as a Russian scholar and author of important books on Russia, made an urgent appeal at the Lyceum Club last month that the Allies should not only remember Russia, but make earnest and immediate efforts to keep in touch with Russia, and to rouse her to throw off the German yoke. If we leave her alone, he said, she will fall more and more under the domination of Germany, and the peace of Europe will, in consequence, be disturbed for a century. Russians who looked to Germany to restore order out of chaos, had no other choice but German assistance, or anarchy, ruin, and starvation. They recognize that Germany is a hard and austere master, and will enslave them in the long run ; but if the Allies could reach Petrograd or Moscow they would be hailed with joy. Dr. Williams maintained that there is only one Bolshevik in Russia, and that is Lenin : he leads and has clear convictions ; the rest follow. He has used the world war to provoke a world revolution for the overthrow of capitalism. He is not especially concerned with results in Russia ; he desired to light the fire there, but the conflagration was to spread to Germany, France, Austria, and Great Britain, and bring about a situation in which the old order is impossible. Lenin is first and foremost a cold fanatic, not imposing in appearance, not even a good speaker, but possessing extraordinary power, keeping his end in view, and not caring how he attains it. Trotsky, on the other hand, only became a Bolshevik

last year ; he was formerly a moderate socialist, and, as a clever journalist, wrote for papers regarded by the Bolsheviks as reactionary or bourgeois. He is a mysterious but interesting man, very quick in perception, appearing extraordinarily superficial, yet possessing good practical ability and business sense. The present "order is the order of exhaustion, à peace of starvation, which is preparing the way for pestilence and famine." How to help in view of this desperate situation, said Dr. Williams, was not quite easy to discover, but the conviction must be planted in the minds of all, he said, that "Russia needs us and we need Russia." M. Nabokhov, who was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary in Great Britain early in the Revolution, said that the fact that France and this country, who have had to bear the brunt of the Russian military collapse, still believe in Russia's resurrection, filled him with hope and courage.

Mr. Arnold White, speaking on "Honest Russia" to the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, pointed out that at the present time the situation in Russia demonstrates that the absence of mutual aid has resolved the social elements of the greatest land State on earth into a collection of warring individuals. Russia is suffering from the absence of knowledge, true liberty, and organization. "The counterblast against centuries of tyrannical oppression cannot subside in the course of a few weeks, but the recuperative power of 'Honest Russia' has been multiplied potentially twenty-fold by her deliverance from corrupt police tyranny."

Mr. Cheng, who represented China at the "Allied Press" dinner given at the Lyceum Club, pointed to the power of the Press in China, even though the circulation of newspapers is small ; their standard, however, is high. The Press played an important part, he said, in the revolution in China, and also in affecting public opinion with regard to China's entry into the war. The Chinese labour battalions on the Western front had not hesitated to take their part in attacking the enemy. Mr. Ishi spoke for Japan, and declared that Japanese journalists had entered whole-heartedly into the war because it was being waged for the cause of freedom and humanity. France, Italy, and Serbia were represented, and Mr. Edward Price Bell, representing the United States, was warmly received. His country, he said, did not go into the war lightly ; it was a big thing for a peace-loving nation to make a complete cleavage and devote itself to war. The Press of the world is an important institution, he added, for it makes democracy articulate. Lord Burnham paid special tribute to the devoted, often dangerous, work of journalists in the war, and welcomed the excellent services rendered by Japanese and Chinese Pressmen in making clear to their own people the greatness of the issues at stake.

In order to maintain and extend British interest in Armenia, an Armenian Bureau has been opened in London (153, Regent Street, W. 1), which will focus Armenian interest and supply authentic news to the Press and to all who desire to know more of the subject. The secretary

is Mr. Aram Raffi. In order to celebrate the alliance between the Armenians and Georgians, an important gathering took place at the Hotel Cecil, under the auspices of the Armenian United Association of London, on the Armenian Easter Sunday. Sir Mark Sykes, M.P., presided, and warmly supported the alliance. Mr. D. Ghambashidze discoursed with enthusiasm on the new development, and was ably supported by Georgian and Armenian speakers.

A. A. S.

OBITUARY NOTES

MR. WILSON CREWDSON, M.A., F.S.A., J.P., Hon. Treasurer of the Royal Asiatic Society, and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Japan Society, passed away very suddenly, at the age of sixty-two, on May 28 at Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea. Mr. Crewdson, who came from a Manchester family, was a man with widely varied interests; he made Eastern studies his hobby, and generously supported with his help and advice the various societies interested in that subject. He was keenly interested in the development of pro-Japanese societies in the United States, particularly in California, where he had commercial interests himself. He was a man of assertive personality, and though at times we could not always see eye to eye with him, no one could doubt the earnestness and the public spirit of his suggestions. He collected out-of-the-way specimens of artistic or ethnographic value, did much to popularize by lectures the subjects he took up, and recently was whole-heartedly engaged in lecturing upon the havoc wrought upon France by the invasion, having been at pains to gather information on the spot. He was the honorary secretary of the committee representing our contemporary the *New East* in London, and he leaves two sons, both in the army, the eldest having been long stationed in India. He will be missed by all who knew him as a hard worker of deep and sincere convictions.

H. L. J.

ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, MARS, 1917, TO OCTOBRE, 1917.

WEIL : Le Livre de Rois (Egyptian Middle Empire).

A. BEL : Inscriptions arabes de Fez.

J. B. CHABOT : Punica.

P. ALFARIC : La Vie chrétienne du Bouddha.

CL. HUART : Un Formulaire arabe anonyme du XI^e Siècle.

A. MORET : Le Lotus et la Naissance des Dieux en Egypte.

JOURNAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

E. S. OAKLEY : The Folklore of Kumaon (very sketchy article of 25 pages).

R. P. DEWHURST : The Shrṅgara Shataka of Bhartṛhari, text and seventeenth-century commentary.

160. GAVROLA AND BARKER : Games and Festivals of Garhwal (6 pp.)

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1918

THE MONTAGU REPORT

"EAST INDIA (Constitutional Reforms)" is the "subject" of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty. Carefully docketed, paragraphed, and dated, no excuse would avail us if we fancied the West Indies were in question, or any unconstitutional reformation under discussion. The pamphlet is unassuming, bound in a paper cover, and printed with bad ink. But it is cheap at 1s. 3d. net, and runs to 300 pages, including 281 paragraphs and some fine appanages. Such a production induces a business-like mood, and in such a humour we approach it.

We take two points as axioms in discussing "Home Rule for India." Firstly, we have held forth on something called the self-determination of peoples in general. Secondly, we have announced an intention to look at Indian problems in particular from a new angle. Hence British statesmanship has made two large pledges, not the less binding because they are vague, and its promises *must* be fulfilled—somehow. Opinions may differ as to their meaning. They are susceptible of widely divergent interpretations. They may have been unwise or inopportune. But they have been made, and it would be bad business not to make them good, substantially. In the East—as elsewhere—unfulfilled promises destroy credit, and the British Empire is founded on that form of credit which is called prestige. But there is yet a third and less positive axiom. We are far from thinking of our pledges to India,

whether express or merely implied, as unwise or inopportune. We postulate that the force of events compels us to move. India has not grown up, but a lad of fifteen cannot be treated as a child of five. She is not fully educated, but even a badly educated man cannot be equated to an illiterate savage. The government robe of India has to be "let out" as she is growing. Postulating so much, we are ready to discuss details and ways and means. We are not at leisure to argue about first principles. If people exist who do not realize that India is no longer governable under the "Mā-Bāp" system—which was excellent in its day—we are sorry for them ; but we must get to work.

The Report proposes to set up a singularly artificial form of administration. Its fundamental principle, when all is said and done, is government by an electorate, through representatives and with such safeguards as can be devised. Now an Indian electorate must be the progeny of an exotic idea united to indigenous instincts. The whole principle of electing the ruler is new to idea. You may elect your *pir* or *gurū*, just as you may change your religion, but as a rule you inherit him and it, and any change means a social catastrophe or uplifting for yourself and those dependent on you. But the ruler is born, not made. Or if he is made he owes his selection to the sword. The antiquary who is diligent will find a few relics of election, a few germs of constitutional law, and a good many customary or ethical checks on absolutism, but no industry can detect any general recognition of the people's right to rule. Possibly we might have done better a century or so ago to nurse the caste *panol ayat*, to foster village institutions, and to teach tribal chiefs and mediatised princes to govern through constitutional advisers—but we did not. It is useless to lament lost opportunities. We were forced to adopt an artificial system, a bureaucracy tempered and restrained by legalism, which tended to get more and more out of touch with realities. We have now to replace one artificiality by another, but, wisely handled, the new should

succeed as well as the old one did. An Indian electorate will, for a generation or two at least, be largely illiterate, but similar electorates have indirectly governed before now. Whether the low level of general instruction in India will lead to the election of undesirables remains to be seen. Opponents of reform make much of Brahmanical influences. They seem to prophesy the subjection of the low castes to the higher, especially to the sacerdotal classes. But possibly in this very respect for authority salvation will be found to lie. It is difficult to imagine rampant anarchism finding champions in the Brahman castes. As far as can be foreseen, the danger lies not so much in the ignorance of the electors as in the imperfect instruction of the candidates.

ERRATA.

Page 422, line 19, for "idea" read "India."

Page 422, line 30, for "panol ayat" read "panchāyat."

and the risk of their combining to exploit the low castes will decrease year by year as education lifts them out of their apathy.

The details of the Montagu Report fall into two categories—one essential to its proposals, the other not. For example, the reform of the India Office, where officials who may never have seen India sit to do or undo the work of officers grown grey in her service. No doubt the Secretary of State is advised by a Council designed to supply "defects of direct knowledge"—a delightful euphemism for ignorance. But not every question can be referred to a member of it for expert advice, and a "strong" Secretary of State may ignore his Council when he thinks its views will not flatter his own policy. But a good policy is none the worse for being carried out under the light of experience, even unprogressive experience. The

chief defect of the Council is, or was, that it represented experience of the India that has passed on, rather than the India that is or is soon to be, and new blood is certainly wanted. This could be secured by recruiting the India Office staff from the Indian Civil Service, or, better still, by interchange of personnel. But such an urgent administrative reform need not wait until India's constitutional government is remodelled. What India needs now, and without delay, is an official champion in London of Indian claims and rights. Canada has her Dominion and Australia her Commonwealth to watch their interests, and they are effectively protected by their representatives in Whitehall. But the Indian, whether he be so by birth or by adoption, is rather friendless in official London.

The question of commissions in the Indian Army has always been a thorny one, but the writers of the Report are impressed with the "necessity of grappling with it." It stands quite apart from the constitutional question, and the principle that the Indian soldier can earn the King's commission having been recognized, no pretext remains for not giving effect to it until the previous question has been taken up. The Report does not discuss the difficulties—and rightly so. They will have to be removed by administrative action, and one obvious step in advance would be to fuse the Officer cadres of the British and Indian Armies, place all who hold the King's commission on one footing, and wipe out the distinction between that commission and one in the Indian Army which survives as a relic from John Company's days. As long as a separate Indian Army exists it will be difficult for it to absorb a new element, which would still be excluded from the British Army.

Eliminating these matters, the constitutional questions, rightly so called, are simplified. In the ultimate resort the British Parliament must control India and her external relations. But why should it assume any responsibility for the details of her internal administration? Parliamentary

control is apt to degenerate, and has degenerated, into over-centralization. Not only are matters of quite secondary importance "ventilated" in the House of Commons, but the ever-present fear of "a question" in the House" paralyzes officialdom. Yet as long as the administration is bureaucratic decentralization is unthinkable. It is futile to exhort Parliament not to interfere and to observe the principles being adopted towards the British self-governing Colonies. Those Colonies have Governments responsible to electorates, but in the case of India Parliament stands in the electorate's shoes, and its Members will not always refrain, and ought not to refrain, from asking questions about unimportant matters and criticizing details of administration. There is no one else to do the job, and Parliamentary interference can only be suppressed when the constitutional right to intervene is transferred to the electorate's direct representatives.

All reforms are experimental, and in the East they may almost be called legitimate gambles. But the honour of Great Britain is pledged to making this great experiment in India. Its details interest us much less than the principle. They remain to be worked out! The Report is tentative, and almost vague in its suggestions. It would begin with a great extension of local self-government, so as to train the electorates in matters which they will best understand. It proposes a substantial measure of self-government in the Provinces. Above all, it provides for periodical stock-taking; and if India is wise she will accept this positively the first attempt to educate a whole race in the most difficult of all the arts, and see to it that when stock is taken the reforms will prove to have been justified and their extension justifiable.

H. A. R.

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

By E. H. PARKER

SÜ SHI-CH'ANG, a native of Chih Li province, appears to be (in a comprehensive sense) amongst modern rulers one of Nature's gentlemen, just as the bumptious Wilhelm II. appears (to the writer at least) to be the supreme embodiment of all that is not of a gentleman.

The President made his first bow to the public exactly fifteen years ago, when, having for some time served Yüan Shih-k'ai at Tientsin, he was appointed one of the chief secretaries to the new Board of Commerce at Peking ; but within a few days he was ordered by the Government to vacate that post, and instead, with the expectant rank of Junior Privy Councillor, to superintend the organization of the new properly drilled army. In the spring of 1905 it fell to him in this capacity to report in very high terms upon his old patron Yüan Shih-k'ai's zeal and energy during several years of army reorganization. Meanwhile a new metropolitan Board of Gendarmerie, or regular police, came into existence, and in the autumn Sü, who already held the substantive rank of Vice-President of the Board of War, was made full President of the new Gendarmerie Board, with (Prince) Yüh-lang and the unfortunate Chao Ping-kün (murdered after the Revolution) as his two "Vice." At the beginning of 1906 he was created full Privy Councillor, and President also of the Board of War ; a little later he was amongst the "specially commended" at the "Triennial Scrutiny" of High Officials. The same spring his recommendation that the obsolescent "green" army, instead of being abolished altogether, should be

gradually drafted (as to its least effete elements) into the Gendarmerie, was accepted. In the autumn he and Prince K'ing's son, Tsai-chêñ, were despatched on a special commission to inquire into the *post-bellum* abuses raging in Manchuria; meanwhile he and several other Privy Councillors were ordered to vacate their Council posts, and give all their spare attention to their respective Boards. Shortly after that, he and Tsai-chêñ sent in their report on Manchuria. [In connection with this subject, see the review of Dr. Christie's "Thirty Years in Moukden" in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1914.] As a result of all this, Sü Shih-ch'ang was appointed first Viceroy of the Three Manchurias, with T'ang Shao-i, Chu Kia-pao, and Twan Chi-kwei, as his three provincial Governors. A good deal of Augæan stable-sweeping was done under his *régime*: he declined to receive presents from subordinates, and abolished most of the old Tartar-General abuses. In 1908 we find him developing the islands off the Manchurian coasts—the salt, forestry, and fish industries; attending to the working of mines and the reorganization of local administration centres; abolishing useless tax-stations and road-guards, etc. He also established a new military school for the Three Manchurias on the Nanking model. Having made a careful study of the Russian and Japanese systems of banishment and exile, he proposed certain changes in the Chinese law with the object of attracting a larger population to North Manchuria, and giving the exiles free land for ten years, along with other encouragements. He gives apropos of this a short sketch of the history of the Three Manchurias, showing how for two hundred years they had been deliberately turned into a useless No-man's Buffer Land. Meanwhile T'ang Shao-i, having failed in his anti-Japanese railway policy, grew tired of playing nominal second fiddle at Mukden, so was transferred to other duties, and Sü acted as Governor there as well as Viceroy. He continued to give special attention to agriculture and fisheries, and established a library at

the North Manchurian capital, besides organizing improved law courts for Kirin and Mukden Provinces. Various new "cities" received charters, and many interesting sketches of ancient local history were the result of his pleadings.

In 1909 Sū Shī-ch'āng was transferred to the Two Hu Viceroyalty (Hankow), and was succeeded at Mukden by another very able and honest Viceroy, a Mongol named Siliang, who, shortly after his arrival, had to deal with the pneumonic plague question. The newcomer was not able entirely to approve the conduct of his predecessor, who, in his zeal for reforms, was even charged by some with having squandered the whole balance of 6,000,000 taels left to him by the outgoing incumbent; but no charge against his personal integrity was ever made at any period. He never seems to have taken up the Hu Kwang appointment, which was held at the time of the revolution by the Manchu Juichēng, who bolted from his post. He himself remained at Peking. When the revolution of 1911 broke out, Sū Shī-ch'āng, as a Grand Secretary, formed one of the Ministry who resigned with Prince K'ing, but shortly afterwards he was appointed one of the guardians of the (child) Emperor. During the confusion of the abdication period he retired for quiet and safety to the German colony of Kiaochow (Ts'ing-tao). Towards the end of 1913, when Yüan Shī-k'ai's position as President was firmer, and he found it expedient to summon a number of the experienced older officials to his assistance, Sū Shī-ch'āng, who had from first to last always been faithful to Yüan, was called upon, in view of his high literary abilities, to act as a sort of chief secretary and literary adviser, receiving the first-class "Excellent Crop" decoration. For the greater part of 1914 and 1915 he was Secretary of State, a post which he resumed for one short month in the spring of 1916, when Yüan was preparing his unfortunate *coup d'état*. Having (after the three orthodox refusals) accepted the Imperial Crown, Yüan created "four cronies," or confidential unofficial friends, of whom Sū Shī-ch'āng was one. After the collapse of Yüan's

"Empire," Sü seems to have kept at arm's length from everyone officially, but to have been universally respected as an unofficial adviser in parlous moments ; indeed, so confused has been the political welter of the past two years in China, that the present writer must confess to having completely "lost sight of the wood for the trees."

Sü Shih-ch'ang in personal appearance is a refined man, with a well-modelled head and very intelligent eyes ; his features are all finely proportioned, even to his ears, which sit close back to the face. He parts his hair on the side in a graceful way, and wears a neatly clipped moustache and an unaggressive tuft under the lower lip. The expression of his eyes is honest, and his hair is just turning grey. The writer understands, however, that there is no time to publish in this issue the fine large portrait recently received from China, from which it might have been seen that the President would pass in any nationality as a man phrenologically "correct."

[We regret that there is no time to reproduce for this issue Mr. Parker's large-sized photograph of the President recently received direct from China.—ED. ASIATIC REVIEW.]

THE HOME RULE PROBLEM: H.H. THE AGA KHAN'S VISION OF A GREATER INDIA

By JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E.

LIKE Ulysses, the Aga Khan has seen and known much—"cities of men, and manners, climates, councils, governments"; and in this book,* dealing with the discussions of reforms in India, he has given us the benefit of his ripe experience, and we think he is right in cherishing the hope that his views may be of some service in helping to mould the moderate, yet earnestly progressive, ideas both in Great Britain and India on which the satisfactory and continuous solution of the complex Indian problem of to-day depends.

He looks forward in the near future to a great "Southern Asiatic Federation," of which India would be the pivot and centre—embracing "a vast agglomeration of States, Principalities, and Countries in Asia, extending from Aden to Mesopotamia—from the two shores of the Gulf to India proper, from India proper across Burma, and including the Malay Peninsula, and thence from Ceylon to the States of Bokhara, and from Tibet to Singapore." This Federation would affect some four hundred million human beings, made up of races manifold. But in order that India may be prepared to occupy the proud position of pivot and centre, certain reforms within herself are necessary, and these possible reforms the Aga Khan discusses in detail.

* "India in Transition: A Study in Political Evolution," by His Highness the Aga Khan. London: Lee Warner. 18s. net.

He rightly holds that, unless the governing classes in India take up the task of raising the masses of the people gradually, but surely, thus founding the fabric of the Commonwealth on the widest and deepest basis possible—namely, the whole population—the State might become liable “to years and years of anarchy and disaster, and perhaps to dissolution.” He points to the tragic warning afforded by Russia, and shows that Japan provides an instance of successful consolidation of all classes through gradual steps of greater association of the people with the Government, and of development amongst the town and country masses of a sense of right, duty, and responsibility towards Society. He holds that the tenure of the British in India must be one of “continuous amelioration.”

By universal testimony the present world-war has shown that the loyalty of the people of India to Emperor and Empire is second to none, and the explanation of this now historic fact, so puzzling and disappointing to Teutonic enemies of England, the Aga Khan traces to the circumstance that the “average Indian does not look upon himself as belonging to a conquered people or on his country as dominated by foreigners.” The Aga Khan, however, fears that this healthy Indian sentiment cannot last unless changes are introduced in the administration so as to give the people a fuller share and voice in the control of affairs in their own country. In modern India there is a growing desire for a form of government that will allow the Indian to carry his head high as a citizen of a free Empire, and at the same time will provide the means for raising the lower classes of the rural population to a fuller standard of citizenship and life. It is “the semi-conscious” and “the subconscious” that give atmosphere to national even more than to individual life, and both these forms of consciousness are extending in India. That this is so is shown by the attitude of the rulers of Native States toward their peoples. “The best administered of the Native States and most of the Princes,” says the Aga, “desire to establish

some form of legislative or other constitutional government." This would serve the twofold purpose of giving their States the prestige and force of National Institutions, and the ruling Houses the claim of "being united with the people by the ties of co-operation in the work of administration." The best rulers of Native States have endeavoured in their relatively small way to solve the problems of illiteracy and social betterment—have introduced free and compulsory education, have separated the Judicial from the Executive, and have elevated their subjects to the highest ranks in their Civil and Military Services.

His Highness, therefore, thinks that the time has come when the Government of India should no more be a Government of fiat—however excellent the fiat may be—but an essentially modern State based on the co-operation of every community with the Government by giving to the people themselves the right to direct policy.

He proceeds to examine how this can best be done, and how it will lead to the contentment of India, to the strengthening of the British Empire, and to drawing India nearer to England and the Dominions. He comes finally to a conclusion in favour of a "Federal System," and declares that the problem of a free India within the Empire can only be solved by Federalism and by facing this essential fact. But the federal scheme must be adapted to Indian conditions and historical development; and the reform proposals put forward by Mr. Gokhale in his political testament were based on claims of provincial autonomy—and were designed to lead, after a few years, to a form of workable Federalism. To facilitate this most-devoutly-to-be-wished-for consummation, the Aga Khan suggests that India might be divided into eight "major" provinces, roughly equal in area and each capable of developing a national Government. Indians should preside over provinces side by side with Englishmen, and in certain cases ruling Princes should be invited to leave their own territory for five years for the greater field of direction of a

Provincial Administration. The English heads of neighbouring provinces would thus find substantial advantage in the contiguity of an Indian ruler of proved administrative ability, dealing with public problems corresponding to their own. No federal scheme for India could be complete without taking into account Native States—for it is not too much to say that the Indian Princes are the bulwarks of the Imperial connection—and of late years some of the best-known Princes have been cherishing the ideal of a constitutional and parliamentary basis for their own administrations. The fact that these States are of varying sizes and importance constitutes no bar to their incorporation in a federal system.

The Aga Khan then proceeds to discuss the Central Government and the Viceroyalty, and shows that in India for manifold historical racial and other reasons the Monarchy is the ultimate apex, and that in a very real sense our King-Emperor is in the line of succession from Asoka and Chandragupta. This sentiment of attachment to the Crown so consonant with Indian tradition and religious belief has come to full fruition under our present gracious Sovereign, who is so well known to and beloved by his Indian subjects. His Highness, therefore, urges that the time has come to appoint to the Vice-Regency a son or brother of the Sovereign, and to make the tenure non-political.

Passing on to Local Self-Government, the Civil Service, and the Police, the Aga Khan makes many valuable criticisms and suggestions, and deals trenchantly with “the slow-footed justice” of the Judiciary—pleading for the institution in every district, and also in the great cities, of regular panels of unpaid but willing men, with commonsense and general honesty, as Arbitrators.

His views on Overseas Settlements, on Foreign Policy, on Germany’s Asiatic ambitions, the Amir’s fidelity, etc., call for careful consideration, and his urgent plea for consistent education of the masses, ought to command earnest

attention. As he justly says, "the broad aim must be to make India sufficiently well-equipped educationally to give her sons the general and special culture they seek, so that the ambitious should no longer be under the virtual compulsion to spend years of their normal student life abroad."

In many parts of the book true and sombre pictures are drawn of the social disorganization and economic backwardness from which India suffers, but it is urged that this constitutes no reason for denying political reform, and that India really wants, not only social and economic, but also political advancement, without which social and economic reforms cannot be brought to fruitful maturity. The Aga Khan accordingly insists that the basis of the autonomous State should be broadened, in order to give the people as a whole occasion for understanding and responding to the call of sacrifice for the Commonwealth. The claim, therefore, of women to share in the election of National Assemblies is an unanswerable one, for it cannot be maintained that women are less capable than the men of realizing the need for sacrifice, and it would be wrong to impose on them the acceptance of responsibility to Society at large without participation in the political shaping of the State. This being so, the Aga Khan has no hesitation in laying it down as his belief that

"The progressive modernization which depends on co-operation and understanding between the rulers and the ruled will be impossible in India unless women are permitted to play their legitimate part in the great work of national regeneration on a basis of political equality."

This is plain speaking for a Moslem, and arising out of the status of Indian women the Aga Khan discusses—like the Indian gentleman he is—British and Indian social relations, and points out that the keynote to improved relations is the cultivation of real affinities.

Finally, he speaks of his assured conviction that a progressive, satisfied, and happy India would be the strongest

pillar next to the United Kingdom of the British Empire, and that a solid union based on esteem and mutual interest and on the memory of common sacrifice for imperishable principles and the cause of Liberty, will unite India and the Dominions and the Mother Country into a great instrument for the good of all mankind.

A FEW DEEDS ALREADY FORGOTTEN OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS II.

I. THE Hague Peace Conference. Whilst Germany for forty years made ready for war, Russia was still dreaming of peace when war broke out.

II. The Siberian Railway and numerous other railroads in Russia were constructed in his lifetime.

III. The founding of many schools. His aim was universal education for Russia.

IV. When Austria threw at Russia the gauntlet of insult, not forty-eight hours elapsed before the Emperor accepted the challenge and declared war. No son could defend the honour of his mother more devotedly than the Emperor upheld the dignity of Russia, for at that time she was far from being ready, although she knew that Germany began her preparations in 1872, and had never slackened her efforts. The dream of the Hague Conference was as noble as it was, perhaps, quixotic.

V. The Emperor Nicholas declared himself the head of the Slavonic world.*

VI. The Emperor declared his determination to restore the union of the three Polands. Prussia, of course, had no intention of granting independence to Poland, and Austria unceasingly persecuted the orthodox and Slavonic element. These two Powers, at all events, have proved their hatred of everything Slav.†

But Russia expected to carry out her noble schemes, and was promised by the Allies the possession of St. Sofia, the dream of Russia since the ninth century, when it was started by the great Sviatoslav.

VII. The abolition of alcohol, a measure which was not only a moral blessing to the country and the army, but which also increased the material wealth of countless families. And the military glory with which Russia covered herself during two years of struggle was gained entirely without the influence of alcohol.

OLGA NOVIKOFF.

* Prince Gotchakoff urged O.K. never to mention the word "Slav," as Europe did not like it. (*Vide "The M.P. for Russia."*) But the Emperor was a traitor neither to his Allies nor to his orthodox Slavonic ideals.

† I remember a Slav, a Turkish subject, once saying in my presence: "Those of us who belong to Austria are no better off than those belonging to Turkey."

THE CECHO-SLOVAKS IN RUSSIA AND THE BRITISH DECLARATION

BY FRANCIS P. MARCHANT

"Ne vous y trompez pas, le cerveau de la race Slave, de cette race si grande qui s'étend jusqu'à la Sibérie, il n'est ni à Moscou, ni à Saint-Pétersbourg, ni à Belgrade, ni à Sofia ; il est à Prague. C'est de là que sont partis tous les régénérateurs de la race Slave. Dans une guerre de tranchées intellectuelles, peut-on dire, avec une ténacité admirable, ils ont remporté triomphe sur triomphe."—PROFESSOR LOUIS LEGER.

"Of all the Slav races, that of the Cecho-Slovaks is perhaps the most abundantly gifted with political and social sense, and with powers of organization hardly inferior to those of the Germans. . . . The Cecho-Slovaks are less impulsive, less flighty, than their eastern and southern kinsmen, and can therefore be relied upon to redeem their promises and carry out their programme. One can bank upon their word."—DR. E. J. DILLON.

IN "BOHEMIA, HER STORY AND HER CLAIMS,"* it was our privilege to give an account of a country which has charmed numerous travellers, whose experiences have left them sincere admirers and friends of a gallant and gifted people. *Mezi Čechy domov muj* (Among the Cechs is my home) is the refrain of Tyl's song to Skroup's melody, and those who, like the writer, have repeatedly visited Bohemia and enjoyed intercourse with members of all classes have been made to feel that this delightsome land is a home from home. It was, therefore, with a special sense of rejoicing, shared, no doubt, by many of our readers, that he read the Declaration of the British Government which appeared in the Press of August 14 last—viz. :

"Since the beginning of the war the Cecho-Slovak nation has resisted the common enemy by every means in its power. The Cecho-Slovaks have constituted a considerable army, fighting on three different battle-fields, and attempting, in Russia and Siberia, to arrest the Germanic invasion. In consideration of its efforts to achieve independence, Great Britain regards the Cecho-Slovaks as an Allied nation,* and recognizes the

* ASIATIC REVIEW, August, 1916. Published in pamphlet form by the National Cech Alliance.

unity of the three Cecho-Slovak armies as an Allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany. Great Britain also recognizes the right of the Cecho-Slovak National Council as the supreme organ of the Cecho-Slovak national interests, and as the present trustee of the future Cecho-Slovak Government, to exercise supreme authority over this Allied and belligerent army."

Since this Declaration was made, Mr. Robert Lansing issued one on behalf of the United States Government, in which it was stated that—

"The Government of the United States also recognizes the National Cecho-Slovak Council as a *de facto* belligerent government having the necessary authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Cecho-Slovak nation. The Government of the United States further declares that it is prepared to enter into relations with the *de facto* government hereby recognized for the purpose of pursuing the war against the common enemy, the Empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary."

In addition, the Japanese Government have issued the following declaration :

"The Japanese Government have noted with deep and sympathetic interest the just aspirations of the Cecho-Slovak people for a free and independent national existence. These aspirations have conspicuously been made manifest in their determined and well-organized efforts to arrest the progress of the Germanic aggression. In these circumstances, the Japanese Government are happy to regard the Cecho-Slovak Army as an allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany, and to recognize the rights of the Cecho-Slovak National Council to exercise the supreme control over that army. They are further prepared to enter into communication with the duly authorized representatives of the Cecho-Slovak National Council, whenever necessary, on all matters of mutual interest to the Japanese and the Cecho-Slovak forces in Siberia."

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the fierce rivalry of Slav and Teuton in Central Europe from the days of the Prophetess-Queen Libussa onwards. Ferdinand II. thought he had effectually crushed all independent national and religious sentiment, and succeeding Habsburgs probably regarded the Cechs of their days as the Prussians considered the slowly declining and finally unimportant Pomeranians and Lusatians ; but that more enlightened and well-disposed ruler, the Emperor Joseph II., cannot have been unaware that Bohemian aspirations were more than dormant. The smouldering embers of Joseph's day have been kindled into

heat and flame, in spite of desperate administrative douches from Vienna and the hostility of the German minority in Bohemia. We have had more than one opportunity of witnessing the racial struggle at close quarters, and remember Prague street demonstrations of Czech students against provocative displays of German emblems and the singing of *Die Wacht am Rhein* by German students. With increasing progress and prestige and steady prospects of success for the Czechs, their opponents did not hesitate to employ any means, however unscrupulous, to maintain a vanishing dominant position—e.g., by election jugglery, transforming gypsies into “German constituents,” and other methods of the kind. Through the operation of the *Ausgleich* of Count Beust in 1867, the Slovaks of Moravia and Hungary met with even more drastic treatment from the Magyars. The latter, no friends of the Germans and far from submissive vassals of Vienna, succeeded in avenging themselves for their suppression in 1848, in which the Russian legions under Paskievitch assisted the Austrians, and when the Monarchy was converted into two States with two centralized governments under the Crown, the Slavs of Hungary passed under Magyar control. We have already discussed the position of the Rumanians of Transylvania, but the condition of the Slovaks has been even worse. Money subscribed for educational purposes and school premises has been rigorously confiscated, electors tremblingly recorded their unwilling votes beneath the coercion of the bayonet, and the Press enjoyed a mockery of freedom. But in spite of persistent attempts at Magyarization, the Slovaks continue Slavs. They sided with Austria in the Magyar revolt, but received no reward or acknowledgment of their services. Slovakia became a kind of Alsace, where the natives were forced to adopt an Eastern idiom unrelated to Slav.

The Slovak poet Kollar imagined a Slav statue with Russia for the head, the Poles for the body, the Czechs for arms and hands, while Serbs, Croats, Silesians, Slovaks, and Croatians, would form the apparel and weapons.

With the head above the clouds and the feet on the earth, all Europe would bow down to this image. It must be confessed that if Russia were the head she has gone sadly astray, though we believe she will find her right path. If she is to get rid of the German "Old Man of the Sea," Russia must develop a united will to shake him off effectually. The effect of the Russian *débâcle* upon the Slavs in general has been most discouraging. In an important respect the Cechs gave a lead to all the Slavs by the foundation in 1862 by Messrs. Tyrš and Fügner of the great Sokol movement, which extended to all Slav countries, and we regret inability to treat this at length here. The message of Dr. Tyrš rings like a prophecy, and is remembered by the Cecho-Slovaks fighting as our Allies.

"The one who in time of war would defend his nation must already be on his guard during the time of peace, observing all the penetrating influences of ruin in life, and with his flaming sword of knowledge let him crush and disband the vampires and bats of darkness on every field. Such be our leading star in every undertaking, our religion, and the supreme consecration of all our life."

Professor Leo Wiener, of Harvard, goes so far as to say that "Bohemia was the intellectual mistress of what may be called the proto-Slavic world."

The relations of Cechs with Russians have always been cordial. A member of the Bohemian Brotherhood, an outcome of the Hussite movement, Pastor Rokyta, had profound theological discussions at Moscow with the fanatical despot Ivan the Terrible. The Abbé Dobrovsky, the eminent Slav pioneer philologist, examined Slav manuscripts at St. Petersburg, wrote a comparative study of Cech and Russian, and when Russian troops passed across his country during the Napoleonic wars he prepared a guide to mutual understanding. The Russian savants Rumiantsev and Pogodin took keen interest in the new field of research, and the latter translated Dobrovsky's studies into Russian. Shishkov made Vaclav Hanka's famous manuscripts known in Russia, and the poet Ladislas Celakovsky included Russian and Little Russian specimens in his

collections of Slavonic songs. "What would the Slavs be without the Russians?" cried Celakovsky; "without them the Germans would exterminate us all." A scheme was set on foot by Shishkov to establish Chairs of *Slavianstvo* in Russia, with Hanka, Safářík, and Celakovsky as professors, but this did not materialize. Pogodin aided Safářík by raising subscriptions in Russia to his still standard "Slav Antiquities," and Hanka received from the Tsar Nicholas I. the Cross of Commander of the Order of St. Anne. Count L. N. Tolstoy met with a kindred spirit in reading the works of the Hussite Peter Chelčicky. Thus Russia was indebted for enlightenment to Cech experts of the Slavonic world. Representative Cechs lectured in Russian Universities and schools, and there were numerous colonies dotted about the former Empire. With regard to her neighbour Poland, there are many points of historical contact. The languages are akin, and Polish translators of the Bible made use of the Kralice and other Cech versions. In the fifteenth century Poles and Cechs opposed the Teutonic *Drang nach Osten*, and Žižka is said to have taken part with the Bohemian and Moravian contingents at the battle of Grünwald or Tannenberg. Poles, Russians, and Lithuanians fought in the Hussite ranks against the Germans and Hungarians of the Emperor Sigismund. Žižka and Sigismund Koributovitch worked for the same ends, and Bohemia and Poland were several times united under a common dynasty. Revolutionary movements in Poland were regarded with sympathy in Bohemia, and in Prussia they have a common enemy.

Relations with France have continued from the days of the blind King John of Luxemburg, who fell at Crecy, and his greater son, the Emperor Charles IV., founded the University of Prague on the model of Paris University. Napoleon tried to stimulate Bohemian patriotism, but his appeal was premature. During the Franco-German War, French fugitive soldiers, not knowing their locality, met with welcome and comfort from Bohemian peasants, who knew that they were fighting their own foes of centuries. Cech deputies protested against the annexation of Alsace-

Lorraine. The historical links between England and Bohemia are many, and have become better known of late years, and the importance of the Cech element in the United States can only be mentioned in passing. When the world conflagration started, it was not difficult for those who knew the Cechs to guess on which side their sympathies lay. During the previous Balkan conflicts, their delight at the victories of their Southern Slav brethren was great. The Central Powers were alive to Cech sentiment, and the system of Austrian police espionage and German militarism made it impossible for the Cechs to revolt successfully. Cech soldiers were shot soon after the declaration of war. The only way in which they could render assistance to the Allies was to induce as many soldiers as possible to form an independent Cecho-Slovak army to fight on the side of the *Entente* for the complete independence of Bohemia. About 300,000 surrendered to Russia alone. Out of the 70,000 prisoners in Serbia, 35,000 were Cechs, but, unfortunately, almost all of these perished during the Serbian retreat. About 20,000 surrendered voluntarily to Italy, and are now fighting by the side of Italian troops. In Russia there has been a Cecho-Slovak legion from the outbreak of the war, which rendered valuable services, especially in scouting. The famous 28th Regiment of Prague was literally fetched by a few Cech volunteers over to the Russians in a body, including the band, without firing a single shot. Cech troops have been mentioned in the Russian communiqués of February 2, 1916, March 29, 1917, and July 2, 1917, for bravery. More than a third of them have been decorated with high Russian Orders. The organization of the Cecho-Slovak voluntary prisoners in Russia into regular units met with serious obstacles. Being unable to join the Russian ranks to such a degree as they would have liked, many entered the Serbian voluntary division which gallantly fought in Rumania in October, 1916. These have now been transferred to the Cecho-Slovak army in France.

It was only after the Russian Revolution, and especially

after the arrival of Professor Masaryk in Russia in May, 1917, that the Cech legion grew into a brigade, and finally into an army corps, recruited almost exclusively from among prisoners of war. The Cecho-Slovak brigade especially distinguished itself near Zborow in July, 1917, taking 4,000 prisoners and a large amount of guns and ammunition, against vastly superior forces. Unfortunately the moral of the Russian troops was already undermined, and the Cechs, abandoned on both flanks, were compelled to retire. Some were transported to France, but the bulk, numbering well over 80,000, remained in Russia. Unaffected by the Bolshevik propaganda and ever animated by the desire to serve the *Entente*, they longed to join their fellow-countrymen fighting in France. Under all circumstances they endeavoured to preserve strict neutrality in Russia's internal affairs. The Bolsheviks assured them free passage to Vladivostok. Two divisions were to leave Russia immediately, and the rest to follow.

The concentration of Cecho-Slovak troops took place partly in the Ukraine, partly in Western Siberia, where recruiting among Cecho-Slovak prisoners of war was still proceeding. Those in the Ukraine defeated superior German troops at Bachmatch, near Kiev, at the end of March. Thence they moved towards Moscow. This detachment counted about 30,000. From Moscow one part moved towards Perm, the other towards Viatka, both places on the railway connecting Petrograd and Tsheliabinsk at the foot of the Urals. Those who went toward Viatka intended to reach Vologda, which has direct railway connexion with Archangelsk, while the second party wished to proceed eastwards towards Yekaterinburg and Tsheliabinsk. At the same time the Cechs attempted also to occupy the southern railway-line from Tsheliabinsk via Ufa, Samara, and Penza to Moscow. In Western Siberia the Cecho-Slovaks occupied the Trans-Siberian Railway at Omsk, Tomsk, Novo-Nikolaevsk, and Krasnoyarsk as far as Nizhny Udinsk, also Tobolsk, north-west of Omsk. Finally, they occupied the eastern part of

the railway, from Chita to Vladivostok. The first resistance they encountered was at Tsheliabinsk from Magyar ex-prisoners of war, on May 26. The Bolsheviks took the part of the Magyar prisoners, yielded to German intrigues, and arrested prominent members of the Moscow branch of the Cecho-Slovak National Council on the ground that they were "anti-revolutionaries." They alleged also that they had no guarantee that ships would be provided for the Cechs to be transported to France, that the Cechs held up food supplies from Siberia, and that they should be disarmed. The Bolsheviks deliberately broke their word, and began to hinder the free passage of Cecho-Slovak troops through Siberia. Trotsky issued an Order to "all troops fighting against the anti-revolutionary Cecho-Slovak Brigade," in which he demanded their voluntary disarmament before negotiation on penalty of shooting. Fights between Bolsheviks and Cecho-Slovaks followed, in which the latter were always victorious, although the Bolsheviks were strengthened by German and Magyar ex-prisoners. At the beginning of June, 300 Cechs at Irkutsk were surrounded by 3,000 Red Guards. They refused to disarm, captured the Bolsheviks' machine-guns, and occupied the station. They defeated also a considerable force of German-Magyar ex-prisoners in Krasnoyarsk, and established themselves firmly in Udinsk. On June 29, 15,000 Cecho-Slovaks under General Diderichs, after handing an ultimatum to the Bolsheviks in Vladivostok, occupied the city without much resistance. Only on one spot fighting took place, and some 160 Bolsheviks were killed. The Cecho-Slovaks then proceeded to Nikolsk, fifty miles north of Vladivostok, where they joined the Cossacks, while the Bolsheviks and Germans retreated to Khabarovsk. Thus the Cecho-Slovaks occupied the whole Trans-Siberian Railway west of Irkutsk and east of Chita. On July 12, they began to proceed east of Irkutsk.

In the meantime the Cecho-Slovaks in East European Russia were equally successful in their operations. They defeated the Bolsheviks, Germans, and Magyars at Penza

on May 29. After that they established themselves in Samara, and occupied also an important bridge over the Volga near Syzran, west of Samara, and later took Kazan, to the north. They are also holding the northern line from Tsheliabinsk via Yekaterinburg towards Vologda. Reports have also been received from Copenhagen about the victory of the Cech troops over a force of Finns and Germans near Kandala, on the Murman Railway. The number of Cech and Yugo-Slav troops in Murmansk, however, is inconsiderable. There is no doubt that the Cecho-Slovaks have received support from the native population, tired of Bolshevik tyranny. As we write, further developments are in progress. In some ways the Cecho-Slovak forces have encountered difficulties like those of the Greeks under Xenophon, but the area covered in the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand is small in comparison to the vast Russian and Siberian plains.

On September 11 Mr. Lloyd George sent the following telegram to Professor Masaryk :

"On behalf of the British War Cabinet I send you our heartiest congratulations on the striking successes won by the Cecho-Slovak forces against armies of German and Austrian troops in Siberia. The story of the adventures and triumphs of this small army is, indeed, one of the greatest epics of history. It has filled us all with admiration for the courage, persistence, and self-control of your countrymen, and shows what can be done to triumph over time, distance, and lack of material resources by those holding the spirit of freedom in their hearts. Your nation has rendered inestimable service to Russia and to the Allies in their struggle to free the world from despotism. We shall never forget it."

Dr. Edward Beneš* has related how the Cecho-Slovaks have done their best to thwart the Central Powers in the course of the war, and to assist the Allies. The Austrian Government has imprisoned Dr. Karel Kramář (Young Cech leader), Mr. Klofač, Dr. Josef Scheiner (chief of the Sokols), the poet Machar, and many others, in some cases passing sentence of death. Professor T. G. Masaryk, statesman and philosopher, now holding a position at

* "Bohemia's Case for Independence," by Edward Beneš, D.Litt., with an Introduction by H. Wickham Steed. London: Allen and Unwin.

King's College, London, succeeded in escaping, and has been instrumental in organizing Cecho-Slovak propaganda in the Old and New Worlds. Most of the Cech and all^c the Slovak journals have been suppressed, or, where tolerated, have been vainly offered "patriotic" articles by the Austrian official Press Bureau. As we write, Count Tisza has sounded a note of alarm and denunciation of treason to the "Austrian Fatherland," and urged the strongest measures against Cechs and Yugo-Slavs.

In their note to President Wilson of January 10, 1917, the Allies stated that among their war aims was "the liberation of Italians, Slavs, Rumanians, and Cecho-Slovaks from foreign domination," and the Cechs know that only the Allies can secure their independence. The British Declaration necessarily implies the disintegration of the Habsburg monarchy, thus rendering the Central Powers incapable of future aggression. A "German peace," with possible recuperation by the enemy and a future renewal of hostilities, must be prevented by the conclusive victory of the Allies. The French and Italians had given recognition to the Cecho-Slovak forces, and last May the Prince of Wales saw a Cecho-Slovak contingent in the guard of honour during his visit to Rome, to the exasperation of Vienna. Senator Lodge, in a speech on the Man-Power Bill at Washington, emphasizing the necessity of a peace dictated by the Allies, said that it was most important that the Slav populations under Austria should be established as independent States. These, with a new Poland, would stand in the way of a future *Drang nach Osten*. Among the gifts from the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to him, Mr. Roosevelt sent one, through the Acting American Vice-Consul at Kharbin and Vladivostok, for the Cecho-Slovaks, "the extraordinary nature of whose great and heroic feat is literally unparalleled, so far as I know, in ancient or modern warfare."

It is claimed that the Cecho-Slovak State itself will be strong both strategically and economically. It will number

over twelve millions, and its territory, comprising Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Slovakia, will be about 50,000 square miles. Geographically, Bohemia forms a veritable mountain fortress in the heart of Europe, and economically, too, she would be strong and self-supporting, having been the richest area of the Austrian dominions. Prague is a railway centre of European importance, owing to her situation between the Adriatic and the Baltic Seas. An agreement with her future neighbours, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, and Rumania, would secure an outlet to the sea by means of international railways, while the Elbe and Danube would also form important trade routes. Bohemia would become an intermediary between the Baltic and Adriatic, as well as between East and West. A close alliance between Bohemia, Italy, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, and Rumania would form an effective safeguard against German penetration in the East, Near East, and Adriatic. Since Rumania will border both on Bohemia and Yugo-Slavia, the Germans would be completely checked by a strong Latin-Slav barrier, working for stability in Central Europe and safeguarding the Continent from a repetition of Teutonic attempts at world domination. The dismemberment of Austria would unite nations long dismembered.

The Cechs rightly claim to have reached a high level in literature, art, and music. They have been unevenly treated in the matter of education by the Vienna Government, since, while nine million Germans in Austria have five universities, and five million Poles have two, seven million Cechs have only the Bohemian University at Prague, and obstacles have been thrown in the way of the foundation of another at Brno (Brünn), in Moravia. When, some years ago, the Bohemian University honoured many distinguished foreigners with the title of Ph.D. Prague, Viennese sanction had to be waited for over a prolonged period. At least 300,000 Cechs in Vienna were deprived of public schools. A private society kept schools going in the country, and subscriptions were collected for their support by means of

special stamps (*narodni kolky*). We have met peasant boys walking for miles in rural districts to attend school. In spite of all difficulties, the standard of education compares as follows :

	Czechs.	Austrian Germans.	Magyars.
Persons able to read and write	... 96½ per cent.	92 per cent.	40 per cent.
Persons only able to read	2 "	1 "	4 "
Illiterates	... 1½ "	7	56

The Allies will find, in the new Cecho-Slovak State, a powerful colleague in the cause of freedom, justice, and enlightened democracy, and a firm centre of resistance to the *Mittel Europa*, Near and Far Eastern aims of the Central Powers. The decisive victory confidently hoped for on the Western front could not be complete without the realization, with Allied co-operation, of the legitimate aspirations of our gallant and tenacious friends, bravely holding on against tremendous odds.

We conclude with a free translation of the famous song *Hej Slovane*, by S. Tomaszik. The air is modified from that of the Polish hymn *Jeszcze Polska nie zginela* (Poland is not yet lost), but is more resonant. We have heard it sung by parties of Cech students during stormy times at Prague, and the late Count Lützow honoured us by accepting the dedication of this rendering.

" Hey, Slavonians, be ye mindful that our tongue dies never,
While our faithful hearts are beating for the nation ever ;
Live, long live the Slavic language, sounding through the ages,
(bis) Thunder rolling, wrath eternal ! Vain our foeman rages.

" 'Tis the gift our God entrusted, God the lord of thunder,
Therefore who on earth can wrest it from our lives asunder ?
Though our foes, like hosts of darkness, in proud ranks are swelling,
(bis) God is with us : fall upon them, Perun* all-dispelling.

" Though against us clouds are looming, mighty storms impending,
Rocks destroying, strong oaks cleaving, earth's foundations rending,
Firm we stand as castle ramparts, tongue and homeland shielding ;
(bis) May the earthquake seize the dastard who would dream of yielding !

* Perun, the old Slavonic thunder-deity, resembling the Norse Thor.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE MEDIEVALISM OF INDIA, OR THE DUALISM OF HINDU LIFE *

By "CASSANDRA"

As a study India is unique. She is not so much a blend as a compound of the Middle Ages (in the European sense) and of the twentieth century, in which the two elements are very imperfectly mixed. King George V. and King Henry VIII. walk arm-in-arm through the country, and each has his special departments to control and his special institutions to protect. India boasts much of her ancient civilization. We are constantly reminded that while Britons wandered naked through the forests India had her laws, her organized society, her settled religion. We need not dispute the antiquity of her customs or of her civilization; but we have a right to inquire whether and how far they have led. We cannot be content with an argument which, after all, is closely allied to that ignorant remark, "I knew that before you were born."

ἡμεῖς τῶν πατέρων μεγ' αμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι.

We who live in an age of railways and telegraphs, of quick-firing guns and monster men-of-war, of Higher Criticism and scientific discovery, read of the doings of our ancestors as of something valuable indeed, or links in the chain of evolution, but past and gone, never to return. •The archery which won

* By courtesy of the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW, this interesting paper has been placed at the disposal of the East India Association prior to its publication in the REVIEW. It is to be read on behalf of the author, who is absent from England and desires to remain anonymous.

the battles of Agincourt, the old lumbering coaches on the high roads, are things which are no more living to-day than the contests of Homeric heroes and the chariot of Boadicea. The intolerance which sent More to the block and Latimer to the stake is now unknown, and medical science laughs at the cures supposed to be wrought at some saintly shrine. Yet all these things exist in India. It is true that she has moved onwards, for, as the old Greek philosopher said, all things are in a state of flux : but her vast conservation, unequalled, even unapproached, by any European country, has insured that her evolution should be of the slowest. Almost in a single day, as the life of nations counts, she has been, as it were, hurled against the civilization of the West, introduced suddenly to marvellous scientific discoveries, taught to observe political systems of which she never dreamed. At one bound Western civilization stood before her to adopt or to reject, as Athéné sprang armed from the head of Zeus. And she has adopted this, but has not rejected her ancient customs. Side by side with the railway plods the bullock-cart, slow-moving, springless, much as it plodded three hundred years ago. Messages still go from hand to hand ; hunters still slay game with arrows. And these things are but the material types of her mental attitude. Your pleader defends his case, armed with High Court and Privy Council decisions, subtly analyzing the differences and distinctions, ably interpreting the latest evolutions of the Roman Law, and to-morrow, when the Court rises, he will make a pilgrimage to Tirupati to perform a vow, and will shout "Govindan" with the best. Your councillor, fresh from a debate on the principles of local self-government, will send for some expert in "mantras" (charms) to cure a sick child. Your clerk, who is busy writing up reports and returns on the most approved Western model, and who will smile in a superior way at the ignorances and superstitions of the villagers, will go to his house and dedicate all his small savings to his particular teraphim, with ceremonial prostrations and prayers.

Thus it is that the Indian leads, as it were, a dual life—the artificial, earnestly initiative life, which strives to comprehend and follow the light and leading of Western civilization and to take advantage of Western science, and the inner, more natural life, which throws these things aside and clings to the customs of past ages. It is as though a clerk in the Bank of England or a barrister from Lincoln's Inn could put on Andersen's goloshes of Fortune when he left his work, and travel by railway indeed, but to a home of medieval surroundings where, after an evening at the Wapenshaw or the Morris dance, he lay down to rest on a rush-strewn floor in a house innocent of glass windows. It is as though the British Association should disperse and journey, some to Canterbury, some to Lourdes or Rome, to perform vows or to seek some vague religious consolation from pilgrimage. Herein lies the difference : We, no doubt, and all Europe, live two lives—the official or business life in the town, the social and domestic life at home, but the latter is as much the product of the century we live in as the former ; the Indian, left to go his own way, relapses into the Middle Ages, and his methods of government and his ideas of public affairs would correspond, had not those ideas and those methods been taken in hand by a Western Power.

We are, perhaps, overfond of flaunting our Western civilization in the faces of those whose manners and customs differ from ours. We are apt to forget the long history of the evolution, not only of material prosperity, but of morality, which led from Greece (to go no farther back) to Rome, from Rome to the dismemberment of the Empire into separate States, from this, again, to the consolidation of kingdoms and empires as we now find them. We do not always remember that India has not had the same opportunities which come from the finding of different races and of different philosophies. Above all, we do not always recognize that the civilization which we prize so highly may not appear so beautiful in the eyes of those who stand without the gate. A fierce attack was made upon it in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* by one

Swami Bharati Baha in 1911. "What, after all," he says in effect, "is this wonderful civilization? A scramble for money in which the nerves are strung to the highest tension, a social order which fosters immorality, an organization in which everything is subordinated to material prosperity, a system which sets at defiance the Divine laws of marriage, and in which all things spiritual are sacrificed to the one inordinate desire to live this life in bodily comfort, if not in luxury. Take away from us your Western code of materialism, and let the East once more live that spiritual life to which she had been accustomed before you intruded upon her meditation with your creed of material prosperity." We are not here concerned to defend the civilization of the West, but rather to consider the point of view of its critic. For all his high-sounding phrases about the spiritual life, the writer is appealing, upon a moderate interpretation, for the restoration of the unlimited ascendancy of priesthood, and, in the ultimate result, for the unbridled spread of the grossest superstition; and such a point of view transports us at once to the Middle Ages. Or, if we accept the logical conclusion of his rhapsody, he is seeking to establish a sort of monasticism after the pattern of the early hermits. His ideal is the naked fakir sitting in the road besmeared with ashes, whose whole life is given up to the contemplation of the Divinity, in order to obtain the sooner the goal of Hindu aspiration, absorption into the Divine Essence and extinction of individuality.

Such ideals, whatever their merits, do not appeal to the mind of Europe: St. Francis of Assisi belongs to a bygone age. But there can be no doubt that "holy" men still strike the imagination of the Indian populace; they crowd to see them and offer them gifts according to their means, either from a genuine reverence for their sanctity or because they hope to share in the reward of their austerities. They do not stop to inquire how the priesthood misuse the revenues of the temples, or why a stain of immorality clings to the Hindu Church of the present day. It is enough for them to see the devotee of religion, sitting rapt in meditation and oblivious

to all around him, and it does not matter to them whether his meditations are critical or intelligent, whether his thoughts are coherent, or whether he is really thinking at all. The old stories of the "Ramayana" and the "Mahabharata" are still the living literature of the villagers, who listen eagerly to legends which tell how this or that King was able to compel even the high Gods by his austerity and his penance.

There is something noble, one might almost say sublime, in the childlike faith of the people which clings, as it has always clung, to the ancient creed, unhampered by Higher Criticism and theological disputation ; to that ancient creed which believes in the personalities of the gods, some of them malignant goddesses and demons which swarm around, ready and eager to do some injury to hapless men. For the true esoteric creed of Brahmanism (as revealed in the Vedas and Upanishads), before the domination of caste and the overwhelming victory of mere mythology had obscured the purer Aryan religion, has produced discussions as subtle, perhaps enmities as bitter, as any which arose among the Fathers over the Equality of the Sonship or the Procession of the Holy Ghost. A remarkable instance of this childlike faith occurred not long ago. A certain man in a distant village was warned three times by the god in a dream that his passionate desire for a son, so far unfulfilled, could be gratified if he would but apply to the Collector of the district. At last he came over miles of difficult country with a petition to obtain for him the boon he so much desired, and seem quite confident both that the officer had the power to grant it and that the god had really pointed out the way of salvation. Outbreaks of cholera or plague, visitations and calamities in various forms, constantly manifest the belief in the efficacy of charms, incantations and ceremonies. It is pitiful to see the people to-day carried off in hundreds for want of the simplest sanitary precautions, while they present offerings, sacrifice goats, and try in a hundred separate ways to appease the wrath of the village goddess. The twentieth century tells them that cholera is carried in the water and plague by the rat fleas ; the sixteenth

century advises them to pay no heed to water or fleas, but to appease the goddess. And too often they follow the advice of the sixteenth century.

It is largely owing to the failure to recognize this medieval spirit that misunderstandings born of impatience arise between the two races. The Englishman is unable to think himself back into the atmosphere of the sixteenth century, and while on the one hand he cannot understand why the people do not readily accept what to him are the established facts of every-day life, on the other he finds it hard to appreciate the value of vows and pilgrimage, of incantations and charms, in which his own ancestors delighted. The Indian on his part resents this attitude ; from not having analyzed the causes of it, he thinks it arises from mere unsympathetic arrogance. Occasionally too, and for the same reason, there appears to be some confusion of thought in political matters ; men do not always discern that institutions useful enough under the old autocratic rule and in more primitive conditions may not suit a system which tends to be democratic, and a more complex age. No better example could be given of the confusion of thought than the proposal to revive the village panchayet. Village communities have existed in India, as everyone knows, for many centuries, and the strong conservatism of the country, coupled with the desire of the ruling class or race to interfere as little as possible with existing institutions, has served to keep them alive in a state differing little from that of the fourteenth century. Other causes, no doubt, such as the preponderance of agriculture in the country and the dislike to town life, have contributed to this result, but these need not detain us. These village communities, then, were governed in a certain limited sense, and so far only as the petty internal affairs of the village were concerned, by village panchayets or councils of respected men, whose number, judging from etymology alone, should have been five, though it does not appear that there was any strict adherence to that number. They seem to have decided petty quarrels, petty civil disputes, disagreements about the taking of water, caste observances ; perhaps

also they controlled the forests. Very likely they did most useful work for the times in which they existed. But it is necessary to remember that these times have altogether changed. In the days when travelling was slow and roads were bad, or simply did not exist, it was impossible for any Government, however well intentioned, to interfere in any detail in the management of village affairs. Regular courts held by trained officers were not established ; the King or the Chief administered justice. Departments of State were not created ; the Viceroy and his lieutenants did their best to carry on all parts of the administration, to the extent to which the turbulence of the times gave them leisure. Society was far less complex than it is now ; with a more systematic Government, with a more scientific administration, with the creation of special departments, such as the Police, the Forests, and the Public Works, to look after those interests which were formerly confided to the village panchayet, the need for it became less and less imperative, until for many purposes it became obsolete. The rise of the democratic principle which underlies the British constitution put an end to the medieval idea that taxation was for the benefit of the King, and thereby to the shameless squandering of public money on useless ostentation, which disfigures alike the pages of Indian and of European history. Indeed, no argument is required to prove that the India of to-day, with its swift communications by rail, with its development of roads, of irrigation, of forests, with its settled security under the British Flag, is not the India of Akbar. To talk, then, of reviving the village panchayet is a misuse of language, for it existed to serve the ends of the village community in primitive times, and those times are now past, with their necessities and with their institutions.

In the sixth century we find among the early Saxons who settled in England a constitution not unlike that of the village panchayet. The smallest political community was the village, or, as it is commonly called, the township. • The freemen of the township met to settle small questions between themselves under the presidency of their reeve or headman. More

important cases were brought before the hundred-moot or meeting of the hundred, a district which was inhabited, or was supposed to have been inhabited, either by a hundred kindred groups of the original settlers or by the families of a hundred warriors. Now, though in the village the freemen met together in full conclave and everyone had a right to speak, yet they were represented in the hundred-moot by a body of five men (the coincidence of numbers is curious), who themselves, including the reeve, were "all of them humble cultivators." It is safe to assume from the common experience of every day and from the teaching of all history that these five men chosen to represent the village were the respected and influential inhabitants whose voice practically decided all the petty questions that came before the village council.

These men were therefore, in effect, the village panchayet of the Saxons. The hundred-moot was clearly a further development of the system, and finds no exact parallel in India; in fact, the village panchayet seems to have occupied a middle position between the Saxon village council and the hundred-moot. Large questions of crime were handled by the latter body on the primitive system then practised. The punishments were generally fines, graduated according to the offence and paid over to the injured party: sometimes death was inflicted or slavery, but where a fine was not levied the chief form of punishment was outlawry.

Of any rules of evidence there was absolutely no knowledge. If a man swore he was innocent and could get twelve men to swear that the oath was true, he was acquitted; if not, he could appeal to ordeal or the judgment of the gods.

Now, in all this there is much similarity with what is frequently found in India to-day. Ordeal, which consisted in walking through fire, plunging the hand into boiling water, and similar trials calculated to do serious bodily harm, are indeed unknown, because such practices would not now be tolerated. But the caste frequently fines for caste offences, wrongs are frequently redressed by the adjudication of a sum of money to the injured party, and the oaths of innocence may

well be compared to the oath taken in the temple under various forms that are supposed to be binding, the penalty for perjury being Divine vengeance.

It seems unnecessary to trace the gradual development and modification of these early English courts through their absorption into the royal authority to the present system of councils of the borough, the county, and the parish, shorn of their judicial functions, which have been handed over, in part at any rate, to another body of men, also unskilled in law, and known as Justices of the Peace. The term of self-government remains, but the conditions are entirely altered. The village councils or moots were established, not because the members composing them were specially competent, but because, in the tribal constitution of society and in the absence of all legal knowledge, they were able to dispose of certain matters as well as anybody else, and they satisfied the requirements of the primitive community. Now, however, larger powers are granted to the more important councils, not only because the democratic principle demands that the people should govern themselves, but also because intelligent and highly educated men are to be found who will do the work for nothing, and thus relieve the State and therefore the taxpayer of an unnecessary burden.

Whether the "revival" of these village councils would or would not be a good thing is a question with which we are not concerned ; it is clear that the underlying principle of any such revival would not be the tribal system, but local self-government—a very different thing. The illustration serves to show how the educated classes, accustomed to the dual life, may lose sight of the political conditions in considering the social system alone. For the two lives, though they may be sharply differentiated in thought, are not so easily distinguished in practice ; and this applies equally to the social relations of the two races.

The life of the people, then, is controlled by two forces, the medieval and the modern, acting sometimes independently, but more often conjointly, and in proportion in any given

matter to the influence of native and European ideas respectively. The abolition of Sati, that sacrifice which to the Hindu mind represented the ideal of womanhood, was due to European abhorrence of human sacrifice, and perhaps also to the European conception of the value of human life. These considerations were not without weight with the Hindus ; but Sati was not abandoned without a struggle, and this idea still lingers on in parts of India. Western sentiment, however, backed by the force of the sovereign power, was too strong, and Sati disappeared. The obvious convenience of railways and telegraphs, the speed and certainty of the post, combined, it may be added, with the extreme cheapness of them all, appealed to the native mind, and such things have become well recognized and established. On the other side we have the caste system and religious ceremonies, even such material things as dress and housebuilding, in all of which the West has either interfered but little or has abstained from interference, and here the native or medieval idea largely preponderates. It is true that writers, both English and Indian, have denounced the "tyranny of caste," and that travel to Europe, which caste rules forbid, is becoming more frequent every day. It is also true that Indians have sometimes adopted Western ideas on the subject of remarriage ; yet the necessity for justification of those who return to India from unhallowed soil still remains, and virgin widows in the overwhelming majority of cases are not free to remarry.

There remains the third class of cases, those in which Indian sentiment dashes into European ideas, though it is compelled to some extent to give way to *force majeure*, or is becoming slowly reconciled to the discovery of science.

There is perhaps nothing in the whole system of our administration that the Indian resents so much as our forest laws. Unable to grasp the indirect influences of forests, unmindful of the future and looking only to the immediate present, the villagef does not see why he should not hack and hew the trees, why the goats should not destroy every green thing : why, if it pleases him, he should not lay waste every hill within

his reach. He obeys the forest laws, not because he likes them, or even acquiesces in them, but because he must. He would far rather go back to the fifteenth century, when he could do as he liked. The educated classes no doubt give a grudging assent to the principles of our forest regulations, and only cry out against their harshness in application, and especially against the venality and tyranny of the petty officials. But these, again, are eminently characteristic of the Middle Ages. Here is a picture of France in 1596 : "The taxes were higher than men could bear : and still worse the plundering of them was terrible . . . only 13,000,000 of livres reached the treasury, while the actual taxation amounted to no less than 150,000,000"; and again Vauban writes that in 1699 "Streets of towns are full of beggars whom famine and nakedness have driven forth," the remedy proposed being to reduce the army of tax-gatherers, whose "business was mismanaged and ended in terrible oppression." If the circumstances are different, and if the end of the seventeenth century is not medieval, the spirit is the same ; and it is significant that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, surely no flatterer of the Indian Government and no hostile critic of the Indians, lays at the door of the British the sin, not of having preserved, but of having destroyed the forests.

On the other hand, where European ideas have not been forced upon the people by the operation of laws and rules, but have merely been inculcated by the further methods of persuasion, the spirit of the Middle Ages is still strong and is very reluctant to yield ground. With the possible exception of agriculture, there is no department of the public weal in which progress is such uphill work as that of health, including, of course, sanitation. The hospitals doubtless show that many thousands of the population resort to scientific treatment, but they are and can be established only in the larger places, while the private practitioner trained on scientific lines hardly exists at all. Indeed, the hospitals themselves are the witnesses of the people's defiance of the ordinary laws of health ; for many of the diseases are due to the simple neglect of cleanliness.

ness. Cholera carries off its thousands every year ; plague continues its ravages ; even malaria goes unchecked, because the people have no faith in quinine. Nor is this attitude of passive resistance entirely confined to the lower classes. If the educated minority have adopted Western methods of sanitation, it is still common to find that they prefer the native doctor with his empiric methods to the official doctor trained on scientific lines. In the domain of medicine, surgery, alone of Western methods, holds the field unchallenged, because surgery is practically unknown to the antiquated system of the country. The people no longer entrust a broken leg to the village barber who pulls it approximately straight, since they know that the medical man can set it properly without difficulty.

The legal system stands in a class by itself. It is a curious fact that while almost every other department of Government has been adversely criticized of late years, sometimes with moderation, sometimes with violence, the Law Courts are looked upon as the most precious possession of the land. The revenue system is denounced as tyranny, though it is merely a development on milder lines of what we inherited from the native rulers ; the salt monopoly is iniquitous ; the forest laws are cruel ; the railways are a doubtful blessing ; the liquor laws encourage drunkenness ; even irrigation has its attendant evils. Only the Law Courts, notwithstanding their cumbrous procedure and their enormous delays, their costliness and the false evidence that is rampant everywhere, stand unassailed ; and, if the Hindu could have his way, unassailable, for the motto he would put up on every High Court is “Touch not the Lord’s Anointed.” Here at least we have a purely modern institution freely and thankfully accepted by the people —a system no less of Western making than are the forest laws, and not dependent, like the railways, on modern scientific invention, not jarring, it would seem, upon any medieval conceptions.

Though at first sight this problem may seem an obstacle, it may be explained. The practical Englishman, impatient of

the law's delay and rather distrustful of the law's equity, hesitates long before he embarks on a civil suit, weighs the chances of success, and counts up the cost and its relation to the value of the action. The Indian, infinitely patient, inspired with a passion for justice in the abstract, which he flavours with a spice of gambling, will carry a case about a trifle to the bitter end. Cost does not matter ; the value of the suit does not matter much ; to win your case, to get the better of your opponent, to preserve your dignity in the eyes of your fellows—these are the real aims of the Hindu litigant. The evidence, oral and documentary, the arguments of learned lawyers in two or three different courts, the elaborate judgments of several judges—all these appeal to the Indian mind in its quest of abstract justice.

It would be absurd to contend that whatever is modern is distasteful to the Indian. The railways and the postal system have already disproved that ; but while the railways and the post are cheap and convenient, the Law Courts are neither the one nor the other. They represent, however, a system which has swept away the ruder attempts at justice, and while they appeal to the Hindu theoretical mind, their articulate praises come from the lips of lawyers, a class of our own creation who live by the Law Courts, who could live in these days in no other way and who practically control the Press and the platform. Moreover, even in the Law Courts there is a medieval strain. In the Penal Code we have merely embodied what civilized peoples consider offences, and yet when the Age of Consent Act was passed a shriek arose that here was an attack on the Hindu religion. The Hindu and Muhammadan systems of law are still administered in the courts, though under modern forms of procedure and subject to modern interpretations. Yet these systems are more than medieval : they are ancient. If we still retain statutes of Edward III. or of Richard II., it is because, though ancient, they are good. The foundations of Roman Law stand for the justice of all time. The Hindu, dating his law from centuries before Christ ; the Muhammadan, taking the origin of his from the

Koran, preserve them, less because they are good than because they are old and, being old, sacred. If the Government of India could be supposed to have the inconceivable folly to sweep away all Hindu and Muhammadan law, the very foundations of the whole social system would be shattered, and the country would rise as one man. Where, then, would be the popularity of the Law Courts? They are popular now largely because we are administering ancient codes with modern machinery.

It is a shallow view that calls the Western civilization of the Hindus mere artificial veneer, a hypocritical cloak to be thrown on or off as it suits the purpose of the wearer. There are many Indians who have a genuine admiration for things Western, and who, to a very large extent, have assimilated the spirit of the West : there are even those who, "plus royalistes que le roi," express contempt for Oriental manners and customs. But deep down in the heart of every Indian there remains the spirit of the East, the spirit of the Middle Ages. Not that these are necessarily the same ; but the differences between the races are not altogether differences of geography : they are differences of time also.

It is probably because this dualism of Indian life is imperfectly recognized that some writers profess themselves unable to see why India should not be autonomous, while others look upon her as "practically hopeless." The former travel through India with or without prejudices, find everywhere an orderly Government largely conducted by Indians ; are astonished at the fluency, the ability, the powers of the educated Hindus whom they meet, and *with whom alone they can or want to converse*, and imbued with the democratic spirit of their own country are convinced that the denial of a full share in the administration to Indians is due to the tyranny of an autocratic or bureaucratic Government which selfishly seeks to keep all the loaves and fishes for the white race. Talking with versatile men, past-masters in the art of persuasion as well as in that of concealing what is inconvenient, they see little of the real, social, natural life, which is medieval ;

still less do they learn anything of that village life upon which the whole structure of Indian society is founded.

On the other hand, there are those who share the view of a recent traveller that a "population is practically hopeless when lying and thieving are not considered wrong ; when a cow is more holy than a woman, when to eat with a person of another caste seems more polluting than lasciviousness, when to save the life of an ant is a work of religious merit, and to kill a snake or a monkey seems the blackest of sins." Granted that this indictment is true—it is, in fact, greatly exaggerated—we may well ask why a nation in this stage of morality should be "practically hopeless." If India is medieval, history may have something to say for our guidance, and history tells us that in the sixteenth century the possession of a hymn-book was held sufficient to warrant the killing of men and women by cruel methods ; that in the eighteenth century the nobles of France treated the people as beasts ; and that even later in England the theft of a sheep was punished with death. Nevertheless, it is profoundly true that the spirit which pervades India is not the spirit of the West, neither is it the spirit of the twentieth century as understood in Europe. The English have introduced into India not merely the material benefits of Western civilization adapted, as far as our human wisdom allows, to the needs of an Oriental people, but that civilization itself with its moral principles and its code of ethics. That civilization and that code have been imposed upon a foundation of Indian life and Indian thought which is essentially medieval ; and though the structure be solid, and though it be accepted and used by the people, in so far as it is convenient and does not offend their prejudices, it remains on the whole as distinct as is the house from the ground on which it rests. So long as the English remain in India, so long must the government of this country be conducted on Western lines, on those lines which we honestly believe are for her ultimate good, and enable her to take her proper place in the family of nations. The individual Hindu is able and intelligent ; he is an excellent imitator, and loyally

does his best to perform his duties on the lines laid down for him, but the systems and the methods of the West are not part of his nature ; he has adopted them, often successfully, for the purposes of his public life, and for those purposes only ; his social life is and, especially as long as the women with their dominant influence in the household remain constant to the ancient ways and the ancient superstitions, will remain in varying degrees medieval.

It is this dualism of Hindu life which, consciously or unconsciously, lies at the root of the objections taken to the grant of a much larger share in the government to Indians. Invidious comparisons between Englishmen and Indians as administrators were drawn from some witnesses during the sittings of the Royal Commission on the Public Services. But such comparisons betray too narrow a view. The point is rather that the ideas and conceptions of the West have not become part of the Indian nature ; they have not, as the Germans say, “*Fleisch und Blut über gegangen*,” and so they remain in the great majority of cases, at the best, only a clever and often successful imitation.

Let no man despair of himself or of his country. India, as we are so often reminded, has for centuries been accustomed to an autocratic or, at least, a personal Government ; the idea of democracy is even now in its infancy. The wonder is, not that Indians have not yet fully mastered the conceptions of democracy, but that they have made such amazing progress in the lesson ; they need not be ashamed to own themselves beginners and to learn from those more accustomed to that political life for which they, the least democratic nation on earth, profess such a passionate desire. The history of the last thirty years would show what great progress has been made in the admission of Indians to the highest offices of the Government. But surely it is wise not to go too fast. The watchword which the King-Emperor gave us at the great Durbar remains the truest and the best both for Englishmen who love India and are trying to do their duty by her, and for Indians who are striving to be worthy of self-government ; and that watchword is “Hope.”

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, July 1, 1918, a paper was read by Mr. J. B. Pennington, I.C.S., entitled "The Medievalism of India; or, The Dualism of Hindu Life" (by "Cassandra"). Sir Frederick William Duke, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., presided, and the following, amongst others, were present : The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles H. Armstrong, General Chamier, Colonel Barlow, R.A., Lady Kensington, Dr. and Madam Leon, Professor Bickerton, Lieut.-Colonel F. S. Terry, Miss Horne, Mrs. Nash, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. Kotval, Mrs. Slater, Miss Webster, Mrs. Chalmers, Dr. Maguire, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mrs. Garling Drury, Mr. N. N. Dutt, the Hon. Mr. P. R. Chari, Mr. R. J. Udani, Rev. A. E. Davies, Miss M. Sorabji, Mrs. Malcolm McDonald, Mrs. Kenneir-Tarte, Rev. Edwin Green, Mr. W. Frank, Mr. G. Singh, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. M. T. Jackson, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. W. Allen, Mr. S. Arumugam, Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss Burton, Mrs. Collis, Mr. Tabak, Mr. D. L. Patwardhan, Miss Ashworth, and Miss Scatcherd.

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentleman, we are gathered here this afternoon to hear a paper on the very interesting subject of "The Medievalism of India; or, The Dualism of Hindu Life," written under the *nom de plume* of "Cassandra" by a person who desires to remain anonymous. I will not stand between you and the paper for a moment. The subject is one that must appeal to everyone who has lived in India, and who has had some experience of Indian habits and thought, and I think it will be found that the writer has dealt with it picturesquely, and evidently from a long experience of India. Mr. Pennington has kindly consented to read the paper, and I will now ask him to do so.

The paper was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, it is the custom at these meetings for the Chairman to lead off in the discussion—if he has anything to say. I should like first of all to express our appreciation of what I think you will agree is a very able paper—able in the picturesque manner in which it brings forward many of the remarkable contrasts which have struck all who have lived in India, the curious anomaly of great up-to-dateness in every form of thought, while alongside of it persists what the writer has very reasonably described as medievalism, and the inconsistencies which sometimes appear when manifestations of both kinds are found in the same person. The writer has carried some of his criticisms to a point

at which I find it rather difficult to agree with him, but I will not take up much time with minor criticisms. I think possibly he has been somewhat unfair to that attitude of idealism which is so striking a feature in many Hindu thinkers and philosophers. When he says that to give further rein to that idealism would be to reintroduce all the evils of an unrestricted priesthood and of medieval asceticism as it has been known in India, and as we at one time knew it in Europe, I think he goes too far. The fact that the ideal is held does not in any way imply that the people who hold it would, if they could give play to it, go back to the abuses of the past. As a matter of fact, Indians can, I think, point to examples of men even in modern times who have chosen after great and active careers to leave them and to devote themselves purely to that introspective study of religion which is so fascinating to the Hindu.

Then, another point in regard to which I am inclined to join issue with the writer is in the matter of the panchayats. Possibly he understands the matter somewhat differently to the manner in which I understand it, and possibly there may be no real essential difference of opinion. He admits, and of course it is indisputable, that the panchayat is still the regular machinery for the regulation of caste matters, and necessarily it is confined to and deals only with caste matters, but the question is whether there was not in many parts of India until comparatively recent times a local panchayat, different from the caste panchayat, the panchayat of the village representing more or less all the castes, and whether it is incapable of being revived. The writer rather suggests that modern government has been carried so far, that in India it has so many ramifications, that the functions previously performed by the panchayat are now unnecessary. There I am inclined to join issue with him. Our administration in India is not so elaborate as that. At least, in the provinces which I know it is not carried so far into the village life, and, in fact, one frequent complaint is that it does not in many matters effectively touch village life. The courts are often very far away, and a man can get no redress in petty disputes without going long distances and incurring heavy expenses.

Then, again, with regard to our systems of roads. No doubt there is an excellent system, but in large tracts of country it is confined to the main roads. The village roads do not call for much boasting on the part of the English administration. The same may be said of village sanitation. Some of the great towns have made great advances in modern sanitation, but you will find very little of it in the village. It seems to me there is very much to be done in regard to the details of cheap and easy local justice and the improvement of communications and local sanitation. All these are things which are suitable for the activities of the panchayat; and, although it may not be possible in many parts of India to revive the panchayat in order that it may carry out precisely these functions, as a matter of fact I think the Government of Bombay at this moment are concerning themselves with this very important question.

These are some criticisms of detail, but on the main question, the undoubted fact that you do have these extraordinary contrasts, I should

like to suggest what seems to me to be a possible reason and explanation. First of all there is the astonishing continuity through ages of Indian village life. People have lived and conducted their affairs and thought in the same way for at least 2,000 years. Their medievalism goes very much farther back than anything we know of medievalism, and when people have worked and thought in the same groove for so long their thoughts take on the character of instinct; they are so deeply engraved, and therefore, naturally it is very hard to change them. But apart from that I should be inclined to attribute many of the medieval characteristics which we meet with in these days to the nature of education—very often the absence rather than the presence of education, and the peculiar character of such education as exists.

We know how little general education there is in India, and how large a proportion of the people are still illiterate. Well, if you find that a people, of whom three quarters are still illiterate, have very little understanding of the benefits of Western medical science, or are incapable of understanding the beneficent intentions of the forest laws, is it to be wondered at if the appreciation of these things can only come with education, and not merely with the mere capacity to read and write, but with such a measure of education as may fit people to read and think about and understand them?

It is true, as the writer says, that people are generally hostile to the forest laws, and if the forests were not preserved against their will they would very speedily be destroyed; but there is not only the fact that they have had no education which qualifies them to understand why the forests should be preserved, and what measures are necessary to preserve them, but there is the further fact that people who are very poor hardly care to trouble about such a subject as forests, which is one of the slowest things to give any return. The man who is not able to save fifty rupees for his own old age is not likely to be ready to submit to all kinds of restrictions and to do without little comforts and advantages which he thinks he might get by using up the forests in order that his grandchildren may benefit from them. That does not alter the duty of the Government in the matter, however, because the forests must be preserved.

Then, with regard to the question of the preference of the ryot for his own native doctor, it is to be remembered that he only comes across Western medical science at large centres. No doubt in recent years dispensaries have been spread over the country, but still it is doubtful whether there is a dispensary on the average within ten miles of the ordinary ryot's home, and one of the difficulties which exists in the spreading of medical science in India is that the ryot is not accustomed, and is probably not able, to pay the smallest fee that would be required by any medical man educated on Western lines. We want many times the number of medical men in India that there are at the present time, but whether the people could pay for them if they were put in the position of the panel doctors in this country I very much doubt. The people must be educated to appreciate the benefits, and their material position must be improved so that they can afford to pay for the benefits of medicine. That is the sort of point

where what may be put down to medievalism may be explained by hard economic reasons.

Then the writer notes the curious contradictions in the individual, and points out that you find men thoroughly able to understand Western modes of thought who yet, in such domestic matters as the illness of a child, will often go back to their native customs and call in the native doctor, who in times of health would not be believed in. One probable reason for that is that in India Western education up to now has almost solely been confined to one sex. The men have been educated on the Western system for some generations, but the women have not; the man goes to school and gets a theoretical education, but what he learns in his home from his mother or grandmother is purely medieval, because they are still untouched by Western methods, and when that is so, it is surprising that occasionally curious contradictions should appear when the man is faced with some sort of crisis in his life, and that ingrained inherited ideas should prove stronger than those recently acquired. I merely suggest that as a probable explanation of some of the strange contradictions with which we are familiar, and of which the paper gives striking examples.

Mr. PENNINGTON said that he had to apologize for the absence of Dr. Pollen. He had written a very elaborate apology which was quite uncalled for, as he (Mr. Pennington) had persuaded him to extend his holiday when he had the chance, and had sent a few remarks on the paper which he wishes to have read. His remarks were as follows :

"I read 'Cassandra's' paper over again last night most carefully, and am strongly of Lady Katharine Stuart's opinion that, if we could put ourselves into the position of our Indian fellow-subjects, we should not like it. As you know, I have long held that we have, even now, more to learn from the East than the East has to learn from us; and as I look round me, especially here (in Ireland), I feel how full we are of 'social wrong' ourselves, and how much even in the matter of the poor (and the Poor Laws !) the Brotherhoods of the East can teach us.

"I see that 'Cassandra' says 'the intolerance which sent More to the block and Latimer to the stake is now unknown!' But is it? I fear me much it is merely 'latent,' for I see signs of its smoke all round me here! Let us do nothing to fan it into a blaze, but, on the contrary, let us do our best to stamp it out. Like old Omar, the two things I am dead against are intolerance and hypocrisy—we have far too much of both, East and West—and what we all need is a little more 'charity.' At any rate, the East India Association has always striven to make good blood, and not bad blood, between the peoples!

"I think 'Cassandra' is somewhat unfair in declaring that 'the naked Fakir' is the ideal which the writer in the *Nineteenth Century* had in his mind.

"The 'naked Fakir,' like the Corybantic clashing cymbals and the big drums of the Salvation Army and the exaggerations of Loch Derg pilgrimages and the weird march to Utah, may be accepted as abnormal evidence of the deep reality of religious devotion and of the extremes to which it will induce certain individuals or classes to go. But the spiritual

life is a real life in the East, and it aims at '*the Vision*'—*i.e.*, it desires to obtain a realizing sense of the Unseen—"who is nearer to us than breathing and closer than hands and feet!"

"And (with all due respect to 'Cassandra') here in our West as in our East St. Francis of Assisi does *not* 'belong to a bygone age,' but is with us now!

"'Cassandra's' points of resemblance between the Indian panchayat and the panchayat of the Saxons are interesting; but I think he is wrong in holding they have no place in our present, for in spite of this 'complex age' I am not quite sure that it would not be a good thing to revive the panchayat system of settling local questions in parts of Great and Greater Britain to-day!

"I think 'Cassandra' is wrong in holding that the abolition of Sati was due to *European* abhorrence of human sacrifice. The abhorrence was *Semitic*, and therefore more Asian than European! But the underlying idea of Sati was 'willing self-sacrifice'; and this idea is still dear to the Hindu mind. 'In death they were not divided' (as Carson says of 'Irish Conscription' and 'Home Rule').

"With much of what 'Cassandra' says about English legalism and the legal system and law courts in India I am in perfect accord.

"As Mir Ali Murad Khan—the last Lord Paramount of Sind—often said to me, 'the only tyrant left in India is the English Law!' There are no personal tyrants now, but English legalism is a pitilessly cruel tyrant, and, like the River Indus, comes rushing down in a night, and gives one man's property to another without rhyme or reason!

"I think 'Cassandra' is wrong about Hindu and Moslem laws. They are revered and respected, not because they are *old*, but because they are *sacred*, and, like the laws of the Jews, they claim a Divine source.

"As an Esperantist I am in perfect sympathy with the watchword given by the King-Emperor to India—viz., 'Hope'—with which 'Cassandra' (connoting 'Despair'!) happily concludes his paper."

Professor BICKERTON said it was suggested that a few remarks from him would not be amiss. He could not help referring to the point of law dealt with by the writer, and he quite agreed with the remarks of Dr. Pollen. A kindly feeling in the method of adjudicating disputes was of great importance; it was the kindly spirit which was wanted in all spheres of life, and with reference to the Chairman's remark as to idealism, in his opinion it was of immense importance; the spirit which was wanted both in this country and in India was the spirit of high ideals; it was an ideal that led to everything of importance: the Christ-ideal of love and liberty, and not the ideal of hustle and bustle. As a professor of science he recognized that science was needed, and the question was whether science could lead to the right ideal. Modern science showed that the dismal doctrine of eternal death was not true, and when that was thoroughly understood and instead we clearly saw the possibility of the eternal physical life of the cosmic whole and the evolutionary conclusions that spring from it, we should see the stupendous value and sympathetic solidarity of village communities in human progress.

With regard to the question of education in India, the one thing of great importance was to teach the native mind that when they were superintending a machine, for instance, they were playing a high part, and that it was no degradation to caste in any way. If they could only teach them that it was a high privilege to control a wonderful and skilful machine driven by steam or electricity, they would have done a great deal for India.

With regard to medicine, they were beginning to realize the psychological effect of the belief and hope in medicine on the part of the native of India. They wanted not only quinine, but they very much wanted faith as well as quinine!

Mr. GURMUKH SINGH said that it was generally his misfortune not to agree with the writer of the paper.

The great difference between Indian and Western ideas was due to the fact that India was still living in medieval times, while Western Europe had progressed far beyond that stage. The Indian did not dissociate religion from practical life: he thought in terms of religion; whilst the Westerner thought in terms of material comfort. That was the main difference.

The most important point raised in the paper was with regard to the panchayats. The writer seemed to think that they have had their day, and that they were unsuited to modern conditions. That was not the case. The panchayat occupied in India a position analogous to that of the parish organization in this country. If England could have parish councils to-day, he failed to see why the panchayat system should not be revived in India. Panchayats in India could go further than parish councils in this country. Law courts in India were very expensive, and panchayats could do a very useful work—as they have done in the past—in the way of arbitration.

India was backward in sanitation, not so much because Indians were superstitious, but because they have not been given general education. The present state of affairs in India could be compared to the position in this country in the thirties and forties of the last century. When the cholera broke out in England in the forties, there was no system of public sanitation to cope with the epidemic; but when, by the spread of scientific ideas, the people were made to realize the importance of sanitation, then the problem was properly dealt with and solved.

Westerners always thought their own methods to be superior to those of the Easterners. No one could deny the progress of medical science in the West; but it had been mostly confined to the surgical side. Indians considered the indigenous system of medicine superior to the Western system, and their faith was not without foundation.

The writer seemed to be misinformed as to the trend of Indian opinion in regard to the British system of justice in India. There was a great deal of criticism of the legal system. The process was long and expensive, and there were cases of racial discrimination. Indians had for a long time asked for the separation of judicial and executive functions—a system which often resulted in the miscarriage of justice. The British

had, moreover, stereotyped the Hindu and Muhammadan law by refusing to change it to suit modern conditions.

The writer forgot that the impulse for the abolition of suttee came from Indian social reformers like the Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Lord William Bentinck would not have dared to interfere with that religious (and social) custom of the Hindus, if it had not been for the moral support that advanced Hindus gave him.

The writer of the paper warned the British people against rapid progress in India. But danger lay in quite the opposite direction. Undue delay would breed discontent, which would be very difficult to deal with.

Dr. MAGUIRE also spoke in appreciation of the paper, and said they were all more or less in agreement with "Cassandra"; but before discussing Indian questions it would be desirable to ascertain what India was and what Europe was. India was only a geographical expression, and to say that India was medieval and Europe was modern, or beauocratic or democratic, aristocratic or autocratic, was absurd. Each country consisted of many creeds.

In conclusion he desired to offer through the Chairman their very hearty thanks to "Cassandra" for the excellent contribution they had had the pleasure of hearing that afternoon, and trusted that careful, studious attention would be given to her (or his) warnings; if neglected, on any section, race, or creed in all Hindustan were a matter for ignorant experiment, the prophecies would be more ill-omened than the name.

The REV. EDWIN GREEN, of St. Mark's, Marylebone, said he would like to express his appreciation of the thoughtfulness of the paper by "Cassandra," but it was not quite clear, he thought, what the writer of the paper wished this country to do; it would be interesting to know whether, for example, "Cassandra" was in favour of those reforms recently proposed by Mr. Montagu as to the representation of the people. Strangely enough, the three great professions had each come in for some criticism by previous speakers. The medical profession worked its way by its grand results, but the remarks about the English law were perfectly absurd. He (the speaker) had also spent seven years and more in the law, but had afterwards spent forty in the clerical profession; but no one could gainsay the fact that the legal profession stood exceedingly high in favour, and to his mind it was quite useless to slight English Law or its Courts, as there was no profession which was more grandly upheld than that which the learned Judges of our own land stood for. (Hear, hear.)

Lord LAMINGTON said that the paper was one of great interest, but with regard to the criticisms of the paper he did not think they quite dealt with what seemed to him to be the basic principles of the paper. It concerned so many ramifications of Indian thought that it would be impossible not to give rise to comment and criticism. He believed the criticism had brought out that the essential underlying principle of all Indian life and thought was that it dealt closely with the Unseen Power; it was "to be" contrasted with the Western idea of "to do," and unless that principle was kept before the minds of those who were going to introduce new reforms into India much harm might be done. With regard to the

remarks about the legal procedure in India, he thought that was the one great point on which the Government received nothing but praise in India, and which always acted with a right regard to the interests of the individual, and their decrees were rightly recognized by every Indian as being, as far as human judgment could be, perfectly impartial and just. It was one of the great secrets of our rule in India; their fidelity and belief that the law was administered impartially. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. ALBERT E. DAVIES said that with regard to the question of the panchayats it was very easy to discuss Indian life from the outside, and a good deal of the trouble arose from that. During his residence in India he came into contact with many village committees, and he became acquainted with a gentleman who had lived in very close intimacy with Indian life, and who wanted to revive the village panchayat because he had made a close study of that form of local government, and found it was just the right thing for the well-being of the particular community. It had since been established, and had been found to do very well. Another interesting fact in connection with that subject was that when the Japanese went to Formosa they found a good deal of local disorder—the bulk of the population being Chinese—and after a good deal of consideration they had revived an old Chinese system of local government which closely corresponded to the Indian panchayat—namely, government by esteemed elders in the community—and the experiment had been very successful; so that there was a good deal to be said in its favour. Even in this country were they not tending more and more in that direction, when they were talking of local self-government, because there was too much work for the Government to deal with in regard to local affairs? (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN said he did not know whether Mr. Pennington desired to reply to the criticisms on behalf of the writer, or not.

Mr. PENNINGTON said that he did not wish to reply, as the writer himself would be able to deal with the various points later; and as he was not himself prepared to defend all the statements made, he preferred to say nothing.

Miss SCATCHARD said it was at her suggestion the paper had been read, so to some extent she was responsible. She only wished to say, with regard to the observations of some of the previous speakers, that when she was in Constantinople many of the Paschas there, who were dissatisfied with the Young Turks, expressed to her their preference for Turkey becoming a British Protectorate, and when she expressed her surprise and asked them what made them wish that, they said those of them who had been to Egypt had seen that their life, property, and religion were safe under British rule; and they saw that British rule, whatever else might be said about it, was a solid reality: hence their desire for something like British administration in other parts of the world.

On the motion of Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and Chairman was carried unanimously.

The Chairman suitably replied, and the proceedings then terminated.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Fifty-First Annual Meeting of the East Indian Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W., on Tuesday, July 30, 1918, the Rt. Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., presiding. The following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles H. Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., M.P., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Colonel Stuart H. Godfrey, C.I.E., Mr. Kotval, Mr. Grant Brown, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. M. T. Jackson, Mr. M. M. Dhar, Mr. J. D. Anderson, Mr. J. MacIver, I.S.O., Mr. K. Ismail, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. K. M. Pannikar, Mr. Ramachandra Rau, Mr. M. W. Hassan Ally, Mr. Tabak, Mr. S. Haji, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. H. Polak, Colonel F. S. Terry, Mr. S. Thorburn, Colonel Roberts, Syed Erfan Ali, Mr. Kidwai, Mr. J. Nicholson, Mr. Ispahani, Mr. K. N. Dutt, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Miss Wade, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. D. L. Patwardhan, Mr. J. Narayana Rau, Mr. J. B. Pennington, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The following letters were read from members expressing their regret at being unable to attend the meeting:

13, PORTMAN STREET, W.1,
July 22, 1918.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,—I will make every endeavour—I hope successfully—to be at the Annual Meeting of the East India Association on Tuesday, July 30, at 3 p.m. Trusting you are well.—Yours very truly,
CARMICHAEL.

5, CHESTERFIELD GARDENS, W.,
July 17, 1918.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,—I am very sorry, but I am afraid I could not possibly manage the meeting you kindly invite me to on July 29.

We shall be in the throes of the winding-up of this part of the Session, and I feel I must decline all engagements at that time.

I can only therefore thank you for thinking of asking me.—Yours sincerely,

DONOUGHMORE.

J. POLLEN, ESQ., LL.D.,
3, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.1.

Annual Meeting

GLEBEFIELDS, EDGEBOROUGH ROAD,
GUILDFORD,

July 29, 1918.

DEAR SIR,—I regret I am unable to attend the Council Meeting at 2.30 p.m. to-morrow.—Yours faithfully,

A. T. ARUNDEL.

10, CLIFTON PARK,
BRISTOL,

July 28, 1918.

KARA AMIKA,—It is a disappointment to me that I am unable to attend the Annual Meeting of the Association to be presided over by Lord Reay, for whom, as you know, I have the highest feeling of esteem and admiration. His name, no doubt, will go down to posterity as one of those high-souled British statesmen who sowed in India, during his memorable term of office, the seed of that ordered progress, especially in the field of education, which is now bearing abundant fruit.

I am sure you will be able to give an excellent account of the work done by the Association, which owes so much of its success to your untiring labours.—Yours very sincerely,

ABBAS ALI BAIG.

2, CADOGAN PLACE, S.W.,
July 23, 1918.

DEAR SIR,—As I am leaving Town very shortly, I regret I shall not be able to be present at the meeting of the East India Association on July 30.—Yours faithfully,

AMEER ALI.

DR. POLLEN.

HARWARTON, SPELDHURST,
TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
July 27, 1918.

MY DEAR POLLEN,—I had hoped to attend the Annual Meeting on Tuesday, but I have engagements which will prevent me from going to Town on that day. I am sorry, as I should have much liked to support the President on the occasion.—Yours sincerely,

T. J. BENNETT.

10, PULTENEY STREET,
BATH,
July 25, 1918.

DEAR POLLEN,—As I have returned to Bath, I am sorry to say that I cannot be at the Annual Meeting to support Lord Reay and to hear J. D. Anderson's paper. Wishing you all success,—Believe me, yours truly,

C. E. BUCKLAND.

DARTMOUTH HOUSE,
2, QUEEN ANNE'S GATE, S.W.,
July 30, 1918.

MY DEAR POLLEN,—I am extremely sorry I shall not be able to be present at the meeting of the East India Association this afternoon. I

have to attend an important meeting of another kind at the same time, and fear it will last all the afternoon, and it so happens that my presence is indispensable.—Yours sincerely,

WALTER C. HUGHES.

QUEEN ANNE'S MANSIONS, S.W. 1,
July 28, 1918.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,—The Fates are against me again. On Tuesday afternoon I have work over Reforms that I cannot postpone without upsetting my colleagues ; and I shall miss the great pleasure of your meeting.

I am delighted that you are helping Ireland, as well as India, on to the right way. There seems plenty of work for the sun-dried ones at present.—Yours sincerely,

JAS. MESTON.

RITZ HOTEL,
PICCADILLY, LONDON, W. 1.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,—I am so sorry that an earlier engagement prevents my being present at your Annual Meeting, especially as I wanted to show my great regard for Lord Reay. But I am afraid I cannot help it.—Yours sincerely,

S. P. SINHA.

29, GREAT ST. HELEN'S,
LONDON, E.C. 3.,
July 25, 1918.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,—I am very sorry I shall not be able to attend the meeting of the Council on Tuesday next, as I shall not be in London next week.

I should like to take this opportunity again of telling you how sorry I am not to have been able to attend any meetings of the Council, but, as I have already explained to you, my time is so fully taken up with the Y.M.C.A. that it is impossible for me to attend other Committees until the war is over. I hope, however, then to be a regular attendant, as my interest in India is as strong as ever.—Yours sincerely,

H. PROCTOR.

DR. POLLEN,
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

The Report having been taken as read, the CHAIRMAN said : Ladies and gentlemen, I beg to move the adoption of the Report. The Report, you will agree with me, is extremely satisfactory. There is a considerable increase of the membership in spite of the war, death, and resignations. I wish to pay a tribute of respect to those whom we have lost, whose names we can never forget. In the first place I wish to refer to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. I really cannot do better than read to you what is stated in the Report : He “from first to last had

been distinguished by unswerving loyalty to the Throne, by earnest devotion to the public interests and welfare of India, by honesty of purpose and blameless integrity of life and character. In acknowledging the special services he had rendered from time to time to this Association, the Council also drew attention to his last public utterance, immediately after the outbreak of the war, urging his fellow-countrymen to the best of their ability and powers to aid the British people in their glorious struggle for justice, liberty, honour, true human greatness and happiness, and declaring that 'until the victorious end of this great struggle no other thought than that of supporting whole-heartedly the British nation should enter into the mind of India.' " We can only regret that he has not lived to see what we all hope will be the glorious peace granted by God to the world, settled on a firm basis. (Hear, hear.)

The next is a name which might very well be coupled with that of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, because they were associated in the common cause of increasing the prosperity of India; it is that of my old friend Sir William Wedderburn. (Hear, hear.) I knew his brother, Sir David Wedderburn, before I went to India, and my friendly relations with Sir William were uninterrupted since I went to Bombay in 1885. He asked me a few weeks before his death to go down to his place in the country, but I regret to say I could not manage it. I have known very few men, in what I must now call my long life, more disinterested, more absolutely straight, and more gentlemanly than Sir William Wedderburn. (Hear, hear). I did not always agree with him, but if ever there was a man who loved India passionately it was certainly Sir William, and on this occasion it gives me a melancholy satisfaction to pay that tribute to his memory which it deserves. There is a great deal more to be said on the subject, but that will be done, I trust, by a competent person entrusted with the task of writing his biography.

The third name I wish to remember is that of Sir George Birdwood, and it is remarkable that the year has removed three men, each one of whom was a distinguished personality. To Sir George I might almost apply the same language as to Sir William Wedderburn. He was original, and also devoted to India, and I believe very few Englishmen have ever been in India who so thoroughly understood the various sides of the Eastern character as Sir George Birdwood. (Hear, hear.)

General Sir Alfred Gaselee served long in India, and commanded the British forces in North China in 1900.

The next name is that of Colonel Sir Samuel Swinton Jacob, who was for a long time the Chief Engineer of the Jaipur State, and designed and erected many beautiful buildings. He was a great authority on everything connected with Indian art, and in Jaipur a fine Museum was his creation.

* The next name is that of Eduljee Jamsetjee Khorý; and we also commemorate Sir Frederick Low, the distinguished Judge, whose father was one of the first members of the East India Association, and whose brother Mr. Austin Low, has now joined our ranks, so that the name of Low will continue to be connected with our Association. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. George Clifford Whitworth was one of the ablest civilians when I was in Bombay, and the well-known author of "The Theory of Relevancy," who acted as a Judge of the Bombay High Court.

I have to mention with gratitude the legacy left to the Association by Sir Lesley Probyn, which has been invested in 5 Per Cent. War Loan, which will not surprise you; and the books left as a gift to the Association by the late Mr. Robert Henry Wilson, who shortly before his death expressed a desire that the books should be kept together, and disposed of so as to be of use to Indian students. Those books have been placed in the Library of the Association.

With regard to the accounts of the Association, we have had a most satisfactory year; £305 have been invested in War Loan, and the accounts show a balance of £415 as compared with £337 last year. (Hear, hear.)

Well, ladies and gentlemen, you will agree with me that if everything is so satisfactory in this Report, it is mainly due to the efforts of our Honorary Secretary, Dr. Pollen. (Hear, hear). We are very pleased that Dr. Pollen has recovered from his illness, and we hope for a long time to come we shall enjoy the able management of the duumvirate—Dr. Pollen and Mr. Pennington. (Hear, hear).

I ought also to mention that our clerk, Mr. King, is still in the Army, but his place has been taken, as in so many instances, by his wife, and I wish to mention how much is due to her in keeping the accounts, and how she has done all she could to compensate us for the temporary absence of her husband.

The papers that have been read during the year have been of a very varied nature, and have attracted great attention, and the discussions have always been interesting and temperate, and I hope the East India Association will more and more be a clearing-house for the various opinions held on Indian questions, and will give to every member an opportunity to state his views in a moderate and effective way. (Hear, hear.)

Amongst the most pleasant things that I have on this occasion to mention is that steps have at last been taken with regard to the granting of Commissions in the Imperial Army to Indians. (Hear, hear.) I may add that it is to me a realization of what I have advocated for a long time. I have always been convinced that our Indian fellow-subjects were quite capable and in every way virile enough to be admitted to our Army. I may add that I did not wish for such an opportunity as has now been given to show that I was right; but as the war did come, the war has shown what I foresaw, that whenever the occasion did arise our Indian fellow-subjects, would prove their value in the field of battle. (Hear, hear). And we can never forget that it is by the aid of our Indian troops that we were able to prevent the Germans from getting into Paris in the early part of the war. (Hear, hear.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you will allow me to say a few words on what is the subject which everybody connected with India at this moment takes the greatest interest in, and that is the Reform proposals. It is, of course, too early to go into the details, and that I shall avoid. But with regard to the principles to which these Reforms try to give effect I

may say that I have always thought they would strengthen the friendly relations between ourselves and India. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure that it would be impolitic any longer to delay the consideration of measures which are the logical result of the reforms carried out by Lord Morley and Lord Minto, and anyone who, as I did at the time, supported those reforms must have foreseen that they were not final reforms, but would lead to further developments.

What is the great object of these reforms? It is to secure more and more in the government of India the copartnership of Indians with ourselves. I say the copartnership because I do not for a moment believe that it would be for the benefit of India to eliminate the partnership of Great Britain in the government of India. (Hear, hear.) Let me illustrate what I mean by recalling what happened during my period of office in Bombay. I was fortunate enough to sanction the introduction of a Bill relating to the Bombay Municipality. It was the most important legislative measure of my Governorship. That measure—I am not in any way speaking in self-laudation—was so effective that I believe that afterwards in Calcutta they copied some of its provisions in a Bill which the Bengal Government have drafted. Why was that measure a success? Because it was ably piloted by one of the most distinguished civilians in the Bombay Presidency, Sir Raymond West, and because at that time I had secured in the Legislative Council two men of the most distinguished character, one Mr. Justice Telang, the other Sir Pherosha Mehta. Mr. Telang was one of the most distinguished men that it has been my good fortune during my life to meet. His judgment was sober and calm. During the debates on the Bill I consulted Mr. Telang on a point of great importance. My views were too progressive for him, and he convinced me that what I contemplated would not work well. I mention this to show that copartnership with distinguished Indians does not mean that you are always pushed in one direction, down an incline, that is not so. You may reap benefit from the more intimate knowledge of your Indian advisers, if you choose them well.

I may say that the Municipal Act would never have been the success it is, and would never have assumed the form it now has assumed, if it had not been for the support and the amendments carried, with the full sanction of Sir Raymond West, by his Indian colleagues. If you have what I call a copartnership of the best English brains and the best Indian brains, you will have a strong Government of India. (Hear, hear.)

The object, ladies and gentlemen, of the Reforms will be to give to statesmen such as we have at this moment in India, not only the power of advising, but a sense of responsibility. What has been the secret of our success in South Africa? It is that we have given to Botha and to Smuts—to statesmen of that calibre—responsibility for administering the great Dominion of South Africa. If you wish to make your hold over India permanent, as I hope it will be, you can only do it by giving to those who represent the highest form of Indian intellect, who understand the needs of their own fellow-subjects, not as demagogues, but as constructive statesmen, not only influence in the Legislative Councils, but also a sense

of responsibility with regard to legislation and a copartnership in administration, not to weaken, but to strengthen British rule.

The Reforms foreshadowed in the Report create that responsibility, and give it in such a way that if it were misused it could be taken away again. I think that is the sound method of proceeding when you grant fresh constitutional openings. It will be the duty both on our side and on the Indian side to do everything that can be done to make whatever new Reforms may be introduced a success. There are extremes on both sides; I am not going to follow their example, and to use intemperate language which irritates; where conciliation should be our chief aim. I understand the misgivings of those who have been very capable administrators with regard to a state of things which they consider as a perilous innovation. The other extreme assimilates to democracy in the Colonies, a state of things which is absolutely dissimilar.

Now I call your attention to an element in the present state of affairs to which I attribute the greatest importance, the attitude of the Chiefs, and when we see now what that attitude is—what the attitude is of a sagacious man like His Highness the Aga Khan towards the policy of the Government, I am confirmed in my view that we cannot ignore this very general demand for expansion of the Morley-Minto reforms. To have the Chiefs as auxiliaries in our efforts is of the greatest value, also, as regards the improvement of industries and commerce (Hear, hear), in which we must display greater energy, when we take into account the vast resources of India. It is quite clear that, after you have in your Imperial War Cabinet and in your Imperial War Conference invited representatives of India to take part in debates on vital interests of the Empire, you cannot exclude them in India from a more direct share of authority.

My impression is that before the Reforms are finally settled there will be amendments of the scheme, of which only the main features are given in the Report. No doubt that will be the case, and I do not pledge myself to adopt every detail of the Report. In fact, I have not had the time which is required to consider carefully a document of such importance. Apart from whatever judgment one may have formed upon it, it certainly is—as a man to whose criticisms I attach the greatest importance, and who is not directly connected with Indian affairs, but one who knows the East, in which he has made a brilliant career, wrote to me) “one of the most remarkable State papers which have been issued for a long time.” (Hear, hear.)

Now, let me remind you that Dr. Pollen has completed his tenth chapter of “The Jubilee of the East India Association,” which is a very remarkable record, and I suppose you will all agree with me that it is desirable these interesting articles should be published in a volume, and should be accessible to the public. (Hear, hear.)

Another event which I am quite sure we all welcome is the announcement made by the King that the Prince of Wales will visit India. (Hear, hear.) We watch with admiration the career of the Prince of Wales. Very few heirs to the throne have had such opportunities and have used them so well, to the benefit of the Empire, as the Prince of Wales. We

are grateful to the King—who himself is the first Sovereign in English history who has visited every part of his widespread dominions—for the way in which he constantly shows his interest in Indian affairs, and his knowledge of Indian affairs.

I shall not detain you any longer, but let me add that India has everything to gain by its association with the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) It has enjoyed years of peace and prosperity owing to that connection. It has been protected by our Navy and Armies; it has had judicial courts as good as any in any part of the Empire; it has had provision made for education, provision made against famine, and it has had sanitation; and that great benefit which we certainly have bestowed on India, of lady doctors, to whom I wish to pay a tribute of profound respect. Much capital has been spent on railways and irrigation works; and India may now expect constant progress, especially, as I have already said, and I repeat it because it is so important, in its commercial and industrial development. We in England cannot forget what our duties are as a Christian nation to all those parts of the Empire which God has committed to us, and for whose welfare we are responsible. (Hear, hear.) We must have in India neither reaction nor revolution, but we must have steady evolution, otherwise we shall fall into the same disastrous situation into which we have seen anarchism has precipitated the Russian Empire. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

I beg to move the adoption of the Report.

Lord LAMINGTON, in seconding the adoption of the Report and the Accounts, said that Lord Reay had given them a most illuminating address. He had really touched on all the questions in connection with the welfare of Indian administration, and the vital one at the present moment was in connection with the Indian Report. Unfortunately, he had not had time to study thoroughly all that had been said in favour of it or against it, but there was one point which he wished to make, and he hoped to raise it again very shortly in the House of Lords, and that was that it was very unfortunate that the Government had placed an embargo upon anyone voicing their criticisms in this country. His position was that he wanted to hear all sides of the question (Hear, hear)—there should be no fear or favour; they all wanted to know what Indians of every race and every caste thought of the Indian Report. He had been very much impressed by the views of many Indians with whom he had personally come into contact in favour of the Report, but at the same time he did want to hear the criticisms of those who held different views.

With regard to the progress of the Association, he was glad to think that it was in such a flourishing condition, and he heartily echoed the words spoken by Lord Reay that the prosperous condition was really due to the untiring industry of the two Honorary Secretaries. (Hear, hear.) He thought the Association played a very capable part in bringing together Indians who came to this country, enabling them to find some opportunity and occasion of voicing their views, and of being brought into contact with those who were really lovers of India. He was glad to see so many Indians attending the annual meeting, and he hoped that they really

regarded the Association as doing a useful and beneficial work. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The proposition was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

Sir M. M. BHOWNAGREE, in proposing the re-election of Lord Reay as President, said : I am asked to propose the re-election of Lord Reay as President of the Association for the ensuing year, and confidently submit the proposal for your unanimous approval. (Cheers.) We know, as has been freely acknowledged this afternoon, that the present strength and activity of the Association are due to the zest and energy of our friend Dr. Pollen and his colleague Mr. Pennington, but they, like all of us, will cheerfully concede that Lord Reay's continued interest in the Association is its most valuable asset, ensuring to it that allegiance and mutual goodwill between the British friends of India and the people of that country which it is one of its primary objects to cultivate. Nor is that interest merely of a formal or nominal character, as is very often the connection of distinguished men with the societies of which they are presidents. During the many years Lord Reay has been our President, he has devoted much valuable time and personal attention to the affairs of the Association, and brought to its aid that ample sympathy which characterized his five years' rule as Governor of Bombay, making his name beloved not only in that presidency, but throughout India. (Cheers.) In the course of his memorable tenure of that office, he laid down with a true statesman's instinct, as his lines of policy, a generous recognition of the claims of the people of India to ordered progress, to advancement to administrative offices, and to the improvement of their economic, social, and educational conditions ; and his illuminating speech to which we have just listened has evinced the keen satisfaction with which he regards the development of that policy in the present scheme of Reforms. It must have been no little trouble to his lordship, in the present state of his health, to come here to preside over us this afternoon, and great as is his claim to our appreciation for what he has done for the Association from his Presidential Chair year after year, our gratitude to him is greater still to-day, when we find him coming amongst us in an invalid chair. (Applause.) As a measure of his inexhaustible solicitude for the work of the Association, it affords ample reason for asking his lordship to accept again the office of our President.

Sir CHARLES ARMSTRONG said he had great pleasure in seconding the proposition, which he felt sure would be received with acclamation.

The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you for the way in which you have received the proposal. When I was in Bombay Lord Rosebery said that he had been long enough in India (about a week) to be able to write a book on India, according to some tourists. Now we are told that the opinion of anyone who left India ten years ago is not worth having. I left India in 1890, so that I am disqualified, although I have endeavoured to follow events in India with ever-increasing interest in all that concerned India, more especially the Bombay Presidency, and it is always a pleasure to me to meet the members of this

Association of the Royal Asiatic Society. I value the renewal of your mandate, and I shall spare no effort to remain worthy of your confidence.

Colonel YATE said that he had been asked to move the re-election of the following members of the Council, who retired by rotation, but were eligible for re-election, and were willing to serve—viz. :

T. J. Bennett, Esq., C.I.E.
 Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E.
 C. E. Buckland, Esq., C.I.E.
 Sir Walter Hughes, C.I.E.
 J. B. Pennington, Esq.
 J. Pollen, Esq., C.I.E.
 S. S. Thorburn, Esq.
 Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.

He felt sure that he himself, and all the other gentlemen, would do their best to do their duty upon that Council. He had listened with pleasure to what Lord Lamington had just said. They had all of them a great deal to think about in connection with the new proposals concerning India, and he was sure they all wished to have the opinions and criticisms of all persons of every sort of opinion. He had seen such a large number of laudatory opinions published in the Press that he began to think the opinions of peoples were confined to those who were in favour of the proposals, and that those who were not in favour of them were shut out; but he had received an assurance from the Secretary of State that criticisms of all parties would be received, and that the Press was open to all. When all parties had been heard they would then be able to form their own opinions, but the essential thing was to get the opinions of the people in India who would be personally affected by the proposed changes.

Mr. JOHN NICHOLSON, in seconding the proposal, said that reference had been made to the Report of Mr. Montagu as to the condition of things in India, and he noticed both the present speaker and others had referred to the fact that they appeared to be waiting until they saw what other people thought about it. He did not profess to have a very wide acquaintance with Indian matters, but he had already attempted to digest that very lengthy document, and had been able to come to one or two conclusions, and he did not hesitate to say that, as far as he had gone, the Report could not but claim his warmest approval. Before, however, they formed their definite opinions it would be very wise of them to listen to the criticisms that might be made by those who were entitled to express them, and he hoped they would all take the trouble to digest that momentous, epoch-making Report, and try to come to a decision as to its merits.

The proposal was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

The HON. SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, with your permission I should like to move a very hearty vote of thanks to our President, Lord Reay, for presiding here to-day, at very great personal inconvenience to himself, and for the constant interest he takes in our work. Lord Reay has rendered eminent services to the Empire, and no one was ever more devoted to the welfare of India than his Lordship whilst he ruled the

Presidency of Bombay and ever since. His lordship has said many nice things about the Association, and about the work Mr. Pennington and I are trying to do. But we are encouraged by the kind support of Lord Reay, and we do our best to keep things going here, because I think I can claim, without fear of contradiction, that this Association makes for the creation of good blood between East and West, and affords a fair field for the discussion of all sorts of opinions in a loyal and temperate spirit, and thus promotes clearer understanding between the peoples. I move a very sincere and hearty vote of thanks to Lord Reay.

The vote of thanks was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN : I am very much obliged to you, and I thank Dr. Pollen for what he has said ; but I think we owe an apology to our lecturer, Mr. Anderson, for the delay which has occurred before he could address us, and I would now call upon him to favour us with his paper.

It is interesting to record that Lord Reay was borne into and from the meeting by an Englishman and by a Chitpawan Brahman on hands interlaced.

THE EARLY KINGS OF AXUM.

By FREDERICK A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

THE varying lists of the Kings of Axum which have been brought to Europe by travellers in Abyssinia have puzzled many Oriental students, who have vainly endeavoured to bring them into agreement. These lists have for their object to support the claim of the Negus Nagashti, or Emperor of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), that he is a lineal descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, a claim which, if made out, would make his dynasty by far the oldest in the world. The Portuguese missionaries, who examined these lists in the seventeenth century, noticed their discrepancies. Since then additional copies—all with more or less variations—have from time to time been published by James Bruce, Henry Salt, Combes and Tamisier, Eduard Rüppell, and later travellers. These were brought into some relationship by the German Orientalist, Dr. A. Dillmann, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* of Leipzig, vol. vii., 1853. He divided the Kings into periods, and classified the copies in the various manuscripts in three groups, which he denominated Lists A, B and C. His classification was followed by M. E. Drouin, in a paper on “Les Listes Royales Éthiopiennes et leurs autorité historique,” in *La Revue Archéologique* of Paris, August, September and October, 1882. J. Halévy, René Basset and others have devoted some study to the lists, and recently Signor C. Conti Rossini,

an Italian who has resided in Eritrea and has written on several matters connected with Ethiopia, has collated the manuscripts afresh in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris, September-October, 1909, "Les Listes des Rois d'Aksoum."

An attempt to bring all the Kings named in the various lists into one line of succession was made by M. L. J. Morié in his "Histoire de l'Éthiopie (Nubie et Abyssinie) depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours," Paris, 2 vols., 1904. But M. Morié is an unsafe guide, and his work may well be disregarded, though he poses as an authoritative precisian. His identifications and his dates are quite arbitrary, and he does not trouble to give his authorities. He presumes to give the exact years of the reign of each King, even the mythical rulers before the time of King Solomon. To Za-Beesi-Angabo I., for instance, he assigns the period 1376-1176 B.C. His identifications of Kings in one list with those in another are often forced and unsatisfactory, and he has fallen into some obvious errors.

The want of agreement in the lists has been the despair of those who desire to obtain a solid foundation for the history of the undoubtedly ancient kingdom now known as Abyssinia, though its official designation is Ethiopia. "Des catalogues, tout à fait contradictoires, des rois d'Aksoum," Conti Rossini calls them. And M. Drouin goes so far as to say that the lack of order and the want of agreement between the diverse series deprive them of much authority. They are, further, incomplete, for not one of them gives all the sovereigns; and our difficulties are increased by the want of foreign contemporary records or the evidence of inscriptions on coins or monuments.

Conti Rossini suggests that the lists were compiled in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, after the restoration of the legitimate line about the year 1268, from foreign, that is Arabic, documents, and from inscriptions on coins and monuments, and that some of the names are even derived from South Arabian mythology. That the Ethiopic scribes have made numerous errors in copying is undoubtedly the

case. It is much as if a schoolboy had to write out from memory a list of our English Kings and had omitted some half of them, inverted the order of others, and misnamed some of the remainder. Some of the lists form a hopeless jumble, and one even contains the names of Kings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of our era mixed up with those of far distant pre-Christian times!

The difficulty of reconciling the lists is increased by the fact that, as pointed out by Bruce, the Abyssinian Kings have always two, and sometimes three, names. The first is that of baptism, their second is a by-name, and the third they take upon their inauguration. The Portuguese missionaries assumed this as one reason for the variations of the lists. In some cases, too, it is doubtful whether a word used is the name of a King or some qualifying adjunct. It has been pointed out that some names of pre-Christian times—*e.g.*, Toma Syon—indicate Christian influence, and could not, therefore, be of the period to which they are referred. Some of the names, too, show Amharic (and therefore later) influence. The scribes were very careless in their work and undoubtedly took great liberties with the names; but by a careful comparison one with another, perhaps some of the errors may be eliminated.

Signor Conti Rossini has catalogued no less than eighty-six different lists, which have appeared in various Ethiopic manuscripts and in published works, and has classified them in eight groups, which he distinguishes by the first eight letters of the alphabet. His first three groups correspond with Dillmann's three lists, though he places them in an inverse order; his list A is Dillmann's list C, and his C is Dillmann's A. It would have facilitated reference if he had kept the same order. The sources from which the lists are taken are as follows:

List A (Dillmann's C) is taken from manuscripts of the *Kebrä Nagast* in the British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Royal Library of Berlin, Bodleian Library of Oxford, and d'Abbadie's collection; the *Serata*

Mangest, *Weddasé Amlak*, *Kitara Tasbukt*, etc., besides the lists of Mariano Vittorio, Pero Paez, and Manoel d'Almeida (22 documents in all); 47 names.

List B (Dillmann's B; 33 manuscripts) from *Gadla Takla Haymanot* (Lady Meux Manuscript), National Chronicles in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Bibliothèque Nationale, etc.; 69 names.

List C (Dillmann's A; 16 documents), *Kebra Nagast*, National Chronicles, etc., and the lists of Pero Paez, Manoel d'Almeida and Mariano Vittorio; 91 names.

List D (6 documents), Manuscript D'Abbadie 105, Chronicle of Azaz Delbo (*temp. Fasilidas*), lists of Melchior da Silva, Pero Paez, and Manoel d'Almeida, etc.; 66 names.

List E (67 names) from one manuscript only, given to M. Conti Rossini by the Monastery of Enda Sellasé, in Akule Gusai.

List F (from 2 manuscripts, with 32 names) and F *bis* (from 1 manuscript, with 17 names).

List G (Manuscript 149, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris); 74 names.

List H (3 manuscripts; 25 names) and H *bis* (Manuscript 97 d'Abbadie; 27 names).

Some of these lists appear at first to have little in common with each other. Not only are the names different, but the numbers of the Kings vary to an astonishing extent, some giving as few as 25 or 27 names and others up to 91, although even this list of 91 names is evidently not complete. No one name appears in all the eight lists, and no one list contains all the names. It would appear, therefore, almost hopeless to bring them into consonance. Examination will, however, show that some common features run through all the series. Five of the names are found in some seven of the eight lists, and these names are invariably in the same order relatively to each other. These are Menilek or Ebna Hakim, the reputed son of King Solomon and founder of the dynasty; Bazen (during whose reign, we are told, Christ was born);

Abreha and Asbeha (during whose reign, about A.D. 330, Christianity is said to have been introduced into Abyssinia); and Gabra Masqal. These names not only form definite bases for bringing the different lists into line, but they also help us to determine the chronological periods. On placing the lists side by side in eight parallel columns, with the known names in line with each other, it will be found that the bulk of the names in each list will fall into line with the names in some or other of the other lists, and the variations will be reduced to differences in the spelling of names, to alternative names, omissions of names, sometimes from one, sometimes from another of the lists, a few cases of evident transposition or duplication, and, in some of the minor and evidently less authoritative lists, certain names which cannot be found elsewhere, and which may be due to the vagaries of some particular scribe.

I should like to have had the names printed in this tabular form, but as this would require a large folding-sheet, I have brought the lists together into one, with the exception of a portion of the period, where the lists are evidently quite distinct, and two separate columns are necessary. I give the varied spellings of the different names with the letter indicating the list of Conti Rossini from which they are taken, and, with few exceptions to which notice will specially be called, have retained them in the same relative order. When the names given by Bruce and Salt differ, I have also added these, so that my list—though in some respects tentative only—may be regarded as a key to all existing lists. The numbers preceding the names are of course my own.

Three of the lists (A, C and E) commence with Arwé, the Serpent King, who reigned 400 or 100 years. He is followed by four other more or less mythical names :

Angabo, Be'esi Angabo, Agubo, 200 years (List C); Be'esi Angabo, Bären Gabo (D); Agabos (E); Agabos, of Atry, of Sarawe (a province of Tigré), father of the Queen of the South (F).

Gedur (reigned) in Nuh 100 years (C).

Sebado, Sabasa, Sabaso, Sabaha (reigned) in Sado 50 years, or 50 at Sado and 50 at Aksum (C).

Qawasyu, Tawasya, in Aksum, 1 year (C).

Gedur, Sebado and Qawasyo are named in List C only, unless they are equivalent to the three names Zagdur, Subabasyu and Tawasya, which, with Be'esi Angabo, in List D follow Menilek (No. 1 below). If List F is right in making Agabos the father of the Queen of the South, these three names are perhaps wrongly placed in List C before, instead of after, Menilek.

Makeda, Queen of the South (Lists C, E, F) reigned 50 years before her journey to Jerusalem and 28 years after (C); or reigned 50 years (F). She was the Queen of Sheba, or Saba, in South Arabia, who visited King Solomon. Her son by King Solomon, the reputed founder of the dynasty of the present ruling Emperor of Ethiopia or Abyssinia (Menelik II.), was—

1. Menilek, Men Ylek, Men Ylehek, Ebna Hakim, Ebna Elhakim, Ebna Lahekem, or Ebna Elehequim, whose reign is variously stated to have lasted 29, 28, 26, 24, 69, 30, or 2 years.

2. Tomay, Tomas, Tomada, 7 years (B, F) or 10 years (H). His royal name was Abrakid (E, F); Barakid (G).

3. Zagdur, Zabagdur, Zagduru (B, D, E); Azbay, Hezbay, 27 years (H). List F omits Zagdur and the next three Kings, and gives instead one King only, Atarem, Ataram, Ytamor or Ytamer, 10 years.

4. Aksumay (B, E, H).

5. Awsyo, Awsabyos (B, E); Subabasyu (D).

In List H, instead of Nos. 5 to 12, Aksumay is followed by Takalay or Taklay, 5 years; Henquqay, 15 years; Abli or Absaliyu, 24 years 8 months; and Ori, 2 years 9 months. We shall find this list otherwise irreconcilable.

6. Tahawasya (B); Tawasya (D); Taosya (E).

7. Abralyus, Abrelyus (B, F); Abramyoṣ (G); Abralyu, 9 years (F).

List G inserts three names—Tazena, Pazena and Qualiza—between Abramyos (7) and Warada Sahay (8). They may, perhaps, be duplications of following names.

8. Warada Sahay (B, E, F, G), 32 years (F), Ouarada Dhabaï, "Le soleil est descendu" (of R. Basset).

After Warada Sahay list G gives the succession as follows: Dangas, Tazen, Pazen, Dalez, Guam and Asguam-guam (Nos. 112-113), Letem and Talatem (114-115), Abréha, Gefa, Badgeza (111), Zergaz (109), Madmen or Madem (118), Wedem (119), Germa Asfare or Germa Asfere (108), Leb Dahare (121), Enza Ykre (122), Nagesre, Hezb Arad or Hesba Arad, Bahr Arad, Ma'ekala Wedem (107), Bahra Wedem, Bazen (31). Some of these names are evidently out of place here, and are repeated later in the same manuscript.

9. Handadyo, Handor, Handodea, Andedo (B, C); Handona, Andona, Anderia, Adona (D); Hanyar, Handar (E); 1 year (C).

10. Warada Nagas, 7 years (B, F); Awda Amat, 11 years (C); Wareza (D); Walda Mehrat (E).

In List F Warada Nagas is followed by Palez, Pulza or Pelza, 12 years; Fazel; Kalem; Talem; Tazer; and then Bazen (No. 31 below). Some of these names are reminiscent of List G; but they may be disregarded.

11. Awsya, Awsanya (B); Awsyo, Guaasio, 3 years (C); Ausyo, Ausayo (D); Asanya (E).

12. Elalyon, Elsae Syon (B); Masyo (D); Ilalyos (E); Elsapyon, Elsa Syon, 10 years 1 month (H).

13. Toma Syon, Toma Sahay (B); Sawe'e, Zaugua, 44, 34 or 31 years (C); Sawa (D); Tomasyon (E); Toma Syon, 11 years (H); Sawè (Bruce); Za-Tsawe (Salt).

14. Basyo, Gasyo, Baselyos (B, D); Gasyo, Gaasio, half a day (C); Baos (E). Agazinar, Agazi Nar, 3 years and 12 months [*sic?*] (H).

15. Awtet (B, D); Mawat, Awtet, Autet, 8 years 1 month, or 61 or 21 years (C); Awestet (E); Mouta (Bruce); Za Maute (Salt).

16. Zawari Nebrat (B, H) ; Bahas, Bahaza, 9 years (C.) ; Bahasa (D) ; Zaware Nebrat (E).
17. Sayfay (B) ; Safaya (E) ; Qawda, Tawda, Chauada, 2 years (C) ; Sawada (D) ; Kawida (Bruce) ; Kawuda (Salt).
18. Ramhay (B, E) ; Qanaz, Chanze, 10 or 7 years (C) ; Kanaza (Bruce) ; Kanazi (Salt).

List H here gives three Kings—Sayfay, 11 years ; Ramhay, 15 years ; and Ahow, 17 years ; but probably this should read that Sayfay and Ramhaÿ were *ahow*, “ brothers.” The ten following names in this list are quite irreconcilable with the other lists. They are : Hohay or Hohaw, 16 years ; Nagsay, 18 years ; Lulay or Susay, 19 years ; Masalni or Baslin, 20 years ; Sanay, 20 years ; Dawit, 22 years ; Amoy, 23 years ; Duniday, 24 years ; Yoday or Yodad, 25 years ; and Luzay or Luzoy, with whom this list finishes. The years of the reigns look suspicious, and the names may be safely set aside.

19. Hande (B) ; Haduna, Hadena, Enduz, Endur, 9 or 2 years (C) ; Hadena (D) ; Katzina (Bruce).
20. Wazha, Oezho, Guazha, 1 year (C list only) ; Wazeha (Bruce) ; Za-Wasih (Salt).
21. Hadina, Heduna, Hadena, Endrati, 2, 6, 4 or 1 year (C) ; Hazer (Bruce) ; Zah-dir (Salt).
22. Kalas, Chaales, 6 years (C, D).
23. Satyo, Setiia, 16 years (C) ; Gotya (D) ; Solaya (Bruce).
24. Safelya (B, D) ; Filya, Safelya, Safeeliia, 27 or 66 years (C) ; Safalya (E) ; Falaya (Bruce).
25. Aglebul (B) ; Aglebu, Amalub, 3 years (C) ; Elgebul, Elgabul (D) ; Negeleb, Engelab (E).
26. Bawawel (B, D) ; Bawl (E). Omitted in C.
27. Awsina, Ausena, 1 year (C) ; Awsena (D) ; Benden (E) ; Asisena (Bruce) ; Awzena (Salt).
28. Bawaris (B) ; Birwas, Breguas, Zebuoas, 69 or 19 years (C) ; Bawris (D) ; Gawras (E) ; Brue (Bruce) ; Za Ber-was (Salt).

In List D Bawris (28) precedes Awsena (27) ; and in List E the order is Gawras (28), Bawl (26), Benden (27 ?).

29. Mahase, Mahasi (B, D, E); Mahsi, Guaase, 1 year (C); Mohesa (Bruce); Za-Mahasi (Salt).
30. Nalke, Hanke (B); Elhewa, Beeselengua, 17 years (C)? Nalkue (D); Laka (E).
31. Bazen (A, B, D, F); Be'esi Bazen, Baazena, 17, 12 or 27 years (C); Bazen, Gazen (E). The birth of Christ occurred during his reign (B, C).

Here List C, which has hitherto appeared the most complete, breaks off from the other lists; though Sartu (32) and Senfa Asgad (32a) may possibly be variations of the name of the same King. We have, therefore, now, two parallel and entirely distinct successions of names, for the two lines can hardly be forced into unison. This may mean that the country was divided into two separate and independent kingdoms (as it was in the last century before the present Negus united it under one crown);* or that the royal and legitimate line was displaced by an intruding dynasty (one list being that of the intruding, the other that of the legitimate line); or, again, that the direct line gave out and was replaced by a younger branch. The first alternative may be the most probable. It will be noticed that the two lists are very unequal in the number of Kings. List C alone here gives the lengths of the reigns, and from its greater fulness it may perhaps be taken as the more reliable.

In List C Be'esi Bazen is followed by : The other lists give the succession :

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|--|
| 32. Sartu, 27 or 67 years; | 32a. Senfa Asgad, Senfa Za-Senatu, 26 years (Salt). | 32a. Senfa Asgad, Senfa Arad, Senfasghed, Zenfa |
| 33. La'as, Lacasa, 10 years; | Za-Les, 10 years (Salt). | Asgued (A); Senfa Ared (B); Senfa Asgad (D, G); Tzenaf Segued (Bruce). |
| 34. Maseneh, Mesne, 6 years; | Za-Masenh (Salt). | 33a. Bahra Asgad, Baharsaghed (A); Bahr Asged (B); Bahr Asgad (D, G). |

* See *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxiii., 1912, pp. 328-360.

35. Satwa, Setet, Seteia, Sectua, 9 years; Za-Sutuwa (Salt).

36. Adgala, 10 years 7 months, 10 years 4 months, or 10 years 2 months; Za-Adgaba, 10 years 6 months (Salt).

37. Agba, 6 years; Za-Agba, 6 months (Salt).

38. Malis, Mali, 4 years, 7 years or 4 months; Za-Malis, 6 years (Salt).

—Ela Azguague, 67 years (in MS. 143 Bibl. Nat., probably a duplication of No. 47).

39. Haqle, Elherka Zahaqli, 13 or 14 years; Za-Hakale, 13 years (Salt).

40. Demahe, Didima, 10 years; Za-Demahe (Salt).

41. Awtet, 2 years; Za-Awtet (Salt).

42. Ela Awda, Alda, 30 years; Za-Elawda (Salt).

43-44. Zegen and Rema, Zegin and Rema, 8 years; Rema, 4 years, and Zegen, 8 years (One MS. gives 3 years); Za-Zigen and Rema, 40 years (Salt).

45. Gafale, Gafele, 1 year; Za Gafale (Salt).

46. Be'esi Sarq, 4 or 14 years; Za Baesi serk, 4 years (Salt).

34a. Germa Asfar, Guerma Azfare (A); Germa Asfare (B, G); Germa Safer (D); Garima Asferi (Bruce).

In one list—that of the church of Matara—the name Sefer follows here.

35a. Sarada, Saladoba (A); Germa Sor (B, E); Serado, Sarado (D); Serad (G); Saraada (Bruce). List E adds that Germa Sor's royal name was Kaleb. B transposes 35a and 34a.

36a. Kuelu Lasyon (A, D); Kuelu Syon (G); Tzion (Bruce).

37a. Sarguay, Sargue (A, B, D, E); Sargo Syon (G); Sargai (Bruce).

38a. Zaray (A, B, C, D, E); Zara Syon (G).

39a. Bagamay (A); Bagam (G); Bagamai (Bruce).

40a. Zan Asgad, Sena Asgad; Jan Azgued (A); Saba Asgad (B); Sen Asgad (D); Sabea Asgad (E); Zan Asged (G); Jan Segued (Bruce).

41a. Syon Hegez, Syon Heg (A, G); Syon Geza (B, E); Syon Hagez (D); Tzion Hegez (Bruce).

47. Ela Azguagua, Azguag, 77 or 6 years ; Za Elasguaga, 76 years (Salt).
48. Ela Herka, Ark, 21 years.
49. Be'ese Saweza, Besesne, 1 year, 3 years 2 months, 1 year 6 months, or 1 month ; Za Baesi Isawesa, 1 year (Salt).
50. Wakna, Guachena, 2 days, 2 years, or 1 day ; Za-Wakena, 2 days (Salt).
51. Hadaws, Hadas, 4 months, 2 months, or 9 months ; Za Hadus, 4 months (Salt).
52. Ela Sagal, 3 years, or 3 years 4 months, El Segel, 2 years (Salt).
53. Ela Asfeha, Asfe, 14 years ; El Asfeh (Salt).
54. Ela Segab, Azgheba, 23 years ; El Tsegaba (Salt).
55. Ela Samara, 3 years ; El Semera (Salt).
56. Ela Ayba, 17 years ; El Aiba, 16 years (Salt). Salt places Nos. 56 to 62 after El Abreha and El Atzbeha (63-64).
57. Ela Eskendi, Ela Asgade, Sthenden, 37 years ; El Iskandi, 36 years (Salt).
58. Ela Sahan, 9 years, or 1 year ; El Tshemo (Salt).
- 42a. Mawa'el Genh, Ma'albagad, Ma'abar, Malay (A) ; Ma'al Ganah (D) ; Abendir (E) ; Moal Genha (Bruce). G makes two Kings of him—Mela and Genha, Rossini, with apparently insufficient reason, identifies him with Maseneh (34 of the adjoining list).
- 43a. Saf Arad, Sayfa Arad (A) ; Sayfa Ared, Senfa Ared (B) ; Saf Arada (D) ; Tazer, whose royal name was Sayfa Arad (E) ; Saf Arad (G) ; Saif Araad (Bruce).
- 44a. Agdar, Agder, Agdai, (A) ; Agdur (B) ; Agdar (D) ; Agedar (G and Bruce).

59. Ela San, 13, 12, 39 or
53 years ; El San, 13 years
(Salt).

60. Ela Ayga, Igga, 18 or
13 years ; El Aiga, 18 years
(Salt).

61. Al Ameda, 30 years
8 months, 18 years 1 month,
30 years 1 month, or 30
years 6 months ; El Ameda,
40 years 8 months. (Salt).

62. Ela Ahyawa, 3 years ;
El Ahiawya (Salt).

Between Bazén (31) and Abreha and Asbeha (63–64)
List F gives only five doubtful names—Palez, Fazel,
Kalem, Talem and Tazer.

Nos. 56–62 are placed after 63–64 by Henry Salt and
Combes and Tamisier, the latter of whom class them as
Christian Kings.

63–64, Abreha and Asbeha (A, B, D, E, F, G) ; Abreha and
Atzbeha (Bruce) ; El Abreha and El-Atzbeha or Saizana,
26 years 6 months (Salt). All Rossini's seven lists agree
in giving the names of these two joint Kings. In C
they are called Ela Abreha and Asbeha, Eguala Anbasa
("Sons of the Lion"). A styles them "the well-beloved
brothers." According to C they reigned together 27 years
and 6 months, and, after Abreha, Asbeha alone 12 years.
E makes the joint reign 65 years, and Asbeha alone
15 years ; and F makes them reign together 13 years only.
Their reign was marked by the introduction of Chris-
tianity (B, C) ; List G adds that they built the Cathedral
of Aksum on the water. (Perhaps this last word is a
mistranslation.)

In List F Abreha and Asbeha are followed by Dalez
and Sahel Iyekale, or Sahel Iyekala, who may possibly
correspond with Nos. 65 and 66 ; and they are next followed
by Gabra Masqal (94).

65. Asfeha (A, D, E); Asfah (B); Ela Asfeha, 7 or 3 years (C); Asfah (Salt). Asfa Sahel (G) may unite in one this King and the next (66).

The lists, which had come into correspondence for these two reigns only, now again differ, as before.

List C continues :

66. Ela Sahel, 14 or 17 years.

67. Ela Adhana, 14 years.

68. Ela Rete'e, 10 or 4 years.

69. Asfah, 1 or 5 years.

70. Ela Asbeha, 5 or 16 years.

71. Ela Ameda, 16 or 7 years.

72. Ela Abreha, 6 months, 2 months, or 2 years.

73. Ela Sahel, 2 or 6 months.

74. Ela Gabaz, or Ela Gabaz and Ela Adhana, 2, 3, 1, or 14 years.

75. Ela Sehul, 1 or 4 years.

76. Ela Asbah, 3, 5, or 2 years.

77-78. Ela Abreh and Ela Adhana, 16 years.

79. Ela Saham, 28 or 18 years.

80. Ela Amida, 12 or 17 years.

81. Ela Sahel, 2 years.

82. Ela Sebah; Azba, 2 or 15 years.

83. Ela Saham, Zaham, 15 years.

The other lists again contain a smaller number of names :

66a. Arfed, Afrad (A, B, D); Arfasked (E); Asged (G); Arphad (Bruce).

67a. Amsy, Amy (A); Amsi, Hamose (B); Amsi (D); Amse (E); Mes'r (G); Amzi (Bruce). List A adds

that Asfeha (65), Arfed (66a) and Amsy (67a) were brothers, and in the copy from the church of Matara they are followed by another brother, Bamayzan. Baddsthat Arfed and Amsi were brothers.

68a. Arada, Arad (A, D); Aradu (G); Araad (Bruce).

69a. Saladoba, Saaldoba, Aladoba (A, B, D); Aladag (B); Aladeb (E); Ela Adoba (G).

Salt adds that Asfah, Arfad, Amosi and Seladoba are supposed to have reigned 32 years, and should probably follow El Abrcha.

70a. Alamida (A, D); Alameda, Aminadab (B); Almeda (E); Alamed (G); Ameda (Salt). Rossini

84. Ela Gabaz, 21 or 24 years.
- . 85–86. Agabe and Lewi, 2 or 4 years.
- . 87. Ela Amida, 11 years.
- . 88–89. Yaqob and Dawit, 3 years.
- . 90. Armah, 14 years, 7 months, 8 days; 14 years, 6 months, or 14 years 7 months 7 days.
91. Tazena (A, B, D, E, G and Salt); Zitana, 2 or 12 years (C); Tezhana (Bruce).
92. Yaqob, 9 or 12 years (C only).
93. Beta Israel, 8 months, 1 month, or 14 years (C); Kaleb (A, B, D, E, F, G), 40 years (E), 30 years (F).
94. Gabra Masqal (in all 7 lists). MS. 145, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, adds that his royal name was Quastantinos. 14 years (C), 40 years (E), or 37 years (F).
95. Quastantinos, 28 years (A, B, C, D, E, G); Yeshaq, whose royal name was Quastantinos (E). List C places him before Beta Israel (93), and Gabra Masqal (94). With that King List C terminates, and for the later Kings we must depend on the other lists, which, though they agree in the main among themselves, appear to be less reliable and complete. Was it that the country was now in a state of break-up or decay, when the royal records were neglected?
96. Bazgar, Zeggar, Bezgar, Bezaagher (A); Bazagar (D); Bezegar (G); Bazzer (Bruce). D'Abbadie MS. 97 places him between Zan Asgad (100) and Fere Sanay (101).
97. Asfah (A); Asfeh (D); Asfah Sahel (G); Azbeha (Bruce).
98. Armah (A, D, G); Armaha (Bruce).
99. Zan Asfeli (A, D); Jan Asfeh (Bruce).
100. Zan Asgad, Jan Azgued (A); Wāsan Sagād (B, E); Zan Sagada (D); Zan Sagad (G); Jan Segued (Bruce); Wusen Segued (Salt).

101. Fere Sanay (A, B, D, E, G); Fere Sanai (Bruce); Fré Señai (Salt).
102. Aderaz (A, B); Adoraz (D); Deraz (E); Edra'az (G); Aderaaz (Bruce); Adieraz (Salt).
103. Ayzor, Adazor (A); Ayzar, Aidar (D); Ayzar (G).
104. Del Na'ad (A only). Possibly a duplication of No. 128.
105. Ma'eday (A, D); Ma'eda Kala (F); Me'edat Kela (G).
106. Anbasa Wedem (A only). Cf. No. 127.
107. Kuala Wedem, Galawdewos (A); Ekla Wedem (B); Kalawedem (D); Akala Wedem (E); Kuelo Dem (G); Akul Woodem (Salt).
108. Germa Asfare (A, G); Germa Safar (B); Germa Asfar (D); Germa Sor (E); Germa Sofer (Salt).
109. Zergaz, Zemaz, Ger Ga'az (A); Zergaz (B, F); Zargaz, Zergaza (D); Degzan (E); Zare Agez, Ra'agez (G). G also gives the name Zergaz earlier (see *ante*).
110. Degna Mikael (A, B, D, E, G).
111. Badagaz, Bada Gabaz (A, D); Badgeza (G, which gives this name twice).
- 111a. Bahr Ikla (B); Bahr Ekla (E); Bahra Iyekale, Bahra Iyekal (F); Bahr Akla (Salt), who follows Degna Mikael in B, E and Salt, and follows Zergaz in F, may be another name for Badagaz. Lists A and D do not give any other Kings until Armah (123).
112. Gum (B, E); Guem (F); Gouma (Salt).
113. Asguamgum (B); Asagum (E); Asguamguem, Agomgum (F); Asgoumgum (Salt). List G (MS. 149, Bibl. Nat., Paris) places Guam and Asguamguam (reigning jointly?), and Letem and Talatem (also jointly?) earlier in the list (see *ante*).
114. Letem (B, F, G); Latem (E); Let-um (Salt).
115. Talatem (B, E, G); Talatam (F); Thala-tum (Salt).
116. Oda Gos, Gadi Gaso, Warada Has (B); Adgos, Adhas (E); Baña Guas, Bada Gos (F); Woddo Gush (Salt); Oda-Saso (Basset).
117. Ayzur, reigned half a day (B, E, F); I zoor (Salt).

118. Dedem (B); Medemam (F); Madmem, Madem (G); Didum (Salt).

119. Wededem (B); Wedem (F, G).

List E gives one King only for 118 and 119—Awdamdem.

120. Wedem Asfare (B); Awdemasfare (E); Germa Asfare, Gedem Asfare, 50 years (F); Germa Asfere (G); Woodm Asfar (Salt).

121–122. Leb Dahari and Engeda (or Engede) Qare, Lebdare, 15 years (F); Leb Dahare (G).

123. Armah (A, B, D, E, G). MS. 145, Bibl. Nat. Paris, adds that he reigned 40 years. Signor Rossini confuses him with another Armah (No. 90 above). He is, perhaps, too ready to assume that when the same name occurs more than once it refers to the same King.

124. Hezba Anani (A, D); Hezb Nañ (G).

125. Degna Zan, Genagan (A); Degna Zan, 12 years (B); Degnazan (D, G); Degzan (E); Degna Jan (Salt).

126. Geda Zan, Ged Azan, Degnazan, Dema'azan, 9 years (B only). Rossini suggests that he may be a duplication of 125.

127. Anbasa Wedem (A, B, D, E, G); Anbasa Woodim (Salt); 50 years (B). (*Cf.* No. 106.)

128. Del Na'ad (A, B, D, E, F, G); Del Naod (D); 4 years (B); 40 years (E); Del Naad, A.D. 960 (Bruce); Dilnaad, in his time Gudit overthrew the dynasty about 925 (Salt).

Terda Gabaz (a Princess), who passed the throne to the Zague dynasty (A only).

We thus have 128 Kings, or—allowing for six joint reigns—122 reigns, to cover a period of about 1,900 years, extending from the time of Solomon to A.D. 960, when the dynasty was overthrown, giving an average of fifteen years to each reign. If we take any one list separately, and add together the years of the reigns (where given), we shall find them quite insufficient to bridge this period. List C alone approaches to any completeness, and it stops short at Gabra Masqal, or, say, the middle of the sixth century A.D.

There is nothing unreasonable, therefore, in accepting the above list, which brings into a combined whole the names from all the 86 lists catalogued by Conti Rossini ; and this with very little violence to the three or four principal lists. In A (47 names), and D (66 names), order is maintained intact ; B (69 names) has two transpositions, 35–34, and 44–43 ; C (91 names) has two transpositions, 28 before 27, and 95 before 93 and 94. These are the most important national lists, comprised in some 77 manuscripts and printed works. The remaining 4 lists, which show the greatest variations, are of less importance, and occur in a very small number of manuscripts. List E (67 names), from one manuscript only, has several transpositions, 9, 6, 10, 8 ; 27, 26 ; 41, 40 ; 101, etc. F, from two manuscripts—one with 32 names, and the other with 17—has several names not found elsewhere, and others evidently jumbled up in wrong order. G (74 names), from one manuscript, also has several names peculiar to itself, and several evidently out of place. H (25 names in 3 manuscripts, and 27 names in another, of which less than half are in other lists) also tails off with a number of irreconcilable names. Where these documents differ from those of the first four groups and from each other, therefore, they must be put aside ; though when they tally with the others their evidence may be accepted as confirmatory. Some of the lists must have been written from memory, and the names altered or transposed.

It would be interesting, though fruitless, to inquire why so many of the names are omitted from one or other of the various lists. Perhaps they may have been regarded as intruders in the direct line of succession, for in these omissions there is a certain measure of agreement between the different lists. That some of the names are authentic we shall be able to test from other sources.

The Queen of Skeba legend is reconcilable with the narrative in our own Bible, and is, moreover, handed down in Arabic tradition, and in the works of Arab authors.

The country over which she ruled is generally accepted to have been in the south of Arabia—the present Yemen. The names, “Queen of the South” and “Ebna Hakim” indicate an Arabic origin of the Ethiopic legend, and we know that Abyssinians themselves are descended from early Arabic colonists mixed—the word “Habesh” means “mixed”—with the aboriginal population. That this Arabic immigration goes back long before the time of Solomon is very probable. And if the Queen of the South was the daughter of Agabos of Atry, of Sarawe, it may indicate that the King of Saba married an Abyssinian Princess, and thus united under one rule the cognate populations on both sides of the Red Sea. No doubt all this must be placed on a par with our own legends of King Arthur. But it contains an ethnic fact. That the Abyssinians were separated from the Minæans and Sabæans at a very remote period is proved by the fact that their language, though more akin to the Sabæan than is the Arabic, is yet quite distinct from the former, whose written characters it borrowed.

That the birth of Christ occurred in the eighth year of Bazen must, of course, be a calculation arrived at some time after the conversion of the country to Christianity, but it may have been fixed so early as to be reasonably authentic, and the name appears in practically all the lists. Two of the Kings—Ela Saham (79 or 83) and Ela Gabaz (84)—are mentioned in the History of Tabari, an Arabian author.

The “Periplus of the Erythræan Sea,” supposed to have been compiled about the year A.D. 80, mentions the King of Axum, Zoskales; and he has been identified with Haqle or Zahaqle (No. 39), whose name and date synchronise.

Few monumental inscriptions have yet been found. One, copied by Salt, Theodore Bent, and others, commemorates the conquests of Aizanes, King the of Axumites. Bent dates it in the third or the early part of the fourth century, A.D. Salt, followed by Dröuin, identified him with El Abroha(63);

but there seems more reason to agree with Rüpell and Dillmann that he was the same as Ela San (No. 59). We have also at Aksum an inscription in Sabæan characters of Ela Amida (87 or 70^a ?), *circa* A.D. 434–474, and two inscriptions of his son, Tazena (No. 91), between A.D. 480 and 520. From a fragmentary inscription obtained by Professor A. H. Sayce at Meroë in 1909, it would appear that Tazena conquered the kingdom of Meroë. It describes the conquest of Kasu (Kush or Ethiopia). Of a successful conquest of South Arabia by his successor Caleb (No. 93) we have a contemporary account in the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes.

A number of ancient coins of Axumite Kings have been found, but they do not throw much light on the King-lists, and some of the names cannot be identified. One, with a Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥC ΑΦΙΛΑC, may be that of Filya or Safelya (24), or Gafale (45), though Rüpell read the name Aphidas, which he thought might be a Greek imitation of Amida. Drouin, however, thinks it relates to an unknown King. The name Gersem, on another coin, may, Drouin suggests, be Germa Asfare (No. 108), and Ousas, on another, may be Wazha (No. 20). Other names, Bakhasa, Nezana, Oulzeba, and Asael—all with Greek legends—cannot be placed in the lists. Several coins have also been found with the legends in Ethiopic characters, probably more recent than the Greek. Of these Armah may be No. 90, Ela Ats is perhaps Ela Atsbeha (63), and Zwaz or Zwazan somewhat resembles the name Zaizana or Sazana, brother of Aizana. But these, and the names Mhigsu and Hataz, also given in Drouin's paper, are very doubtful.

Bruce tells us of the weakness of Delnaod (No. 128) and of the royal line being supplanted by the revolt of Judith, called also Esat ("Fire"), Esther or Terdae-Gobaz; and as all the accounts agree in this, it may be accepted as an historic fact. Bruce dates this about 960 A.D., Salt about 925. The Abyssinian scribes are generally indifferent as to dates, or confine themselves to the year of the reign of the

particular King ; so that this event cannot yet be definitely fixed chronologically. In regard to the duration of the reigns in the lists there are so many variations and contradictions that I have not endeavoured to reconcile them. Careful comparison of the different manuscripts may perhaps show which are more worthy of credence. Enough, however, has been done to show that the lists are more authoritative than some have supposed, and there seems every reason to believe that the manuscripts we have have been copied from still older lists which have not been preserved.

RANGOON

AIR, Abdul the Bulbul Ameer

I.

THERE'S a busy new town,
With an old golden crown,*
 Where rivers meet the sea ;
Where the black and the white
And the brown unite
 To worship THE RUPEE.
There the doctors flock
With their drugs in stock
 To make sick bodies whole ;
There are mosques, there are shrines,
And all shades of divines,
 For diseases of the soul.

Some deal in rice,
Some deal in pice,
 All sorts of trades you see ;
While the lawyers crowd,
With their gabble loud,
 To argue for a fee.
We've electric lights,
And we've dancing nights,
 And many beaus and belles ;
In the big bazaars
There are woky wars
 And—oriental smells.

For engineers' craft,
And the twists of graft,
 Such lengths we here can reach
That tho' we should go
To Mexico
 There's nothing they could teach.

Shwe Dagon Pagoda.

For business tricks
And official sticks
 We lick creation here,—
There's many a man
Will be vile when he can,
 And thinks the way is clear.

Yet lovely's the scene ;
And evergreen
 Is the country round about ;
The Sun shines bright,
Or the Moon at night,
 Or the stars come sparkling out.
When the Sun grows strong,
It's not for long.
 Then the clouds come rolling by ;
Or the winds bring rain
From the seas again,
 And veil the burning sky.

Then the croaking frogs
And the barking dogs
 And the crows and the men breathe free ;
And each for himself
Seeks his own dear pelf
 With double energy.
Tho' the town seems full
Of the coarse and the dull,
 I've seen some bright ones there ;
And the light of their eyes
Eclipsed the skies,
 And made the world more fair.
And some men I knew
Were wise and true ;
 And tho' I'll leave it soon,
Yet I half regret,
And will ne'er forget
 Fair evergreen Rangoon.

D. A. WILSON.

MILITARY NOTES

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

WE have now entered on the fifth year of the world-war, and it appears more than ever probable that it will eventually be terminated by economic exhaustion rather than by military success. In former wars pitched battles were generally decisive, and were most commonly fought and won between sunrise and sunset on the same day. Now, under the altered conditions of warfare, a battle resembles siege operations extending over weeks, and ending only with the exhaustion of both of the combatants without any decisive result. Meanwhile the sphere of operations is being continually extended rather than contracted, and our "far-flung battle-line" is putting a girdle round about the globe. British troops are now operating on many fronts in three Continents, in France and Flanders, in Italy and Macedonia, in Palestine and Mesopotamia, in Portuguese Mozambique, in Persian Azerbaijan, in Russian Turkestan, in Eastern Siberia, and on the shores of the Arctic Ocean in the land of the midnight sun.

LASCARS AND THE MIDNIGHT SUN

The Arab traveller, Ibn Batuta, relates how on his arrival in Russia he began to say his evening prayers, and before he could finish them he was overtaken by the dawn! When our Expeditionary Force arrived on the Murman Coast the midsummer sun was visible in the heavens during the whole twenty-four hours. The Indian Lascars on one of our transports went in a body to the captain to consult

him as to how they could manage to observe the stated times of morning and evening prayer, since there was neither sunrise nor sunset. He advised them to say their prayers according to Greenwich time by the ship's chronometers ; and they took his advice and were satisfied.

THE PRUSSIAN TRADITION

The recent revelations of Count Lichnowsky have revealed the surprising fact that there was one honest man in the Imperial German Diplomatic Service. The new Fungus Empire of the Hohenzollerns has been faithfully moulded on Prussian traditions, and has bred a race of diplomatists without honesty, and of soldiers without chivalry. The descendants of the Teutonic Knights and of the captains of Fredericus Rex have improved on the rough-and-ready methods of their rude ancestors by the adoption of fresh modern ways and means of rascality ; and the Hochwohlgeborener Junker of to-day is a sneaking spy, who rakes in the waste-paper baskets of Foreign Embassies ; a foul fighter, who employs poison-gas and liquid fire against his foes in the field ; and a skulking pirate, who sinks fishing-boats and passenger ships without warning, and gains the decoration of the Iron Cross as an appropriate reward for the murder of women and children. The device of the skull and cross-bones, which decorates the accoutrements of some Prussian regiments, might appropriately be transferred to the ensign of the German Navy as a fitting emblem of its promiscuous piracy.

MILITARY HISTORY ALSO REPEATS ITSELF

History repeats itself, and military history forms no exception to the rule. In this war the Germans have revived the old practice of employing special formations of picked troops for the execution of the most difficult and most dangerous operations, by segregating their best and bravest soldiers in special battalions of "Stoss Truppen,"

or Shock Troops, a practice once common to all the armies of Europe. The Turks in old times, at the beginning of a campaign, called for volunteers from the Corps of Janissaries to form a "Forlorn Hope," to be employed in the most dangerous enterprises. These volunteers were called "Serdinchichdi" (madcaps), wore a peculiar head-dress, and received a double rate of pay. If they were lucky enough to survive two campaigns, they received double pay for the rest of their service. In the standing armies of the European Powers there was a company of picked men called the "Forlorn Hopes," or "Enfants Perdus," in every regiment of infantry, which was kept at double the strength of the other companies, and the men of which received a higher rate of pay. The captain of this picked company always ranked as the second officer in the regiment, or Lieutenant-Colonel. With the introduction of the hand-grenade in the seventeenth century, the company of "Enfants Perdus" was replaced by a company of Grenadiers. In the seventeenth century, battalions and companies of picked troops were employed for special services—Grenadiers for the assault of fortresses, Light Infantry, Jägers, and Rifles for skirmishing tactics. Napoleon relied largely on picked troops. His Imperial Guard was a whole Army Corps of all arms, recruited by the best men from the rest of the army. In the Line every regiment of cavalry had its *compagnie d'élite*, every battalion of infantry had its flank companies of Grenadiers and Voltigeurs. In our own army the Captains of Grenadier and Light Companies had the right of selecting any men they chose from the other companies of the battalion. These picked troops were distinguished by their dress and equipment, and received special training.

But in the nineteenth century ideas changed; and in spite of the example set by Napoleon, the consensus of expert military opinion was agreed that the advantages of the institution of *corps d'élite* were outweighed by its disadvantages. It was argued that the segregation of the

best men in particular units reacted unfavourably on the morale of the mass. This argument was reinforced by the desire for uniformity ; and though the old appellations were still retained as regimental distinctions, all the infantry were uniformly trained and equipped. The Grenadier and Light Companies of the British Army were suppressed in 1860.

The present war, however, has witnessed the revival of the old custom in the institution of the German Stoss Truppen and the Italian Arditi. Practice often gives the lie to theory, but it is the experience gained from this war that must give the final decision. Already in some of our battalions the platoons have sections armed and trained separately as bombers, rifle-grenadiers, and Lewis gunners. Whether these special formations will survive as such after the termination of the war remains to be seen. Specialization is now the order of the day, and the old adage still holds the field which declares that "a Jack-of-all-trades is the master of none."

SELF-DETERMINATION

One of the strangest episodes in the war is the independent campaign inaugurated by the Czech-Slovak legions of the late Russian Army. These legions were formed from Czech, Croat, and other Sclavonic soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Army who were made prisoners of war by the Russians, or who deserted to their side. They retained their formations and their discipline intact when the great Russian Army, in which they had been incorporated, dissolved itself with unanimous insanity into a pacifist mob ; and with great foresight and resolution they have taken up the cause abandoned by the recreant Russians, and have ranged themselves on the side of the Entente Powers.

The "self-determination of peoples," meaning the right of communities to decide under what form of government

and under whose rule they should remain, was a catchword invented by the Russian dreamers and idealists, who, like M. Kerensky, believed in the power of fine phrases and noble sentiments to turn swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, and so bring about a Democratic Peace. This catchword was a God-send to the German leaders, who immediately appropriated it to their own uses, and announced the self-determination of the inhabitants of all the Russian provinces occupied by the invaders to remain under the protection of Germany. The climax of absurdity was reached when the Turkish Government issued a statement that the Armenian population of Kars and Ardahan had unanimously declared their preference for Turkish rule! The rectitude of the principle of self-determination is incontrovertible in countries with a homogeneous population; the difficulty of applying it appears when a country is inhabited by two or more mutually antagonistic races. The Protestant Anglo-Saxons of Ulster inhabit only one province in Ireland, so might possibly be segregated from the Catholic Celts, who form the great majority of the population in the other three provinces; but in Bohemia the Czechs and Germans are so inextricably mixed that any geographical separation of the two races is impossible; and as the Germans have been the dominant race in the territory for some centuries past, it would neither be fair nor easy to expel them from it. In the southern lands of the Austrian Empire the problem is more simple, for in Croatia, Sclavonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina the masses of the people are of Sclavonic blood and language; though in Trieste and Dalmatia the coast towns contain a large Italian population, the legacy of the old Venetian domination.

The course which self-determination would take in the case of the Slav peoples of the Hapsburg Dual Monarchy is clearly evidenced by the conduct of the Czecho-Slovak contingents in Siberia, who forsook their colours to join the ranks of their fellow-Slavs in the Russian Army, eager to turn their arms against their German and Hungarian

masters and *quandam* comrades. These intrepid soldiers, without a country and without a government, with no military chest and with no base for their operations in a strange land, have done wonders and achieved some signal successes over the miserable gang of crack-brained dreamers who have betrayed the cause of Panslavism to the Teutonic foe ; and they may yet be destined to play an active part in the liberation of their own countries from the German incubus. But it will take a long time to evolve order out of the present chaos of affairs in Russia ; and without the complete defeat of Germany in this war, there is little hope of the Sclavonic nations being able to realize their aspirations for autonomy and independence. The recognition of the Czecho-Slovak legions as belligerent allies by the Entente Powers will hardly save them from the fate of a traitor should they be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of their late domineering masters, now their relentless foes.

THE LATE MAHARAJAH SCINDIA'S VIEWS ABOUT BRITISH RULE AND RAILWAYS IN INDIA

IT seems desirable to insist once more on the very obvious fact that our Administration in India cannot fairly be compared with that which is supposed to have prevailed 5,000 years ago, or even with that of the great Emperor Asoka in less mythical times. The British only acquired the glory (or burden) of ruling India by an apparently quite fortuitous concurrence of accidents, of which, perhaps, the most extraordinary was the personality of Robert Clive, whose simple statue is now appropriately "on guard" at the door of the India Office. No Briton till quite recent years (not even Clive) ever conceived the idea of an Indian Empire as that imaginative Frenchman Dupleix actually conceived it more than a century ago.

To judge the Indian Administration at all reasonably we must study the records of sixty or seventy years ago; and some of the most illuminating evidence of that period is to be found in the life of that most popular and successful soldier-administrator, Sir Henry Daly, whose experience of Central India shortly after the Mutiny (from 1861 to 1881) was quite unrivalled. It may surprise even Mrs. Besant to reflect that "the first Viceroy to visit Indore and Malwa was Lord Northbrook, and that was in 1875—little more than forty years ago. It was almost inaccessible before that date for want of roads and railways; and it will be remembered that when the Prince of Wales, as he was then, visited Gwalior in January, 1876, he had to drive all the way from Agra (seventy-six miles) on a road so wonderfully "repaired" that the journey was accomplished between 8.30 a.m. and 5.30 p.m., including the halt for breakfast.

It is most interesting to learn the views of that remarkable man the Maharajah Sir Jayaji Rao Scindia, G.C.B., as expressed in frequent conversations with Sir Henry (then Colonel) Daly in 1867 and afterwards.* "The Maharajah," says Sir Henry, "invariably speaks of himself as the special ally of the British Government—as being, in fact, part of it—and considers that his unflinching fidelity places him in a nearer position to it than any other Chief. Scindia said: 'I fully appreciate the value of the British Government to us, the Chiefs of India. The

* "Life of Sir Henry Dermot Daly, K.C.B., etc.," by his son, Hugh Daly (John Murray).

feeling of order and security which pervades all classes is a substance—*a silent working power never attained under any previous rule*;* and, as natives of India still are, it would be impossible for any Native Government to attain it. I have watched it and thought of it long. It springs from causes, many of which are hidden from us, but to me the most striking is the careful way in which you husband your experience. Your records are so preserved that in almost all the positions filled by your officers the current of business is little affected by the men themselves. With a Native Government it is entirely otherwise; its servants pay no deference to the records of their predecessors [so as] to follow them; rather the reverse. There are no such links of responsibility as you maintain; nor with natives would it be possible to bring about the unity of feeling and loyalty to one another which exists amongst you.

“Your prestige fills men’s minds to an extent which, to men who know how things were carried on scarce fifty years ago, seems beyond belief. Within that period when Mahrattas went from time to time from Gwalior to the Deccan small parties were not safe. The departure was an epoch in the year. Their friends parted from them knowing that they had set out on a journey of danger—perils through thugs, robbers, spoliation and blackmail levied on them by the States through which they must pass; these things men, not old, still speak of. Now all pass to and fro without danger and without hindrance; the poorest traveller feels as safe as the richest, *for you make as much effort to protect the poor as the rich*. I never put myself upon the mail-cart, unattended and perhaps unknown, without appreciating the strength of your rule. It is a substance [substantial thing?]; I leave Gwalior without apprehension, and my absence occasions no distrust. Then, again there is, no doubt, a general faith in your justice. Your Government, though often hard, curt and inconsiderate in its treatment of the prejudices, or, if you like, weaknesses, of the Chiefs, yet, on the whole, treats them with a liberality which they never show to one another. And, now that annexation is at an end, we breathe freely even when our failings are probed and our shortcomings discussed. Notwithstanding that your subjects are perhaps richer and more prosperous than the same classes in Native States, you are not popular. I speak as a friend. I travel a good deal about your territory, and hear much which never reaches your ears. The people are bewildered by your legislation; you coil “Act” upon “Act,” “Code” upon “Code,” with sections innumerable. *You never leave them alone*. I am told that your district officers have less intercourse with their ryots than formerly; *there is more of system and less sympathy nowadays*.

“In your desire to press on improvements you overlook the vast difference between us and you. Some of your reforms have been excellent, such as the abolition of sati, child-murder and many others. There are others, again, which seem meddlesome. Take, for instance, your attempt to interfere with and curtail marriage expenses. The people do not understand this, and there are not wanting many who point to these

acts as showing your purpose to upset caste and custom. What good have you done? Such interference is vain, and gets you into bad odour. Now there is a circular canvassing the opinions of Chiefs with a view to decreasing pilgrimages and fairs at shrines during the hot season, on the ground that such gatherings cause and diffuse cholera, etc. Well, this may be so; but very few Chiefs whose advice you have asked will believe that your object is as set forth, and pilgrims and others, whose very existence depends upon their going at certain seasons to shrines, etc., will be troubled and throng more and more, thinking that the end is at hand. Why raise the question? You might have contented yourselves with adopting on the spot every measure which seemed requisite for sanitation. This would have been gradually understood.'"

The following extracts as to the value set upon Railways by the great Chiefs of those days are also worthy of note in these days, when Indian publicists are still to be found who complain that railways drain away the wealth of the country.

"To Maharaja Holkar belongs the honour of being the first Chief to break ground in this direction by offering a contribution for a line from Khundwa to Indore. His Highness placed a special value on this loan, being the first of his house who had invested money with the Government of India. Scindia, when he made up his mind to offer a loan to Government for railways, did so in a manner that was satisfactory to all. 'I want a rail to link Gwalior with Agra, and will contribute three-fourths of a million for the purpose. Give me and my descendants your own rate of interest, 4 per cent., and I shall be content. I want no share of the profits, for that might give cause of disagreement hereafter.' Subsequently His Highness, seeing the benefits his territory in Malwa will derive from a railway, proffered three-fourths of a million on similar terms for the extension from Indore to Neemuch, with a link to Ujjain, in all 164 miles. Railways in Native States, and especially through Malwa, will have a marvellous effect on Chiefs and people. The people will learn the value of labour, and rulers, who now look upon their subjects in the light of patrimony, will learn that the true source of wealth is in the prosperous industry of their people.'**

"In Bhopal, too, the tide has set in. Hitherto Bhopal has been isolated, without roads or means of communication with the rail or trunk road, for *there was not a metalled mile in the State outside the city*. Shah Jehan Begam has put her hand to remove this reproach, and a road is under construction which, crossing the Vindhya range, will place the Begam's capital within a day's drive of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. Her Highness has also promised to complete a road to the west, which will link her grain-producing districts with the rail at Ujjain and Indore. The effect of railways on the comfort of the people in Malwa is not to be computed.'"

J. B. PENNINGTON.

* "Life of Sir Henry Dermot Daly, K.C.B., etc.", by his son, Hugh Daly (John Murray).

BUDDHISM IN ANTHOLOGY, APHORISM, AND ART

By L. A. WADDELL

Of the writing of books on Buddhism there is no end. Even in these engrossing war-days, when peace on earth is not in sight, and economic restrictions have much diminished the production of new literature, there seems to be little decrease in the output of books upon the dreamy religion of the pessimistic sage of Bodh Gaya. It is not that these prolific writers have anything really new to offer on doctrinal points, or that any or many of them are authentic writers from a profound first-hand knowledge of the subject ; but the appetite of a considerable section of the reading public has been whetted for further information upon a system of religious mysticism which is universally believed to have more in common with modern methods of ethics and mystical philosophy than any other of the ancient religious systems.

Yet the European writers who have created this impression amongst Western readers in regard to the essentials of Buddhism are now found to have seriously misled the public. They have relied exclusively or mainly upon the Pali canonical books or gospels, which are now proved by the present writer to have been *not composed until over three centuries after the death of Buddha (about 482 B.C.)*, and to contain *for the most part developed Brahmano-Buddhistic doctrine and mysticism which is diametrically opposed to the elementary teaching of that sage himself*, as revealed in the earliest of all authentic Buddhist records—the inscribed inonuments of his greatest proselyte and propa-

gandist, Asoka, the Indian emperor of the third century B.C. That emperor was the Constantine of Buddhism, with this important difference that the Buddhist canon had not yet been fixed even in his reign. His form of the faith was still of the relatively primitive and simple ethical type ; and in it *Buddha had not yet been deified by his votaries as he is throughout the very earliest of all the books of the Pāli Buddhist canon.* And the succeeding books of that canon are found to be later expansions by monks of the richly endowed Indian monasteries of still later ages than Asoka.

As a result, we find that the current views of Buddhism propagated by Western writers, amongst whom our English authoritative writers complacently follow for the most part the Germanic expositors, are largely misleading, as they accept as genuine Buddhism those new developments which had been merely put into the mouth of Buddha by Indian scholiasts and mystics of later ages ; whereas the only true Buddhism is that taught by the sage Sakya himself.

It is this spurious developed neo-Buddhism which now passes current amongst Western readers for the real thing—the system taught by Buddha himself. On its vague terminology in the metaphysical portions of the texts, no two Pali scholars agree ; but this indeed seems to constitute its chief attraction for most of the Western scholars and dilettante writers, as each would-be exponent reads into these terms his own notions, coloured according to his own personal theories and prejudice. And it is this very vagueness of these terms which has provided so many of our imaginative writers with convenient pegs on which to hang their lucubrations and erudite arguments for identifying many supposed Buddhist tenets with those of modern philosophy and mysticism. For popular consumption, as the texts themselves are so repellent to the general reader, and even to the specialist, by reason of their tiresome repetitions and childish trivialities and exaggerations, it has been usual to edit the texts unsparingly, giving little verbatim, but rather the general purport eked out by occasional extracts.

Under such treatment the out-turn of new books has been so great that even the most omnivorous general reader could not possibly keep pace with them—though there was not really much need to do so as the one merely reproduced the other with slight variations.

Some fresh interest is infused by attempts to illustrate the religion by its art and by selections in metrical form from those portions of the texts which are esteemed of more general interest and importance, realizing that in Buddhist literature as in all oriental sacred literature there is amongst much that is worthless no doubt some beautiful gems too precious to be lost. Such selections, if carefully made, should presumably be acceptable to the general reader as well as to students of comparative religion and theosophy. Amongst the latest of such popular presentations of the conventional Buddhism from the Pali is an attractive little anthology by a sympathetic writer, Mr. K. J. Saunders, the warden of the Young Men's Christian Association students' hostel at Rangoon.* He is one of the new school of Christian missionaries who endeavour to gain by careful study a truer appreciation of the strength as well as the weakness of the religion which they hope to conquer. He also is one who has qualified for his task by translating from the Pali the well-known late collection of aphorisms entitled "Steps of the Law," the *Dhammapada*.

The topics selected by him are drawn from the doctrinal and homiletic side rather than from the metaphysical, and show that practical Buddhism appeals to the hopes and fears of the people in everyday life with homely truths much as in Western religions; and he has labelled his selections with attractive appropriate titles. The poetical figurativeness of the homilies which Buddha is credited with are seen in the following extracts, the literal rendering of which is vouched for by the scholarship of the author:

* *The Heart of Buddhism, An Anthology of Buddhist Verse.* By K. J. Saunders, M.A. Oxford University Press, 1915. 1s. 6d. net.

BUDDHA AS A FARMER.

To a Brahman farmer who refused to give alms to Buddha on the plea that he did no work and thus deserved no food the sage claimed to be a labouring farmer himself :

“A Farmer I’m good, sir, indeed :
 Right Views my very fruitful seed ;
 The rain that waters it is Discipline,
 Wisdom herself my yoke and plough.
 The pole is maiden Modesty,
 And Mindfulness the axle-tree ;
 Alertness is my goad and ploughshare keen.

“Guarded in thought and act and speech
 With Truthfulness I weed the ground ;
 In gentle Kindliness is found
 The Way of Salvation I preach,
 My ox is Endeavour
 Which beareth me ever
 Where Grief cometh never
 To Nirvana, the Goal I shall reach.

“Such, good Brahman, is my farming,
 And it bears ambrosial crops.
 Whoso follows out my Teaching
 Straight for him all sorrow stops.”

On this the Brahman offered the mendicant rice-milk ; but he was not converted until Buddha performed a visible miracle. “The Buddha took the rice-milk, and pouring it into water, caused it to hiss and splutter. On seeing this marvel the Brahman was fully converted and admitted to the Order.”

It is pretty enough embroidery, and of a kind appreciated in the East, if rather overdone and not sufficiently forcible and robust for Westerners ; and the Shamanest magic miracle is very characteristic of the Buddha tales even in the more genuine Jatakas.

UNSAFE CONFIDANTS.

“Nine beings are unstable, fickle, mean :
 - The lustful, angry, easily beguiled,
 The coward and he who seeks for gain,
 Women and eunuchs, the drunkard and the child :
 For what is told them in secrecy
 The public comes to know immediately.”

BUDDHA ON WOMEN.

Buddha's antipathy to women, as is suggested in the above stanza, is well known, and runs through all the Pali scriptures. His experience of married life was evidently an unhappy one, as he counsels men to divorce themselves, as he himself had done, as a preliminary to the Higher Life. Some instances are cited of his low estimate of woman, amongst which the following should be of interest at the present time when women are admitted as preachers in London churches. Buddha confiding to his favourite disciple Ananda says :

"Women, O Ananda, are irritable and envious, miserly and foolish. For these reasons they do not sit in public assemblies, nor do business, nor go on embassies."—*Anguttara Nikāya*, 4. 3.

"As when a blight of mildew falls on the ripe crop of rice, O Ananda, that crop is doomed ; so in whatever religion and doctrine women are allowed to leave home for the homeless state, that religion will come to a speedy end."—*Chulla Vagga*, 10. 16.

This general depreciation is relaxed in the following pronouncement on marriages in Heaven, purporting to be based upon the personal knowledge of Buddha himself, who claimed to have visited Heaven many times :

DO THE DEAD MEET AGAIN ?

"When man and wife are peers in chastity,
In faith and righteousness and charity,
When each the other serveth lovingly,
Then shall they dwell in bliss and health ;
There foes shall grieve to see their wealth :
And since in all things they are peers
Rebirth (together) in Heaven is theirs,
And gladly each with other shares
The bliss they've won in lower spheres."

THE BUDDHIST GOAL IS HEAVEN, NOT A "NIRVĀNA" OF EXTINCTION.

The goal of Buddhism in the religion of the people, even amongst the so-called purest form of that religion according to Pali scholars—namely, in Burma, where our author works—is not a "Nirvāna" with an extinction of existence, but

Heaven. Buddha himself holds out this reward in the Pali scriptures to those who lead a righteous life.

“That layman knows no sinful thought
Who does with promptness what he ought,
Protects his wealth with prudent care,
Yet gives away a fitting share ;
And, full of faith in Buddha's Law,
Holds to its precepts fast and sure.
Thus frugal, prudent, liberal, he
By Faith and Zeal shall sinless be :
Thus happy here he lives below
And later glad to Heaven shall go.”

Exhibiting so much in common with the ideals of Christian doctrine, it is not surprising that Mr. Saunders, in this as well as in his attractive and well-illustrated companion booklet,* sees in Buddhism “a stepping-stone to Christianity.”

There is one striking stanza ascribed to Buddha, which is also in strict keeping with the teaching of Jesus, and which might well be taken to heart by the modern devotees of the cult of the “Gospel of Hate :”

NEVER THROUGH HATE.

“Never through Hate can hatreds cease ;
Love only ends them, evermore.
Love only bring all strife to peace :
Such is the true, the ancient lore.”

On the Art side, that prolific writer of books on Indian subjects, Dr. A. Coomaraswamy, gives another one on Buddhism,† which, although containing nothing new or original in the text, which is a *réchauffé* of the views of the Germanic school of theorists so universally adopted complaisantly by writers in this country, is interesting on account of the novelty of some of its pictorial illustrations. It contains a series of eight plates in colour by two Bengali artists, Messrs. A. N. Tagore and N. L. Bose, which

* *The Story of Buddhism*. By K. J. Saunders. Oxford University Press, 1916. 3s. 6d. net.

† *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*. G. G. Harrap and Co., London, 1916. 15s. net.

represent Buddha as a Bengali instead of his usual conventional Greco-Indian type as found in the ancient Indian sculptures and frescoes. There is much to be said for this national method of picturing Buddha. The usual type of Buddha, even in its "Indian" variety, was based upon the model evolved by Greco-Scythian artists about four or five centuries after Buddha's death and is purely conventional. As Buddha was born not far to the north of Bengal and spent most of his life within and on the borders of Bengal, and his religion was for centuries the dominant one in that province, it is natural that, in the case of a teacher of such cosmopolitan sympathies, his Bengali admirers should regard him as one of themselves. Similarly has it been with European representations of Christ and the Madonna, and in regard to Christ there is the further analogy that no picture of Him seems to have been made till about four centuries after His death, when all remembrance of His appearance had been lost. Thus the artists of different nationalities in Europe were free to picture Him each according to his own ideals. Thus it happens that the famous pictures of Christ and of the Madonna betray clearly the nationality of the respective artists by the ethnic lineaments of the figures—Dutch, Italian, Spanish, French, English and Scandinavian—so why not Bengali for Buddha? The present writer was much impressed by seeing in China the popular Jesuit missionary picture of the Flight into Egypt, in which the infant Jesus was pictured as a miniature John Chinaman with pigtail, oblique eyes, and Chinese dress complete. This incident well reflects the admirable practical mind of the proselytizing Roman Church in bringing home Christianity to the hearts of an alien race; for how could any exclusive race like the Chinese possibly believe, in the days when pigtails were universal, that anyone died to save it who was not a pigtailed Chinese himself? These pictures of Buddha as a Bengali are thus noteworthy.

Of another kind, a student's book, containing much original research, is an interesting little monograph by

Professor M. Anesaki of Harvard University,* on a famous Buddhist teacher and saint of Japan in the thirteenth century, and founder of a large popular sect there. He was a great reformer of the degenerate Buddhism of his time, and this biography offers a vivid "religious experience" of a striking personality in the Far East, at a time when Europe was suffering eclipse from the ravages of Huns and their allies in the "Dark" period of the Middle Ages.

TWO VIEWS OF GREECE

If there are two sides to every question, there are certainly two views of every country—that of its natives and that of the outside world—and they are often curiously unlike: "Perside Albion," "Holy Russia!" One need not labour the point. But in no country, perhaps, are these two views so divergent as in Greece. Here the vogue for classical archaeology has unconsciously closed Western eyes to other aspects of the national life. Anything that is not classical—well, it isn't Greek, and that is all there is to it. And professors set out to argue at length as to whether the original population were overwhelmed by the various Slav invasions or whether they died out gradually of malaria—as our soldiers have died in the deadly marshes of Macedonia. With these preconceived ideas, no wonder we find the question of the Balkans so perplexing.

The students of the Athens "schools," under the all absorbing influence of the Parthenon, are tempted to forget the splendid buildings of Salonica, Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Syria. But the Greeks themselves, remember that their genius had to travel East before its second flowering; the Moslem conquest of the Eastern Empire, by its very success, crystallized the Byzantine tradition.

So, while the Greek merchants and traders living abroad dwell on the classical and republican past of their country, the Greek peasants and their brothers in the army think of Greece in the terms of the vanished Eastern Empire, as the protagonist of Eastern Christianity and the rightful leader of the Balkan nations in the long struggle with the Turkish overlord.

In realizing the strength and the value of both points of view and in patiently trying to combine them, M. Venizelos has shown his unique grasp of realities and his genius as a statesman.

[These two view-points are ably elaborated in an article by C. Villiers-Stuart under the above heading in the March *Fortnightly*.—Ed. A. R.]

* *Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet.* By M. Anesaki, Professor of Japanese Literature, Harvard University. Oxford University Press, 1916. 5s. 6d. net.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

THE PRESS UNDER THE PRESS ACT. By K. Vyasa Rao, B.A. (Madras, 1916.)

Reviewed by SIR ROLAND WILSON.

This is a very able plea for restoration of freedom of the Press in British India, in the sense of repealing the Indian Press Act, 1910. In normal times the plea would have been unanswerable; whether it is so under the present highly abnormal conditions is another question. The conditions were not quite normal even at the date of the passing of the Act. The "Statement of Objects and Reasons" annexed to the Bill on its introduction referred to "the continued recurrence of murders and outrages" as showing the insufficiency of the measures hitherto taken to deal with anarchy and sedition, and the seriousness of this menace at that date is matter of common knowledge and is fully admitted by our author (p. 50). He refuses, however, to admit that these incidents constituted the real ground for the action of the Government, pointing out that two years before, in recommending the "Incitement to Offences" Bill of 1908, Lord Minto had foreshadowed a more drastic measure to follow on the first convenient opportunity, and had given it as his deliberate opinion that India was not yet ripe for full freedom of the Press. On the other hand, he does not deny, but rather lays stress on, the fact that the passage of the Bill through the Legislative Council was considerably facilitated by the sensational incident of a police officer being murdered by an anarchist in broad daylight within the precincts of the High Court of Calcutta, the very day before it came on for discussion. He tells us that the then Law Member, Mr. (now Sir) S. P. Sinha, had intended to relieve himself from responsibility for the Bill by resigning his office, but withdrew his resignation in order not to weaken the hands of the Government at such a crisis.

Had it been really a piece of emergency legislation, the Government would not have refused, as they did, to fix a time-limit for its operation. A much stranger and more deplorable feature in the case is the way in which the support of the Indian non-official members, including two past Presidents of the National Congress, was secured by the invention of a supposed safeguard which turned out to be wholly illusory, owing to the unexpected construction put upon the clause in question by the Calcutta High Court. For an explanation of how this came about the reader must be referred to the booklet itself, or to the Indian Law Reports, *In re Mahomed Ali*, 741, Cal. 466 (1913). It is too long a story for this brief,

notice, but the upshot of it is that the Local Government can now, practically without restraint from the High Court or any other authority, require every newspaper to give security, can confiscate that security at their discretion, and can suppress any article of which they may happen to disapprove, giving no reason except that in their opinion (from which there is no appeal) some individual might conceivably be influenced in a disloyal direction by something contained therein.

Our author admits that, in spite of this sword of Damocles suspended over their heads, some Indian journals do continue to display a considerable degree of independence, and attributes this partly to the readiness of the editors to face serious risks in the service of their country, and partly to the fact that "the Local Governments are not as degenerate as the Press Act permits them to be." On the other hand, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, in a paper read before the East India Association in June, 1914, remarked that the new law "has had a restraining, not to say terrifying, effect upon Indian proprietors, editors, and leader-writers, and as a consequence the condition of the Indian Press is to-day extraordinarily, indescribably, different from what it was ten, or five, years ago."

However that may be, the present writer, at all events, is in cordial agreement with Mr. Vyasa Rao's contention that a free Press (by which he is careful to explain that he does not mean a Press immune from punishment, but a Press not subject to the arbitrary control of the Executive) is a vital condition of social progress, and quite as essential as an army of schoolmasters.

There remains, however, as we began by remarking, the question of the *seasonableness* of this or any other political agitation during the present agonizing crisis—a crisis far graver, far more abnormal, than that which gave occasion to the passing of the Act complained of; a crisis not peculiar to India, but affecting the heart of the Empire to such an extent that under the latest Government regulations the Press of Great Britain will be scarcely more free than that of British India. It is a question on which equally sincere and intelligent patriots may well be found taking opposite sides; and in expressing a personal preference for "waiting till the clouds roll by," we do not mean to cast any sort of doubt on the loyal intention of the pamphlet under review.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

"INDIA IN TRANSITION: A STUDY IN POLITICAL EVOLUTION." By H.H. The Aga Khan. (*Lee Warner.*) 18s. net.

The first intention of the Aga Khan seems to have been to call his book "Reconstruction in India," but for some reason or other he has decided to substitute the word "Transition" for "Reconstruction." It was a good change for two reasons: first, because the word "Reconstruction" has been overworked of late; and secondly, because it suggests slap-dash reforms and quack remedies for social evils.

Now, if there is any country where reforms cannot be brought about rapidly, that country is India. Hurried reconstruction is not what India needs, but a slow transition: a gradual creating of reform upon reforms to

allow time for the national temperament and education to adapt themselves to the new conditions. For the need of education is almost as urgent in India as it is in England, and the Aga Khan is doing for us what Sir Rabindranath Tagore has done for his fellow-countrymen.

But the Aga Khan has also done for us what few others could have done. He has given us an accurate and impartial account of the needs of India; he is Indian enough to enter into and sympathize with the grievances of his fellow-countrymen, and he is sufficiently European to observe and to point out their shortcomings. The result is an instructive and interesting book.

The author goes right to the root of the matter. It is no good trying to build a pyramid from the apex; the foundation must be laid first. And the foundation of reconstruction, or transition, is education: reforms are but the result; education is the cause.

"They are not sufficiently educated," one is told when one advocates self-government for the Indians. The Aga Khan frankly admits that thousands of his countrymen are illiterate; but, he adds, it is entirely the fault of the British "for having allowed the twentieth century to dawn and grow without having grappled fully and successfully with the illiteracy general in India, and with the insanitary environments of the masses," which are "so bad that avoidable deaths are counted by the million every year. . . . The various modern departments of State that lead towards social betterment and social welfare have still to be organized." And they can best be organized by those who are most conversant with, and deeply interested in, the social problems of India—that is, by the educated Indians themselves.

The question of Home Rule for India now arises. The present writer has met with Englishmen who, while agreeing that India is entitled to play a more important part in her own government, think that the problem will be solved if there is created in India a Parliament after the English style. That this would only worsen matters they do not see. They make the common error of basing their theories on the false analogy that "what is good for me is good enough for others." They omit to take into consideration the vastness of India, with its various races and opposing religions. It is an immense problem, and one is afraid that Europeans do not realize this fact; a perusal of the book under review will be an education to the average man.

But to come to the concrete proposals of the Aga Khan. Taking into consideration the foregoing facts, it is obvious that a central Parliament is a practical impossibility. The author suggests a system of Federal Government based upon nationality—that is, something approaching the Swiss idea of government. But the extreme opposite idea to central control—that is, the division of India into a large number of small States—should not be entertained. The author strongly opposes "the suggested subdivision of the existing provinces into a considerable number of self-governing States." To do so would cause a decrease in national effort. But he thinks that the area under provincial self-government should be more or less the size of a medium European State.

So that the Aga Khan's suggestion is that India be formed into "eight 'major' provinces, each capable of developing a national government," and, what is more, that Indians should now be allowed to preside over provinces side by side with Englishmen. In the space of a short review, obviously, one cannot go into details: they may be obtained from the book; but suffice it to say that the author's scheme is at least practicable, and is not a suggestion of what might be done a quarter of a century hence, but is a plan which may be put into operation without delay.

All the author's ideas are based upon the theory that a small beginning made now may have more far-reaching effects than a colossal scheme launched in 1943. He is so anxious for a small beginning to be made immediately that he considers it would be a crime to wait until good buildings were erected for schools, for, he points out, as Buddha and other religious lights demonstrated, education can be carried on quite as well, if not much better, in the open air than it can in a stuffy classroom.

The possibilities of India both as a commercial and as an agricultural nation are fully discussed, and there seems no doubt that under wise statesmanship India may occupy a unique position in the world. The scheme of government presented in this book is one that should prove not only beneficial to India, but "Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and South Africa will be strengthened by the comradeship of a renewed, self-relying, and sincerely loyal partner in the United Empire."

The Aga Khan has produced a very learned book, and he has omitted to mention nothing that has even the slightest relation to the problem of India.

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

SIR COLIN C. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., R.E., I.L.D., etc.:
Life and Reminiscences. Edited by M. A. Hollings. (London: John Murray.) 12s. 6d.

This delightful account of one of the most genial and kindly men I ever knew ought to have been noticed in this journal long ago; but at any rate I am glad that the fates have given me the privilege of calling attention to it; and to begin with I would like to warn the public that none of the photographs reproduced, though good in their way to those who knew him, would give any idea of his pleasant face and charming manner.

Colin Scott-Moncrieff was born three years before Sir Arthur Cotton, already in the prime of life, began his amazing irrigational career by building his first "anicut" (weir) over the sacred Canvery in 1839. He was just a generation younger than the pioneers of modern irrigation, Sir Arthur in the South and Sir Proby Cautley in the North, and a very worthy successor of those great engineers. That he ever got to India was, from his own account on p. 29, almost like an accident; and so at the age of eighteen he became a Cadet at Addiscombe, blossoming into a full Lieutenant at the age of twenty. "While at Chatham," he says he fell "strongly under the influence of Evangelical religion," which kept

him from gambling, etc. ; but, curiously enough, he regretted in his old age that it had prevented him from learning to play cards, because "it had deprived him of many an hour of perfectly innocent amusement." It is somewhat strange that he never learnt to play on the voyage to and from India and in India itself ; for whist in those days was played universally, and was certainly a great resource in Camp at night after a hard day's work, as well as on board ship. It is the more surprising because from his youth upwards he was evidently a most cheerful companion, so much so that his friend on his first voyage out, a Madras Chaplain, almost shocked him by saying he "had never seen such a merry fellow in his life before."

Very early in his career, when actually engaged in the work of finishing off the Mutiny, he formed the same high opinion of our Indian Sepoys that has always been entertained of them, (when wisely and reasonably treated), by all our great soldiers—"willing, hard-working, good fellows," though "most of them were Oude Rajputs whose comrades had been fighting against us."

His zeal and energy in the great work of his life was shown very clearly by his visit to Italy (when on furlough at the age of thirty-one) to study irrigation there ; and what he says of it in the preface to his report is conspicuous for wisdom and common sense, and well worth reproducing here for the benefit of the many amateur engineers in the Civil Service and elsewhere in India. After insisting on the extreme importance of catching "every drop of water" and wasting none of it, he says : "The other point that has struck me forcibly is that *much can be done in irrigation without the help of very scientific engineering;*" and he adds that "the old Moors who made the irrigation works in Spain could hardly have possessed such scientific knowledge, and their successors have but little improved, yet there the works remain in their crude simplicity, the source of vast wealth to the inhabitants." His subsequent report on the irrigation works of the Madras Presidency is only just referred to in this volume ; but he found in the extreme South of India one of the most perfect examples of an irrigation system which utilizes almost all the water of a small but most valuable river, probably designed three or four hundred years ago by the contemporaries of the Moors in Spain. It has been improved, no doubt, by our great engineers, and only wants a reservoir in the hills to regulate the supply in the hot weather to make the little Tambraparni the most completely utilized stream in all India. It was from these beautiful old native works that Sir Arthur Cotton learnt the art of building "anicut." Sir Colin learnt his work in India, and left his mark there too ; but it was not till he got to Egypt that he became known to all the world.

It is curious he should have thought of offering his services to General Gordon in the Sudan so many years before he was actually sent to Egypt, and still more strange (and sad) that his only son should have lost his life there so many years afterwards.

His short experience of Burmah, from 1881 to 1883, was evidently most enjoyable, and shows, incidentally, that our much abused bureau-

cratic government of India is in reality thoroughly democratic in the best sense of that word (especially in Burmah, where they are not caste-ridden). That ardent Socialist, the Reverend Howard Campbell, even spoke of it as the most Socialistic Government in the world.*

Even the Viceroy himself, with all his pomp, is as much the servant of the people as any Assistant Collector, or as Sir Colin Scott-Monnier always was; for he, like his great exemplar, went about doing good work, and that is the best thing a man can do in India—work and not talk! And all that is necessary as yet is to give the people a much greater share in it than they have at present—not but what they could, if they chose, even now fill the covenanted Civil Service, and so exercise dominion over us as well as themselves. If our friends the Home Rulers would only recognize that, as things are at present, we are as indispensable to India as India is to us, and would devote their energies to welding the two Aryan races together again after their long separation, like a band of brothers working exclusively for the good of the country (as a band of brothers should), the present system of government, or some reasonable modification of it, might go on for some time yet with great advantage to the bulk of the people who only want to be left alone.

I have purposely devoted my space to India, where Sir Colin learnt his work, and must pass over his great career in Egypt, of which most people in this country are well aware.

One thing only I might add, and that is that Sir Colin wrote excellent letters to his many friends and relations, which are well worth reading; many pages might be usefully written about those from Russia alone.

MASHI AND OTHER STORIES. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. (*Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*) Price 5s. net.

We are much interested in this book. And although we would rather see the author devoting his delicate and penetrative genius to the interpretation of the deeper soul of India—still, we are grateful for the atmosphere of these stories, and for the insight that they give us into some at least of the conditions of everyday Indian life.

On the whole, this life leaves upon our mind an impression of sadness. But it is just this sadness, together with the expected haunting beauty

* "I went to India expecting to find a great deal of misgovernment, and most unwilling to admit that any good could result from a bureaucratic system. Experience has forced me to the conclusion that there is no country in the world better governed than India, none in which the administration does more for the masses of the people. This is strong language, but I am convinced that any Socialist who made himself acquainted with the facts would endorse it, with a fervent wish that things were as well managed in England as in India."

"If our Home Government would only take a leaf out of the book of the Government of India, it would be a great deal better for our unemployed. The Government of India recognizes to the full its obligation to provide work for those who are unable, through any exceptional causes, to earn a livelihood."—Extract from a letter to the *Labour Leader*.

which pervades the book, that makes its own special appeal to the heart.

There are fourteen stories in this book, and of these the most arresting are, perhaps, "Mashi," "The River Stairs," "The Skeleton," and "The Elder Sister." The first, "Mashi," consists almost wholly of the converse of a dying man, Yotin, with the devoted aunt who has brought him up, and is now seeking to soothe his last days and hours. The girl-wife, Mani, the idol of his heart, not yet awakened to married love and unselfishness, remains outside the sick-room; and the whole endeavour of Mashi, the aunt, is to persuade Yotin that, notwithstanding all appearances, Mani has really come to love him, and is only kept away from his side by the doctor's advice, and by her, Mashi's, extreme solicitude for the girl's health. By an untoward accident, this palace of falsehood collapses at last, and poor Yotin is brought to confess, "Now I know that Mani has to stand outside my door till the last." The situation is just saved by the penitent Mani flinging herself, almost at the moment of death, upon her husband's feet. Sad that such a love as Mashi's should know no way of comfort, save that of deluding! Is there, then, no remedy for the heart's sorrow but to evade it? Is there no Power that can descend into the very depths, and there deal completely with our grief?

Mashi gives us one hint of her religion, and of the social order which has moulded her life. Yotin says: "In the next birth I am sure you will be born as my daughter, and I shall tend you with all my love." But Mani replies: "What are you saying, Yotin? Do you mean to say I shall be born again as a woman? Why can't you pray that I should come to your arms as a son?" And again, she continues: "I can't wish that I should come and burden your home with the misfortune of a girl-child!"

Probably a quite disproportionate share of India's sorrow is borne by her patient and beautiful womanhood. Though many a girl and woman is truly loved, yet we read as a matter of course that when Kiran was ill "the village wiseacres thought it shameless for her husband to make so much fuss about a mere wife." Again, in another story, "All were unanimous in the opinion that to quarrel with a father for the sake of a wife was" possible only in these degenerate days. . . . "When your wife dies," they said, "you can find a second one without delay."

And again, the undue seclusion of the Indian married woman leads to a reflection such as this on the part of one of the characters: "She is so distant, so much of a stranger, that to look on her is forbidden, to talk with her is improper, and to think of her is a sin!"

Owing to the Indian custom of the bridegroom scarcely seeing anything of the bride until the marriage ceremony, in one of these tales a dumb girl is palmed off on an unsuspecting man, who, on finding out his mistake, promptly takes a second wife who can speak.

We need, of course, only mention the fact that these girls are commonly child-brides, to let in the light upon a whole world of wrongly inflicted suffering.

The sorrows, and worse, connected with enforced widowhood also play their part in this book. In two of the stories the young widow commits

suicide : in "The Skeleton" because she is hopelessly in love with a doctor who is about to marry another ; and in "The River Stairs" because her former husband has left her to become a religious ascetic, under whose spiritual control she passes after a lapse of ten years. We are aware that a section of enlightened Indian opinion is strongly opposed to child-marriage and enforced widowhood, and we hope this book will help to strengthen that just and righteous movement.

One word more about these ascetic teachers of Indian mystical religion. It would not be fair to conclude that all are to be judged by the two others who figure in this book ; yet we cannot but notice that beneath the religious exterior of the one who has " relinquished the world to serve his God " lies a hidden sin, which only circumstances lead him to confess ; while another so far falls from his high estate as to make love to a married woman, his disciple, who commits suicide in consequence.

Presumably the incidents described in this book are true to Indian life of to-day, except in one case, in the horrible tale of the young lad who became the "ghostly custodian" of hidden treasure, where this superstitious practice is distinctly stated to be happily a thing of the past.

The impression left by this book is very much the same as that made by Marmaduke Pickthall's fascinating tale of Damascus life, "Said the Fisherman" : that is to say, the outward aspect of life, the Oriental *mise en scène*, has much that is picturesque and romantic ; but directly the story takes us even a little below the surface, we find ourselves in a quagmire of misery and sin. And here we would just remark, in passing, that we regret here and there in this book the use of distinctly English, as opposed to Indian, idioms and colloquialisms, such as "admitted him of his crew," and "old fogey of a father," etc., which seem to us somewhat to mar the charm of the general Indian effect.

We expect very great things of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, greater even than any of his achievements hitherto. We are convinced that for the soul of this gifted author, and for the soul of the gifted India that he represents, there awaits the one thing needful—a great, fresh revelation of God, if only the eyes be opened to see. And in this connection we would refer the reader to Lady Katharine Stuart's beautiful article, "The Vanguard of Civilization," in the last issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW ; and to the words, old and ever new, which speak to us of the Divine purpose in the world : "To sum up all things in Christ," in whom "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."

P. H.

FAR EAST

'ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY CHINESE POEMS.' By Arthur Waley.
(Constable and Co.)

Mr. Waley's name does not appear in any of the China directories at hand subsequent to the year 1900, but it is understood that he is now studying Chinese at the School of Oriental Studies in Finsbury Square, and it is presumed that he must intend at some time to bring him to China.

In any case, he has provided us with a very handy and readable little book of 168 pages (duodecimo, price 7s. 6d.), and, apart from their merits as evidence of his poetic fire, these versic renderings as mere translations seem to be reasonably correct throughout. Sir John (then Mr.) Davis may be fairly dubbed, amongst "foreigners," the father of Chinese poetry, and there is at least one notice of his Chinese literary efforts in the *Quarterly Review* of about seventy years ago. The present writer had not the honour of his personal acquaintance, but Sir John, hearing half a century ago that the unworthy personage in question was about to proceed to Peking as a student interpreter, sent him, through Dr. James Summers, a present of a Snyder rifle, in order to advertise that lethal weapon in places "where the Chinezes drive"; and at the same time he bestowed a copy of, or at least some advice about, that naive and charming little Chinese novel called "The Fortunate Union." A few years after that encouraging episode, Mr. G. C. Stent, of the Imperial Maritime Customs, published a number of rhythmical renderings of Chinese ballads and popular stories, which, for "talent in versification," were favourably spoken of by Sir Walter (then Mr. W. H.) Medhurst, Her Majesty's Consul at Shanghai, who also wrote gratefully of Sir John Davis's pioneer work: indeed, Mr. Medhurst's lyric instincts seem to have been thoroughly roused by the inadequacy of Mr. Stent's translation (as differentiated from his clever versification), and he contributed to the *China Review* (vol. iv., pp. 46-56, 1875-76) a really masterly study of the technique of Chinese poetry, its effect upon the national mind, and the difficulties standing in the way of anything like literal translation in English metre. A great deal of the solid information contained in Mr. Medhurst's admirable article was, in fact, taken from Sir John Davis's earlier treatise, and the knotty point of the four tones and their effect upon rhythm and rhyme was made clear at last to the profane. It is a pity Mr. Waley did not digest Sir Walter's informing remarks before entering upon his own explanatory preface, which, however, is interesting and correct enough as a mere popular statement.

The very first article in the very first number of the *China Review* (1872-73) was a notice by Dr. E. J. Eitel of Dr. Legge's *She-King*—i.e., the book of semi-historical Odes or classical poetry we now possess as Bowdlerized by Confucius, and as learnt by heart during the past 3,000 years (at least up to the revolution of 1911) by every Chinese with first-class literary pretensions. The hopelessness of translating these poems metrically was insisted upon by Dr. Eitel; at the same time the "prosy heaviness" of Dr. Legge was illustrated by citing the translation of the first stanza of the first ode—

Kwan-kwan go the ospreys
On the islet in the river;
The modest, retiring, virtuous young lady,
For our prince a good mate she.

This awkward language, of course, is excruciating, not to say "vulgar," to refined ears, and no wonder, therefore, that Mr. W. F. Mayers, in his *Chinese Reader's Manual* of 1874, characterizes it as an "unpoetical

translation." Meanwhile, that witty and elegant writer, Mr. Alfred Lister Postmaster-General of Hong-Kong, roused to exceptional poetic effort by these alarms and excursions in the lyric field, contributed to vol. iv. of the *China Review* three or four charming "metrical translations" of the Odes, the "Country Lad" in especial being exceedingly pretty as gracefully turned into English verse, but, of course, by no means literal (p. 24). Dr. Legge, apparently smarting under the criticism of his literary friends, meanwhile produced a *Metrical Shi-King*, which in vol. v. of the *China Review* was amusingly criticized with great spirit and good-humour by Mr. Lister, who declared that the matter-of-fact old Scottish divine's sensational appearance amongst the poets might fitly be compared with Saul's *début* amongst the prophets.

With so many giants in the field, small wonder that a sinological pygmy such as the present writer (camouflaged as V. W. X.) should timidly venture into the artistic fray; but so it was, and vol. vii. of the *China Review* contains English translations of about fifty of the Odes, an effort being made to combine literality with the original Chinese metre, rhythm, and rhyme—as, for instance, in the above-quoted verse, which in its new guise (declared "charming" by Dr. Eitel, the Editor) ran—

As the ospreys woo
On the river eyot,
So the graceful lass
Has her manly mate.

Mr. Lister's above-mentioned graceful translation of the "Country Lad," which required twenty-one stanzas of four lines apiece to render the Chinese original into intelligible English metre, began—

It was a simple country lad,
A lad with homespun cloth to sell,
Who came unto our town one day
That I remember, ah ! too well !

And concluded—

Ah ! memories of my brighter days !
Ah ! lovers' paths ! the oaths we swore
Are broken, and sweet love that strays
Returneth never, never-more !

The Ode in question is No. 58 (or, as Mr. Lister puts it, I., v. 4) of the *Shi-King*, and contains 240 character words in all, or sixty lines of four words a line—say, half the number of Mr. Lister's words. It is really both pretty and touching in the original, and describes how a girl, persuaded to marry clandestinely, is ultimately sent home to her indignant friends, after three years of hymenal experience as a mere mistress. At an average of, say, six words a line, Mr. Lister's version will probably be found to take over 500 words. The present writer's version (vol. viii., p. 30), which professes both to be literal and to preserve the original lilt, employs almost exactly the same number of English words as the Chinese does pictographs or "characters." The first verse runs—

When the simple yokel
To market came,
For woman, not barter,
He played his game.

And the last—

When the girl, light-hearted,
In simple glee,
Heard those solemn pledges,
Wot little she,
Wot little of changes
Alas ! to be.

The same volume (pp. 309-314), again hiding the blushes of V. W. X., contains (by way of intermezzo) a very free translation of that most celebrated of all Chinese poems, the *Li Sao*, which, from the point of view of antiquity, comes next after the 300 odd *Shih-King* poems. The writer does not pretend to claim literal accuracy in the rendering of this obscure and difficult, but none the less extremely beautiful, lament; on the contrary, he merely imitated, with bold effrontery, Mr. Lister's infectious example with the "Country Lad," and, whilst guessing at the hidden meaning of exceptionally allegorical passages, made it a point in each verse to turn out, at least in English, an intelligible meaning; and there are over eighty verses of four lines each—say, about 2,000 characters. In 1872 he had already had the advantage of reading the Marquis d'Hervey St. Denis' French translation of 1870, which is mentioned on p. 13 of Mr. Waley's Introduction. In vol. xvi. of the *China Review* (1887-88) Mr. William Jennings, in a paper entitled "Chinese Matrimony in Poetry," turned about a dozen of the ancient *Shih-King* poems into English rhyme: one of them is the "Country Lad" once more. Mr. Jennings' first and last verses run—

Rustic simpleton you seemed,
Hawking cloth, for silk to sell;
'Twas for no such thing you came,
'Twas for me your plan to tell.

And—

Oh ! my happy maiden days—
Days of mirth and converse sweet,
Daily true ; yet to that vow
Never dreamt I of retreat ;
Thought of breaking it I'd none,
Yet, ah me ! 'tis done, 'tis done !

Meanwhile that erratic and eccentric genius, Mr. Thomas Kingsmill, had ventured out of dull and architectural trigonometry into the pleasant pastures of the Muses and Sanskrit, and contributed to the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal (vol. xii.) a weird exordium tending to show that the *Shih-King* poems might really have been disguised Sanskrit: thus our old friends the ospreys appear in two guises under Mr. Kingsmill's magic wand—

Kwanante cakunâh
Jalasya dâle
Varishtâ dakshâtâ
Janikâ grahyate.

The other, more matter-of-fact, is—

Where cry the ospreys
On the islet in the river,
The best and fittest of women
With our prince is well mated.

On pp. 40, 162, and 286-287 of vol. xvi. of the *China Review* (1887-88) a number of more modern poems—still, however, 1,000 years old—are translated, the first group including two from the celebrated poets Han Yu and Meng Kiao. It is extremely probable that some, if not all, of these translations (which, by the way, the present writer at last brazens forth in his own name) will be found amongst Mr. Waley's selections, and no doubt that gentleman's coy muse will be found by competent *Fachmanner* much superior to the clumsy poetic gambols of the undersigned. The above, however, is all intended to be an historical *rîsumé* of what has hitherto been done by European bardic inquirers up to date, and not a personal criticism on the one hand, nor an *apologia pro vita sua* on the other.

Mr. Waley's Introduction is, it is now repeated, extremely interesting, but he must remember that, when he compares the "deflected" tones with the long vowels of Latin prosody, there are innumerable local dialects in China, and the artificial standard rhymes, elaborated in comparatively modern times, imperfect though they seem to us, fit in fairly well all round. When a word written with one and the same character is pronounced in various dialects *cut*, *cake*, *kit*, *chi*, and so on, it requires some art to devise an all-round scheme of versification; it is like an "Esperanto" spelling system which would convey *chef*, *cap*, *chief*, *capo*, etc., to various Indo-European nations by one and the same grouping of letters. The classical allusion which he considers the "vice of Chinese poetry" is, after all, no worse than our own incessant allusions, direct or indirect, to Greek, Latin, and even other histories or mythologies. Myth is bred in the Chinese bones, and most Chinese with a mere smattering of learning use it in casual prattle. We ourselves have our dictionaries of phrase and fable, foreign allusions, foreign saws, and such like, using in daily conversation such phrases as "Gordian knot," "between Scylla and Charybdis," "Arthur's Round Table," and a multitude of others (which most of ourselves cannot explain in exact detail, or even at all) bewildering to the Chinese student of English. The point is, of course, that Chinese are familiar with Chinese folk-lore, and we with ours, each side thinking strange that to which it is unaccustomed. Interesting and instructive though Mr. Waley's introductory history of Chinese poetry is, there is no great mystery or research about it; for a few coppers "The T'ang Poems" in ten chapters or small volumes (with four extra volumes of ancient poems thrown in) can be purchased at Soochow (and probably at Shanghai and any large native city), and the old-fashioned wood-block-printed copy now before the writer's eyes, which has been casually studied at intervals during the past forty years, practically tells us in its prefaces exactly what Mr. Waley tells us about the historical "layers" or successive strata of poetry. He is not strictly correct when (p. v, Preliminary Note) he says he is only translating

those very ancient poems that have never been translated before, nor when (p. 20) he says: "I have not used rhyme because it is impossible to produce in English rhyme effects at all similar to those of the original." The pretty and very ancient little poem (p. 53) which he styles "The Lament of Hsi-chün" was translated on p. 228 of "John Chinaman" (Murray, 1901), and the original lilt, number of syllables, and rhyme, were there all fairly well adhered to. Mr. Waley's version and the writer's are here given in full:

E. H. P.

My folk have wedded me
Here, toward
The ends of the world, to a
Tartar lord.

A tent is my mansion, and
Felt its wall,
Milk to drink, flesh to eat;
This is all.

Ah! but 'tis sad to dwell
Here alone;
Would I were winged to fly
Back to home!

MR. WALEY.

My people have married me
In a far corner of Earth,
Sent me away to a strange land
To the king of the Wu-sun.

A tent is my house,
Of felt are my walls,
Raw flesh my food,
With mare's milk to drink.

Always thinking of my own country,
My heart sad within,
Would I were a yellow stork,
And could fly to my old home.

But ten years before that, again (Giles' Dictionary, 1902, Philological Essay), the same poem was published by the present writer in character or pictograph, and also in a dozen Chinese dialects (romanized), including the modern Japanese and Corean adaptations of ancient Chinese sounds. From these it will be at once apparent how hopeless it would be to expect Europeans to detect beauty in the imperfectly rendered romanized sounds alone, apart from the living voice and the tones peculiar to each syllable (differing in each dialect), and quite unappreciable to the ear of even a Japanese or a Corean whose eye is acquainted with the hieroglyph or pictograph only, and whose ear is not familiar with some definite Chinese dialect. Students of Pekingese, however, who have only had a few months' tuition in that dialect, and have never spoken a single word to any Chinese, have frequently shown themselves touched to the quick by a slow recital of the poem, reinforced by the ocular effect of the pictographs. There are a few more very ancient short poems equally stirring, and given in the ordinary text of the standard history books; for instance, the defeat and suicide in 202 B.C. of a would-be Emperor left alone at bay with his faithful mistress and exhausted horse; the thanksgiving song composed by his successful competitor on revisiting his native village: all these are extremely touching, and justify Mr. Waley's remark, previously, too, made by Mr. Medhurst, that poetry is ingrained in the very souls of the supposed matter-of-fact Chinese, and lies, indeed, at least in spirit, at the basis of all their literature. Possibly all other literatures can be traced backwards to laments and songs of joy.

As to the celebrated elegy *Li Sao*, it is distinctly stated in one version of Kao Yiu's preface to the eponymous work *Hwai-nan-tsz* (of which the writer possesses two copies) that the Han Emperor Wén Ti, son of

the Founder, was a great admirer of his kinsman (grandson of the Founder) Hwai-nan-tszi, "and caused him to make the *Li Sao* Elegy." Wylie's account of the *Li Sao* seems to lend some colour to this view. Probably the real facts are that after the new forms of writing had been established by the Han dynasty, following upon the conquest of all China by the first Emperor (half a century after the original author K'uh Yuan's death), it was found necessary (as it had been found necessary in the case of the Confucian classics) to collect the various surviving fragments of the Elegy, correct and eke out the doubtful or defective portions, and reissue the whole in intelligible and connected form ; for what Wylie (p. 108) calls the "petty kingdom of Tsoo" was really, for at least a couple of centuries previous to its fall, the most powerful monarchy in China ; it was a "toss-up" whether Ts'u or Ts'in should conquer the whole of China. The Han Founder's great-great-grand-nephew Liu Hiang (died 9 B.C.) was the chief organizer of resuscitated Chinese literature as we have it now, and the preface to the *Li Sao* admits that even he—over a century later than Liu Ngan (i.e., Hwai-nan-tszi)—had his work cut out for him in reorganizing the Ts'u (Wylie's Tsoo) literature ; but that is a question too complicated to be discussed here.

By way of bathos to this dry-as-dust discussion, it may be added that, when in 1872 Mr. G. C. Stent was showering what Mr. Medhurst calls his "versifications" upon the Shanghai public, some wags put "Johnny Sands" into Pekingese, hoping that Mr. Stent might "discover" the Chinese origin of that song. The first verse ran (in strict Pekingese) :—

Ku³ yu³ yi⁴ jen² ming² Chang¹ Ni²-san¹,
Chi² ch'i¹ chiao⁴ Pe² Ti² he⁴
T'a¹ sui¹ yu³ chi'en², yu⁴ chi³ mu³ tien²,
Pi²-ch'i⁴ K'o³ liao³-pu⁴-te².

With the aid of the tone numbers, speakers of Pekingese will have no difficulty in supplying the requisite pictographs.

E. H. PARKER.

SAMUEL COULING, M.A. "Encyclopedia Sinica." Pp. viii + 613. Small quarto. (London: Oxford University Press.) £2 2s.

(Reviewed by H. L. Joly.)

The coming of this book was heralded by a review in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Asiatic Society*—of which the author was then honorary Secretary and Editor—in such terms as to stimulate interest in its publication. We expected a book so complete as to replace the useful companions of our earlier studies, and hoped that it would justify its ambitious title. We further thought that it might open new vistas into Chinese China, beyond the fringe inhabited by foreigners, from Chinese sources and from a Chinese standpoint. In all this we were doomed to disappointment. The author, in his preface, seeks to enlist sympathy by excuses ; he hopes that his book will not be described as a "still-born skeleton," and goes on to say that he is "pleased to think that it is the

framework on which a more complete and worthier encyclopedia may be elaborated." This is really very thin ; before this book we had Langdon's *Ten Thousand Things about China*, now greatly out of date ; Dyer Ball's *Things Chinese*, which, with its limitations, is still in many respects in advance of Mr. Couling's "Encyclopedia" ; Richard's *Geography* ; Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual* ; Giles's *Biographical Dictionary*, to mention only a few inexpensive works of daily reference, and upon *these* as a foundation much has been done already. Mr. Couling should have borne this in mind. We have given his book the fairest test to which a book of its kind can be submitted : it has been at our elbow for two months, it has been *read* from cover to cover (with some exceptions, to be mentioned later), and its pages have been referred to in and out of season à propos of any and every thing that might reasonably be found in it ; and, first of all, we looked up the heading "Encyclopedia," merely to find that "the Chinese have none in the European sense," probably because the arrangement of those gigantic affairs in hundreds of volumes does not commend itself to Mr. Couling, who wishes to give them an example of what an encyclopedia may be.

This book is not a skeleton—far from it. We will not hazard a prognosis as to its expectations of life, but, to keep within the metaphor, it suffers from unilateral hyperplasia ; it lacks balance and the sense of proportion ; Mr. Couling may have heard of ectopia, his book also suffers from a form of it : you cannot open it without some missionary matter sticking out of the page. Perhaps it is not to be wondered at, as the list of contributors consists chiefly of missionaries ! We have taken the trouble to measure with some accuracy the space accorded to descriptions of Missions written by Mrs. Couling : it amounts to *one hundred and fifty columns* (including *three* lines for the noisy Salvation Army)—i.e., *seventy-five pages* (which we have not read), or over eight per cent. of the book, besides which about one hundred individual missionaries are commemorated in its pages ; and yet it may be said that the author has exercised some discrimination *against* the Catholics. Curiously enough, Protestant missionaries whose souls have been sped heavenwards by Chinese ministrations come under the title of martyrs denied to the others ! Mr. Couling has shown in so many places a disregard of the conventions of indexing set forth by the late Mr. Wheatley that one is not surprised *not* to find all "Missions" kept under letter M ; yet it would have saved the reader the irritating experience of finding them at every turn. Missions, as a non-Chinese subject, are followed by another foreign import—Freemasonry, to which *ten* columns are devoted, including *thirty-three* lines for the thirty-three grades and degrees ; and thirteen columns go to the Railways, only twice as much as is given to American Presbyterian missions.

With such a lavish expenditure of print on non-Chinese non-essentials, one would expect to find at least *one* map in the work, but in vain ; what is a Chinese "Encyclopedia" without a map, without a précis of the history or a table of its chronology? . . . and one would also expect to find more than *half a column* on the Army and more than eighteen paltry

lines on the Dragon; the firm of E. D. Sassoon obtains twice as much space as the *Pa hsien* and Samanthabhadra, and just as much as Gustave Schlegel or Chavannes: sixteen lines! There is not a single line about Chinese Medicine. The space is monopolized by seven and a half columns on medical missions instead: Folk lore and Superstitions are equally tabooed, so are Dances, Burial, Ships, Clothing, Canals, ~~Gaps~~, Vehicles, Mathematics, Transport, Sciences, Food. Divination is dismissed with one column, an equal space being given to Boy Scouts! Korea does not appear except in the form of five lines explaining the reading *Chōsen*. Dialects get half a column of childish generalities; Filial Piety in ten lines, without even a mention of the Twenty-four classical examples, is set off by twenty-two lines on Esperanto!! Açoka, who was merely a patron of Buddhism, receives ten lines, apologized for, but Yi-tsing does not appear at all. Fire beacons, once the cause of a tragedy, and the south-pointing carriage *che nan shu*, in which Klaproth saw the origin of the mariner's compass, are likewise ignored. Much more might be said to justify the criticism offered above that the book is one-sided; long zoological lists without Chinese names take much more space than is given to philosophy, language, religion, and ethics put together, which (Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Philosophy, Lamaism, all by Mrs. Couling), though fair articles enough, are merely compilations from European sources. The same may be said of the article on poetry and of all those on Art, the latter having been extracted from Bushell's *South Kensington Handbook*. They show the hand of the amateur without sufficient first-hand knowledge; and in not a single one of them is there any reference to Chinese books which would be more useful than those made to Mr. L. Binyon's elegant prose or Dr. Munsterberg's *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*, compiled chiefly from European sources. As a matter of fact, here and there a misprint or an antiquated spelling will show where the material has been quarried; it is glaringly so in the article on Aborigines—e.g., Vonuum should be *Bunūn*, Atayal should read *Taiyāl*. Archeology, Chalfant and Hopkins, all refer us to an absent article on Oracle Bones. The fact that Dr. Timothy Richard has paraphrased the *Hsiyuki* romance does not justify three lines of grudging admission, with a misprint, of the existence of the earlier record of Hiuen Tsang's travels.

The contribution on Japanese relations with China, though written by a Japanese, is not altogether satisfactory—for instance, no mention is made of the Ashikaga Embassies and the presents of lacquer and weapons they took to the Ming Emperors, in their eagerness to improve these relations. Inaccuracies are often enough evident, although the author in his preface has been at pains to guard us against being too cocksure. Yet he is wholly wrong about *Bōzu*, goes astray about the date of printing, Brahma's net *Sutra* (with a misprint), and about the Boxer Riots, forgets that elephantiasis attacks other parts of the body besides the legs, gives us queer chemistry about egg albumen, etc. When he prints that 53,000 tons of galena came out of Shuikushan, and 22,000 tons of blonde, we can but confront him with the *Imperial Institute Report on Zinc* (1917), which gives 7,625 and 22,875 tons, whilst Collins (*Mineral Enterprise in China*, 1918)

gives the total at about 30,000 tons; and A. S. Wheeler (*Far Eastern Review*, 1915, p. 134-138) gives: total ore treated in 1914, 56,000 tons, yielding 5,000 tons of lead concentrates and 14,600 tons of zinc concentrates; the total production for twenty years being over 50,000 tons of lead concentrates and 126,000 tons of zinc concentrates; the reference to jewels, anent inkstones, when it appears that old tiles must be meant; the curious *non sequitur* in the article on Kaoliang (sorghum); Octopus being described as a "fish"; Yangtsze convention under Non-Alienation; the Great Wall indexed under Great; Firearms hidden in an exasperating paragraph on Gunpowder; not a word about Literary Examinations; a statement that the Bibliography of Hoang's works on the T'oung Pao is incomplete, without the redeeming feature of additional information, etc., etc.—all betoken hasty, uncritical work. Indeed, the bulk of the book in its present form requires considerable revision before it can be commended to serious students of China. It does not yet fill the position which in other fields was held by Balfour's "Cyclopedia of India" or the Islam cyclopedias of Hughes and Houtsma; as a bibliographical resource it is not a substitute for Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, and it does not contain a homeopathic fraction of the information found in Wylie's notes on Chinese literature, as the bibliographical notes are too often insufficient—e.g., Chavannes' short but important paper, "l'Expression des Vœux," is not mentioned s.v. Symbolism, nor any of Laufer's papers on the Cycle. Richtofen's book is alluded to, but the title not mentioned. We are loth to insist on the fact, but this book is calculated to be of use to missionaries more than to anybody else.

There are, however, articles which will stand the test of time, and one can but deplore the fact that more specialists were not called in earlier and given space for other articles: the Zoological section (De la Touche and Shaw), except for the unjustifiable absence of Chinese name, is extremely thorough. The same may be said of Botany (Courtois; the reference to Bretschneider's book under Baber is curious); of Geology (Wang), Lexicography (Paul Pelliot), Libraries, Minerals (N. Shaw), Mining (W. F. Collins), Music, Plague (Wu Lien Teh), Trade (N. Shaw).

Even if the omissions and the impedimenta of the book make it less valuable and useful than it might have been, had it been better planned, one must render Mr. Couling justice for the great diligence and pains-taking labour involved in gathering together most of the material; and one can but wish that his fellow missionaries will cause *this* first edition to be soon out of print so that he may have a chance to bring out another more worthy in every respect of the subject and of himself. No compiler who has attempted a large book of reference single-handed, and who has lived to rue its premature birth, can lack sympathy with him.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF "TRUTHS ABOUT INDIA." A Reprint of Leaflets issued by the East India Association from 1909 to 1913. (*East India Association*, 3, Victoria Street. 2s. 6d.)

(Reviewed by N. C. DARUWALLA, M.A., *Bombay.*)

"*Truths about India*!" A pretentious title for a book on India written by Englishmen! Yet the book is a very good exposition of the views of at least 90 per cent. of the Anglo-Indians, and a good number of Indians in the Bombay Presidency also. Whether such a book would be appreciated in a place like Bengal is a different question altogether.

Whatever its defects may be—and a book on a huge place like India is bound to be more or less defective, especially if it is written from one standpoint only—the work has the merit of giving the views of different men on different Indian problems, being a reprint of leaflets issued by the East India Association from 1909 to 1913, with a foreword by Lord Ampthill and a preface by Messrs. Pennington and Pollen. Under the circumstances, a little tautology, a few repetitions, a good number of platitudes on the "Benefits of British Rule," a little harping upon the same string which often jars upon the ears of self-respecting Indians—all these are not only natural, but almost unavoidable. At times, however, one feels that the arguments are weak, and do not prove anything at all. Hence the conclusions drawn from false premises,* or insufficient data or statistics, or from historical analogies, are often fallacious. Yet the reasoning in some of the leaflets is sound, the style precise, perspicuous, and more or less convincing, and some of the writers, at least, seem to know what they are talking about. This is saying a good deal; as a matter of fact, it is the highest compliment I can pay to any book on India written by English hands.

Where the book fails is in tact and appreciation of the noble aspirations of the Indian patriots, and in sympathy for the cause of a country in bondage struggling to be free. It would be ungrateful on the part of any Indian to deny that India has really gained a good deal from contact with the thought, the lovely literature, the political ideas, especially the ideas on liberty, and the scientific works of go-ahead England. The upper middle class and the richer classes do get the benefits of education and scientific inventions of the modern world—among others, the motor-car, the telegraph and the telephone. But what do the starving thousands of India care for these things when they find it impossible to make both ends meet?

I cannot enter into details in this very brief review, nor can I criticize each leaflet separately. Suffice it to say that the book is an excellent collection of leaflets written by men who ought to know something about India. It is a pity that the leaflets are mostly written from an Anglo-Indian standpoint, and are not quite alive to all that has gone on and is going on from 1913 up to the present day. India has advanced with

* A few examples of these false premises would have been more to the point than mere assertion.—ED. ASIATIC REVIEW.

rapid strides during the last five years, and it is to be hoped that in the future it will, with the assistance of England, advance at an equal pace, that England will do her utmost to help and not to hinder the process, and that India in her turn will be a source of strength to England and the Empire. What we want at present would be men and books aiming at a very progressive policy, trying to bring the East and the West together, but at the same time steering clear of the bomb-throwing, innocent-people-murdering, mad, suicidal policy of some Bengalis on the one hand, and of the snobbish, discourteous, selfish, and despotic policy of certain Anglo-Indians in India on the other.

THE NEAR EAST

ORIENTAL ENCOUNTERS

PALESTINE AND SYRIA. By Marmaduke Pickthall. (London : *Collins.*)

This interesting account of travels and adventures among the Arabs of Syria and Palestine is full of keen observation, and certainly not devoid of humour. The author in his introduction tells us that he had failed to gain the necessary place in the competitive examination for a vacancy in the Consular Service. His mother, who nevertheless believed in her son, advised him to journey to Syria and to enlarge his knowledge of the East by travel instead of study. His most cherished dreams were thus unexpectedly realized through maternal sympathy. So the happy youth started first for Egypt, to proceed thence to Jaffa and Jerusalem. He was provided with sufficient means and numerous introductions, which he, however, much neglected, preferring to go his own way. The story of his adventures begins when he sets out with the famous Suleyman, his Arab companion, thus flinging discretion and the advice of his own countrymen to the winds. Early one morning they hired two horses and a muleteer, and rode from Jerusalem in the direction of Tyre. There, Suleyman, being suddenly summoned to his village, leaves our hero to his own devices. This, however, did not prevent him from continuing his ride, only accompanied by one muleteer. His first encounter was with Rashid the Fair, a thrilling story of "a knife and a pistol," with the result that Rashid the Fair proved a most devoted and shrewd servant to him, who in true Arab fashion made his master's interests his own.

Subsequently Suleyman returned at the right moment to smooth down mishaps. We now see this well-assorted trio lead a most eventful and amusing life teeming with adventures until, alas ! the Englishman contracts typhoid fever. His Arab friends nurse him with devotion ; and when he must perform return to England they shed real tears over the parting. But not so his acquaintance Muallim Costantin, who had provided him with a rich Syrian attire of clothes, for which he charged twenty pounds, and which, in the opinion of the Englishman, was excessive ; and he told him so. But the Muallim, a learned man, presented him with a parting gift which proved to be a great treasure : a complete "Bulac edition" of

the "Thousand and One Nights"; the value of which he only fully realized when back in England at the British Museum! Nor had he ever the chance of thanking the giver in a manner worthy of the gift; for when, after twenty years, he next was in his country, he tells us that the Muallim Costantin had gone where kindness, patience, courtesy, and all his other virtues obtain (let us hope) their due reward.

In conclusion we would point out that the atmosphere with which these well-narrated stories are surrounded leaves us no doubt as to their genuineness, and their really emanating from the somewhat mysterious and, we may add, still unexploited East. And through it all runs an undercurrent of advice for us Europeans who think ourselves as a rule so vastly superior to the Orientals; for the author shows again and again how much we can learn from them and how truly noble are their feelings of friendship and hospitality.

L. M. R.

REDRAWING THE MAP

BOUNDARIES IN EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST. By Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich. (London: *Macmillan.*)

In his introduction the author reminds us that "there is probably not a nationality between Central Europe and Persia which will occupy exactly the same space after the war as it did before." The above volume is an attempt to outline the new boundaries, and is based on two main principles: "firstly, of harmonizing results with the will of the people concerned, and, secondly, of the acquisition of strong scientific boundaries." And yet the most satisfactory, because the most tranquil and entirely devoid of fortification, is at the same time the most absolutely arbitrary in its geographical delimitation, viz., "the divide between Canada and the United States." The boundary questions at the Peace Conference will bristle with difficulties. Sir Thomas Holdich combines in the present volume scrupulous fairness with a knowledge of the true facts of each case.

THE MODERN SONS OF THE PHARAOHS: A STUDY OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE COPTS OF EGYPT. By S. H. Leeder (*Hodder and Stoughton.*) 16s.

To the ordinary reader the main title of this new book on Egypt may be somewhat misleading. By "The Modern Sons of the Pharaohs" Mr. Leeder does not mean the modern Egyptians in general—as one might pardonably suppose—and those who expect something in the nature of a sequel to Lane's famous work will be disappointed. The contents are much more correctly indicated in the sub-title as "A study of the Manners and Customs of the Copts of Egypt," whom the author considers to be the real descendants of the Pharaohs of old. Of the Mahomedan population there is very little mention. But those who are interested in the Copts of the present day and their Church will here find a veritable mine of information. The author had ample opportunities of observing their inner life, and he supplies us at first hand with very full details as to the

peculiar customs of this interesting people. The interest is greatly enhanced by the many excellent photographs with which the work is embellished.

The opening chapters describe a visit paid by the author to a wealthy Coptic squire in a country village, with full details of the home life of his host. Then follow accounts of the various celebrations on the occasions of birth, marriage, and death. On the whole the manners and customs of these Christians differ very little from those observed by their Mohammedan fellow-subjects. Indeed, Lord Cromer in his "Modern Egypt" points out that for all purposes of broad generalization the only difference between the Copt and the Moslem is that the former is an Egyptian who worships in a Christian church, whilst the latter is an Egyptian who worships in a Mohammedan mosque. The character of the Copt, even on the author's own showing, is not an attractive one. Although he ostensibly takes up the position of an unprejudiced observer, the whole book forms a sort of apology for the peculiar characteristics of the Copts, so unfavourably commented upon by other writers of authority, and an appeal for a more favourable view of their character and aspirations. While he does not deny that there are some grounds for these unfavourable opinions, he protests that they are much exaggerated, and he certainly presents to us a more agreeable picture than we have been accustomed to. In particular he condemns the attitude adopted by British officials in Egypt towards these "fellow-Christians."

A considerable portion of the book is devoted to an account of the Coptic Church, the priesthood, and the various religious observances. The sketch is certainly interesting so far as it goes, but is altogether too superficial to give an adequate exposition of this important subject.

The chapter in which the author lays himself open to most criticism is that headed "The Egyptian Christians and British Rule," in which he severely condemns the present policy of the Government towards the Copts. Their main grievances are enumerated under five heads which are worth quoting. These are :

1. Since British rule began they (the Copts) have been debarred from holding the position of Mudir or Governor of a province, or of Mamur, the chief administrative magistrate of a district.
2. The Copts employed by the Government are compelled to work on Sunday, because Friday has been made by the English the day of rest in deference to its being the Moslem day of prayer.
3. The Coptic community is not properly represented upon the Government councils and committees.
4. They are obliged to pay taxes for the support of many schools wherein the religious teaching is solely Islamic, and very inadequate provision is made in any of the schools for giving any sort of Christian teaching to their children.
5. They wish to call attention to the enormous sums spent by the Government for Moslem religious celebrations, such as the sending of the Holy Carpet to Mecca every year, while no countenance or support is given to the Coptic religion.

Here we have, in any case, a clear and concise statement of the grievances to which the Copts desire to call attention, and if, as the author is convinced, there are good grounds for these complaints, it is to be hoped that this volume will help to bring about some improvement. But quite irrespective of the political aspect, we can confidently recommend the work to the attention of all who desire to obtain a full and interesting account of the inner life and aspirations of the people who claim to be the modern representatives of the ancient inhabitants of the Nile Valley.

W. GORDON CAMPBELL.

ROUMANIA, YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY. By Mrs. Will Gordon, F.R.G.S., with an Introduction and two chapters by H.M. the Queen of Roumania. (*John Lane.*) 10s. 6d. net.

This well printed and illustrated volume, containing the pathetic story of a gallant nation's struggle and temporary cession to brutal *force majeure*, lies before us at the moment when Mr. Taku Jonescu has declared in Paris that

It will interest you to know that you will not find in Roumania a workman or peasant who is not absolutely confident of the victory of the Allies. It is in that faith you will find the bedrock of that *sang/roid* with which everybody there bears the present humiliation and the coming famine. As our Queen is a British Princess by birth, it will be a source of pride to the British public to know that she has done her whole duty, and that she is a real martyr at the present moment.

Queen Marie, the devoted hospital nurse, tells the story of her martyrdom, which included the death on All Souls' Day of her youngest son, who carried the name Mireea, famous in Roumanian annals. But the distressed mother writes : " My own sorrow must not separate me from others' sorrows; it must be but an added link between me and my people." Accordingly, the Queen went among her people as few have done during the typhus epidemic, and did much to help and cheer stricken men and women, who echoed the universal wish, " May you become Empress, Empress of all the Roumanians."

It has been our privilege to tell the story of Roumania in the columns of the ASIATIC REVIEW, though briefly. Mrs. Gordon describes the fortunes of the race from the days of the Gete or Dacians. A minority have argued that Roumania is really not a Balkan State, but Professor Jorga and Dr. Seton-Watson have shown that the development of Roumania is linked up with that of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece. When King Carol died after a long and beneficent reign, distracted between his natural Teuton proclivities and the practically unanimous voice of his people in favour of intervention on the side of the Entente, Roumania had long been transformed from a Turkish vassal into the leading Balkan power. She ranks seventh among the independent States of Europe, and her trade nearly equals the combined trade of Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece. In the chapter "The Heart of Roumania" we hear of the different races that inhabit the country and have influenced the national life. The French language and spirit have been absorbed by the educated

classes, while "the peasant still remains in paramount possession of the habits and customs that have come down to him from early Roman days."

The account of Roumania's entry into the War is related; with its promising opening for the liberation of kinsmen of Transylvania, disappearance through the Russian *débâcle*, advance of the hosts of Mackensen and Falkenhayn, and the evacuation of Bucharest. A melancholy necessity was the destruction of oil-wells, pipes, and tanks by the British Mission under Col. Sir J. Norton Griffiths, M.P., in the teeth of the advancing enemy, whose mortification may well be imagined. The mischievous doctrines of Bolshevism infected the troops of General Tsherbatshov, who left the trenches to their Roumanian colleagues and melted away. The arrival of the enemy meant a repetition of the horrors suffered by Belgium and Serbia. Well may the concluding words be emphasized :

Roumania, who has battled so superbly against overwhelming odds, under difficulties of discouragement, isolation, treachery, starvation, and disease, which we here in our strength can barely imagine, must never, never be forgotten.

The work is handsomely illustrated, many being from photographs sent by Queen Marie. Social, peasant, and military scenes are shown, with King Ferdinand decorating soldiers and Queen Marie in hospital dress. The view of the Buzeu Valley presents wild and charming forest and hill country. Royalties on the sale will be devoted to Roumanian Relief Funds.

F. P. M.

TRANSLITERATION OF SLAVONIC : British Academy Proceedings, Vol. VIII.
(Milford.) 1s. net.

In July, 1916, the Council of the British Academy appointed a committee to consider and draw up a scheme for the transliteration into English of words and names belonging to Russian and other Slavonic languages and the languages of the Nearer East. The Slavonic sub-committee consisted of Sir F. Pollock, F.B.A., Sir P. Vinogradov, F.B.A., Dr. Hagberg Wright, Mr. E. H. Minns, Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson, Dr. Nevill Forbes, and Mr. Hinks, secretary to the Royal Geographical Society. The problem was the orthographic rendering of Cyrillic characters into Roman, and not phonetic transcription, the latter having been treated in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. The questions involved have been the cause of logomachy for very many years, and the committee are of opinion that "the difficulties are greater than might appear at first sight, and a perfect solution is not always possible." The term "reversibility" denotes a scheme of transliteration capable of automatic application and then restoration by a person knowing an alphabet, but not the language, and complete reversibility is no easy matter. The capricious Russian stress accent, for which no rule is discoverable, should be marked by the *accent sign*. We cannot reproduce the recommendations, but note that the superfluous Russian hard sign should be omitted, and the soft sign indicated by an apostrophe—e.g., *Tsar'*, *py'* (dust), and *nel'zya*.

(must not). The fourth Russian letter (*g-h*) is a source of trouble, and the sub-committee were divided over the transliteration of the eight letter; the minority vote for *zh* instead of *j* being adopted by the Council of the Academy. The Russian *x* should be rendered by *kh*. Following the tables for Russian, Little Russian, and Bulgarian, the first appendix (drawn up by Mr. Minns) includes the alphabets of Serbo-Croatian, Czech-Slovak, Polish, Magyar, and Rumanian. From his tables comparison may be made of the renderings of the Latin alphabet and the earlier scheme of the committee. The second appendix furnishes specimen renderings, of which the following are among the most familiar :

Russian: Astrakhan', Vorónezh, Eniséy, Kazan', Kíev, Kishinév (ë=yo), Sakhalín, Khár'kov, Yarosláv', Vorontsóv, Golitsyn, Maxím Górk'i (Péshkov), L'vov, Suvorov, Lev Nikoláevich Tolstóy, Chaykóvski. *Little Russian*: Hét'man Iván Mazépa, Zaporózh's'ka Syich, Perémyshl (Pízemysl), Ukrayíns'ky, Chernívtsi (Czernowitz). *Bulgarian*: Bülgáriya, Dóbrudzha, Kazanlük, Odrin (Adrianople), Plóvdiv (Philippopolis), Karavélov, Stambolów, Sólun (Salonika), Tsárigrad, Chérno More (Black Sea).

The British Academy, and especially the Slavonic sub-committee, deserve the thanks of Slavonic scholars for their efforts to provide a good working solution of thorny controversial questions, but finality will be hard to reach, as theory and practice are often divergent.

F. P. M.

ASIA MINOR. By Walter A. Hawley. (*John Lane.*) 12s. 6d.

From the days of the Hittites, who are believed to have occupied a large part of Asia Minor many centuries before the Christian era, down to the Turkish conquest about five hundred years ago, this part of Asia has been the scene of continual conflicts in which Egyptians, Persians, and many other races took part. Accounts of these wars have been handed down to us by Greek and Latin historians, and we still find in many parts of the country the ruins of great temples and other remains of ancient and powerful races which have passed away without leaving any great impress on the civilization of the world. This historic region is now almost a wilderness, and little is known in Western Europe about its geography or its inhabitants. Yet it is a land of great possibilities, and the Germans have not been slow to recognize the advantages of developing its resources. Fortunately their schemes have now been frustrated, almost at the eleventh hour, and it is for the British to profit by the collapse of Hun domination in this part of the world.

Mr. Hawley's book therefore comes at an opportune moment, although it does not pretend to give an exhaustive account of the country or the people. Indeed, it only covers certain parts of Asia Minor in which the author (an American) has travelled, mainly in connection with business, shortly before the outbreak of the present war. Besides, he was handicapped by his ignorance of the Turkish language and the fact that only for part of his travels had he the help of a Greek interpreter. In these circumstances the title of the book is perhaps too ambitious.⁷ However, Mr.

Hawley gives us a bright and interesting sketch of the physiography and history of Asia Minor in general, and the parts that he visited in particular, with some general remarks on the people he met and the possibilities of this region in the future. He is of opinion, like many others, that the Turks have "many excellent qualities"; but whether or not we accept that view, few will agree that "the progressive party has made serious efforts to accomplish necessary reforms."

The author proceeded in the first place from Constantinople to Brüssa, the former capital of the Ottomans, and then by sea to Smyrna, from which centre he made excursions to Ephesus, Sardis, and other places in that region with the names of which St. Paul has made us familiar. After dealing with the "Seven Churches" and other places in the neighbourhood, the author takes us to Konia, Karaman, and other stations on the German-built railway which was to have led them to Bagdad. All this takes up 264 pages out of a total of 317, so that there are not many pages left to cover other important parts of Asia Minor. Indeed, Armenia and the southern regions of the country towards the Syrian border are entirely omitted. We have, however, a short account of Trebizond, Kerasund, and other places on the Black Sea coast.

Mr. Hawley has already written a book on "Oriental Rugs, Antique and Modern," and his expert knowledge on this subject oozes out at many points in his description of his adventures. Indeed, the "Chelebi Effendi," or chief of the Mevlevi dervishes at Konia, was induced to show him a famous rug of great age and priceless value which was usually locked away as a great treasure. He regards this prayer-rug as "the manifestation of a great artistic spirit that for centuries pervaded the Orient," and suggests that it must be three or four centuries old. Asia Minor is of course famed for its rugs, but very few of this quality can now be found in that country.

On the whole, the author has given us a well-written and interesting account of the places he visited, and it should be read by all those who are interested in the present position of the country and its fate after the war. The volume is illustrated by several photographs, but the map provided is disappointing. It only gives a rough outline with a few names sprinkled here and there, and is totally inadequate to give a satisfactory idea of the details of the country. Many places mentioned in the text are entirely omitted, while the proportions are by no means correct. For example, Turkey in Europe is shown as including parts of Bulgaria and Greece. With a good map the interest of this work would be considerably enhanced.

W. GORDON CAMPBELL.

ORIENTALIA

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE BÁBI RELIGION. Compiled by E. G. Browne, M.A., M.B., etc. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 1918. Pp. 380.

Although the interest in Baha'ism aroused in this country by the visits of 'Abd al-Baha is likely to have been extinguished by the all-absorbing

anxiety of the last four years, those who have followed the movement under Professor Browne's guidance will be grateful for the new instalment of his studies in a subject which he has made peculiarly his own. The title of the work indicates that it is intended for students rather than for the general public, and this is evidently the case with the second half, which few but Persian scholars and specialists will be able to appreciate; but the first half is of more general interest, consisting of a concise history of the movement translated from an Arabic MS. in Professor Browne's possession, followed by the autobiography of the Baha'i Evangelist of America, whose work in that continent is then described chiefly from materials supplied by a "Miss A. H., of Brooklyn," who attended his lectures. The history of Baha'ism moves on lines very familiar to the student of Oriental chronicles; there is the quarrel for the supremacy between the sons of the founder after the latter's "Ascension," and the resort to such drastic expedients as the poisoned bowl and the assassin's razor. One Dr. Khairullah, after preaching the Messiahship (if not more) of 'Abd al-Baha, discovers that the latter is a scoundrel; someone else discovers that the Doctor himself is an unscrupulous money-grubber.

It is of this person's lectures that Professor Browne publishes the notes taken by an American lady; if the reports are accurate, it would seem safe to side with 'Abd al-Baha in the dispute between the two; for the lectures delivered by 'Abd al-Baha in Oxford and London were not like the stuff of which the following extract is a sample:

There are three Adams—the race, our ancestor, and we shall know the other (Behá) when we get to the "pith." Adam spoke the Kurdish language, which has no alphabet and is a short spoken language only. Silence will prove this. Adam does not mean "red earth"; it means the "skin" or "surface." Eve means "life." God gave Adam and Eve "coats of skin," to wit, the body. The meaning of "coats of skin" is His image. There are three Bibles, the Hebrew, the Egyptian, and the Chaldean. The Hebrew borrowed from the Egyptian, and the Egyptian from the Chaldean, etc.

This lecturer put the number of Baha'is in the world at 55,000,000: Mahdi Khan at 7,200—possibly a record discrepancy even in Oriental figures. The former figure is obviously valueless; the second is an estimate based on very imperfect evidence, in Professor Browne's opinion absurdly low. It ought to be easier to get at exact numbers for Western converts, but here too there seems to be much difference of opinion. According to Dr. Khairullah, who before he found reasons for repudiating 'Abd al-Baha was regarded by the latter as a combination of St. Peter and Christopher Columbus, 'Abd al-Baha's visit to the States was a deathblow to the Cause of God. If this statement be more valuable than his other assertions, Baha'ism must in some sense have declined in the West.

The list of thirty questions whereon the Baha'is differ from orthodox Moslems, which forms one of the later chapters of this book, is very helpful to experts in Mohammedan theology, though much of it will be unintelligible to others. Their recognition of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as genuine might seem to be the most noteworthy of these differences, were it

not that the more liberal among the Moslem controversialists tacitly concede the point, and the Baha'i exegesis is, as the specimen cited indicates, peculiar. Since the sect approves of polygamy, it sides with Islam in the matter whereon Islamic and Christian morality are most manifestly at variance.

'This book displays throughout the thoroughness, sympathy, and charm of style with which we are familiar in Professor Browne's writings.

TRANSLATION OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN.

THE British Academy has issued through the Oxford University Press as a reprint from its Proceedings the "Report of the Committee appointed to draw up a practical scheme for the transliteration into English of words and names belonging to the languages of the Nearer East" (Price 1s.). This is a somewhat formidable title for a seventeen-page booklet on the transliteration of the characters used in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; and while the scheme proposed is, perhaps, as good as any hitherto suggested, neither this nor any other scheme can quite satisfactorily replace the Oriental characters themselves. The Report deals almost entirely with Arabic and Persian, while Turkish, which is certainly more entitled than Persian to be regarded as a "Nearer East" language, is only casually referred to. In Turkish it is specially difficult to devise a good scheme of transliteration. If we merely transliterate the characters it will often lead to confusion in the pronunciation, while, on the other hand, a mere reproduction of the sounds would not always suggest the original characters. Of course, in ordinary English books and newspapers one is obliged to represent the sound in Roman letters, with the result that the words are spelt in a variety of ways. One of the worst ways is to slavishly copy the German transliteration, in which their *w* is the English *v* and their *v* the English *f*. However, where the Arabic letters cannot well be used we are obliged to indicate the sound in some way, and the scheme given in this Report is certainly one of the best.

W. GORDON CAMPBELL.

THE PACIFIC

WINE-DARK SEAS AND TROPIC SKIES. By A. Safroni Middleton. (*Grant Richards.* 12s. 6d. net.)

Readers of "Sailor and Beachcomber" and "A Vagabond's Odyssey" will not be disappointed in their high expectations when they peruse Mr. Safroni Middleton's "Wine-Dark Seas and Tropic Skies." Those who have not been so fortunate will have to grow accustomed to the author's very flamboyant style, but they will end by approving it. Both will agree that the author has achieved a great literary feat: to write a successful book of travels. His pen seems to be guided by an almost uncanny descriptive force which finds an effective scope in such subjects as "Leper Lovers in the Lone Pacific."

THE SORROWS OF EPIRUS. By René Puaux. (London: *Hurst and Blackett, Ltd.* Pp. 159.)

Under the above title, Messrs. Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., have issued an English translation of Mr. René Puaux's "La Malheureuse Epire." This alluring little volume of 160 pages, probably known, so far, only to those conversant with French, will, it is hoped, be welcomed by the public at large both for its literary value and the Gallic lucidity with which it analyzes the case of unhappy Epirus. The author was correspondent of the Paris *Le Temps* at the time of the Balkan Wars, and his work, written in diary form, covers his impressions as eye-witness, gathered on the spot from May 1, 1913, to May 28. The first twenty-three pages of the book were written in Corfu, and convey the impression that René Puaux was on a trip to the Ionian Islands. The enchanted landscapes of Corfu keep him in that island spellbound for three days, and during that time Mr. Puaux jots down his impressions "of this Queen of the Ionian Islands," invaded by huge copses of wild roses—marvels of colour and scent, and explains easily why d'Annunzio came here to write "Fire" and the Empress Elizabeth to seek elusive oblivion. With his native critical sense Mr. Puaux darts forth incidentally a few incisive remarks on the bad taste of the latest proprietor of Achilleion, the Emperor Wilhelm II. of Prussia, who fails utterly in his efforts to embellish the secluded Palace of Empress Elizabeth by the senseless and enormous bronze statue of Achilles in the Munich style.

Speaking on Khimara, the author calls it a centre of Hellenism. The Khimariots formed an autonomous Greek colony numbering 20,000 souls, and paying a tribute of 16,000 francs a year to the Sublime Porte. "There could be only one political faith for Khimara: Union with Greece," says M. Puaux. During the Balkan Wars only three persons remained at Khimara. "All the others, women and children too, were with the troops in the mountains, the women carrying ammunitions" (p. 54), and further, "it would be deplorable if European diplomacy handed over this vigorous little centre of Greek and Western civilization to the comico-tragic Kingdom of Albania. . . . Khimara cannot be other than Greek, because it is Greek already. . . . Any other course would recklessly perpetuate a state of affairs against which the Ottoman Government was helpless." Speaking of the hinterland of Epirus and of its purely Greek character, Mr. Puaux thinks it is a hundred times worse to put these places under the Alfanian yoke than they ever were under the Turks. "It is not a question of an arbitrary frontier adding a few kilometers more or less to the Kingdom of Greece. It is a question of the conscience of Europe." And elsewhere, "If Epirus were a *res nullius*, a piece of territory without a national soul, which any conqueror could automatically make his own, Italy's policy might be regarded as not incomprehensible." But the truth is quite otherwise. The Districts of Epirus which Rome wishes to see drawn into the future Albania are the *hotbeds* of uncompromising Hellenism. It would be idle to prolong the series of quotations, as they all testify to the same fact—namely, the unmitigated Hellenic consciousness of these unhappy

regions. I might, however, end this cursory review by quoting Mr. Puaux for the last time : "If the real meaning of the question of Epirus is to be grasped a preliminary axiom must be accepted: it is not the Greek Government which wants to annex Epirus, but the Epirotes themselves who claim reunion with Greece." The testimony of a man of Mr. Puaux's reputation may opportunely be referred to in the light of the political doctrines of Mr. Wilson, the champion of the modern political ideals of the Atlantic democracies.

TH. AGHNIDES.

THE CALL OF THE WORLD. By Ardeser Sorabjee N. Wadia. (London : J. M. Dent.) In 18mo, 432 pp.

This book is nicely produced, in pre-war style, on thin paper, with good readable print; the subject-matter, the reminiscences of a year's trip round the world, does not afford anything new or startling—even war conditions had made but little difference on travel when the author encompassed the earth. He followed the conventional beaten track, had an easy uneventful few months in England, met with aggressive journalists and assertive officials in America; saw the tourist's Japan at cinematograph speed—misspelling some of the place-names by the way—sped along the coast of China, returned home through Colombo, where he was irritated by a policeman, then sat down to write and say how little all of that had impressed him. Much of it is smart, and it is a fit companion to Professor Kawabata's "Hermit turned Loose." As a document towards the understanding of how much the East sees on the West and in the East, the two books might have been written to complete one another. But whereas the Japanese Professor is gentle and polite, Mr. Wadia is conceited and self-admiring, although it must take more than self-admiration for a man to write as he does on pages 107, 181, 303 of three separate "flirtations" in a manner which, if we were the brother of any one of the three ladies mentioned, we should feel inclined to resent. Mr. Wadia's idea of a tea-ceremony is ludicrous (p. 347); tea-bowls for which hundreds of pounds are often paid are not slop-basins; and he might have learnt, when he became Dakshina Fellow on Natural Science—whatever that may be—that the paste of cloisonné enamel is *not* made of "ground jades, agates, carnelian and lapis lazuli, etc." As an index to Mr. Wadia's knowledge of natural sciences this sentence is interesting (p. 353).

H. L. J.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE BULLETIN (Vol. XVI., No. 1., January-March, 1918). (*John Murray.*) 2s. 6d.

The quarterly *Bulletin* is somewhat late, in consequence, presumably, of the difficulties prevalent in the printing trades. It is characteristic of the "muddling through" habit that leaflets and tracts of all kinds issued from the brain-pans of amateurs can be and are printed and freely distributed to little or no purpose, whilst useful publications are either held

up or withdrawn from existence for lack of paper or of printers. The *Bulletin* contains an important article on the "Resources of Burma" (Sir Harvey Adamson), a paper on "Cotton," with a Bibliography which forms a useful supplement to Dr. Goulding's book ("Cotton and other Vegetable Fibres"). Other papers deal with Natural Dye Stuffs, Rice, Coffee, Ajowan-seed and Thymol, Aromatic Oils, Tobacco-beetle Destruction; besides the usual Reviews and Abstracts.

It may be as well to note here that the Imperial Institute has carried out extensive experiments on new sources of paper-pulp.

Some knowledge of the mineral productions of the Empire being desirable, the Geological Survey have been publishing several reports on Tungsten, Manganese, Felspar, Barytes, Refractory Materials, etc. (at rather high prices!). We believe that the Ministry of Munitions are preparing reports on the same subjects, and the Imperial Institute published, last year, a monograph on "Felspars, and other Sources of Potash." A monograph on "Zinc Ores" has been recently issued (64 pp., two shillings) by the Institute, covering the ore deposits of the Empire and of foreign countries, with statistics as recent as could be obtained; dealing also with the Zinc Minerals, the Valuation, Concentration, and Smelting of Zinc Ores (this section is rather weak, and contains an obvious misprint: the Belgian retorts are not 8 feet in diameter, but 8 to 8·5 inches). This Report should be particularly useful to all interested in zinc, brass, and paints.

H. L. J.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

1. "The Dance of Siva." By Ananda Coomaraswamy. From Luzac and Co. 12s. 6d.
Fourteen Indian essays on art, music, philosophy, and politics.
2. "A Guide to Sanchi." By Sir John Marshall. From Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta. 3s. 9d.
3. "England and India." By R. Gordon Milburn. From George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 2s. 6d.
4. "Practical Theosophy." By C. Jinarajadasa. From Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.
5. "Baghdad." By Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson. From Church Missionary Society. 6d.
6. "The War and the Bagdad Railway." By Morris Jastrow, Jr. From J. B. Lippincott Co. 7s. 6d.
The story of Asia Minor and its relation to the present conflict.
7. "The Treasure of the Magi." By James Hope Moulton. From Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d.
A study of Modern Zoroastrianism.
8. "The Year-Book of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1918." Washington, D.C.
9. "The War and the Coming Peace." By Morris Jastrow, Jr. From J. B. Lippincott Co. 5s.

10. *No More War.*" By F. Herbert Stead. From Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 6s.

This is a story of love and passion amid the tragic surroundings of the present war. It is full of "most disastrous chances, of moving accidents by flood and field, of hairbreadth 'scapes." As a story it has its own interest.

But it is much more than a story. It is history veiled as romance. It lays bare for the first time the mystic origins of some of the greatest movements of the present day, and, above all, the rest of the Hague Movement.* It reveals the Unseen as the dominant and decisive factor in contemporaneous events. It ventures also, in faith and hope, to forecast the future. It suggests how, after the overthrow of Prussian militarism, the nations might secure the final extinction of war.

11. "Karen." By Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick. From W. Collins, Sons and Co., Ltd. 6s.

A tale describing the exciting adventures of an Englishwoman married to a German officer. She succeeds in helping British prisoners to escape. She herself leaves Germany in her motor-car without passports. The next chapter finds her comfortably installed at her father's tea-table in London. The book is an interesting contribution to the growing volume of literature on conditions in Germany.

The Occult Review (edited by Ralph Shirley, monthly, 9d. net) maintains its high standard of excellence unimpaired by present difficulties. The August and September numbers contain several articles of interest to Eastern students—"Kabir's Chart and Hidden Treasure," by G. R. S. Mead; "The Oracle of Delphi," by the Editor; a valuable article on "Eusapia Palladino," by Hereward Carrington; and "Reason and Revelation," by the late Sijil Abdul-Ali, merit special attention. "A Wartime Scripture," by Jocelyn Underhill, deals with the Bhagavad Gita as "the ideal volume for study by those engaged in warfare, those who are weary or comfortless—in a word, for a world at war." F. R. S.

CONSTANTINE: KING AND TRAITOR. By DEMETRA VAKA. (London and New York : John Lane.)

An important work, which reached us too late to be dealt with in the present issue.—ED. ASIATIC REVIEW.

* But carefully eliminates the originator in almost every instance.—ED. ASIATIC REVIEW.

GREEK NOTES

THE EDITOR

I. GREECE OUR ALLY

THE anniversary of the entry of Greece into the World War on the side of the Allies was celebrated with much enthusiasm in France and England last June. The proceedings in London terminated with a banquet at the Mansion House on the 27th, when just tribute was paid to the real services being rendered to the cause of world freedom by the heroic exploits of the Greek troops. Visitors to Greece during that month bear witness to the increasing audacity and desperation of the enemy propaganda—probably a counter-blow to the successes on the Western Front. Paris, it was asserted, had fallen, and the Kaiser's triumphal entry was fixed for the 25th. No news had come from Clemenceau since his flight to Bordeaux, and General Foch had been shot by his own soldiers!

"Greece must be made safe."

By these five little words in his speech at Washington the magnanimous Senator Lodge has earned the heartfelt thanks, not only of Greece, but of all Philhellenes. They convey to the Hellenic Kingdom the assurance that should have been hers from the date of her unconditional offer of service in the Allied cause made through M. Venizelos almost at the outset of the war.

"With the eternal gratitude of the Greeks." Such was the inscription on the floral tribute, tied with the national colours, and laid on the tomb of Lord Byron in Hucknall Torkard Church, Nottinghamshire, on September 24, by the members of the Greek Industrial Mission now in England. They are due to visit Glasgow on October 9, and will be accompanied by M. Gennadius, the Greek Minister in London.

II. GREECE AND THE NEUTRAL SOCIALISTS

In the *Preliminary Draft of a Peace Programme by a Committee of Neutral Socialists*, it is stated that all has not yet been heard that is to be said on the Balkan Question. Is the Committee referring to the practice obtaining at all recent Inter-Allied Socialist and Labour Conferences of withholding from publication documents which do not meet the views of the conveners of those Conferences, however important these documents may prove to be in themselves?

It is high time that some protest should be entered against this practice.

Greece has suffered in this respect, and what has taken place with regard to Greece has assuredly occurred in connection with other countries also.

Take as a case in point "Towards Permanent Peace,"* which, so far as I am aware, has not been referred to in the official publications of the Inter-Allied Conferences. Among the conditions for peace laid down were the following :

- "Kaiserism to be abolished.
- "Militarism to be destroyed. Individuals and companies not to be allowed to manufacture weapons.
- "International treaties to be sacred and inviolable.
- "No State to be allowed to keep a permanent army, under pain of being excluded from the Economic Union of those States which accept disarmament.
- "Freedom of each nationality to be guaranteed.
- "No Province or Island to be annexed if the population of it objects to such a change; but indemnities to be paid unless it is decided to establish a United States of Europe."

Furthermore, it was urged that an ideal of International Ethics should be created, with a view to dispel the "Prussian superstition as to the sanctity of the State; while a Council of Nations . . . must be encouraged to evolve, as also a Supreme Court of Nations, representing the International Will, under the sanction of the universal opinion of humanity."

III. INDEPENDENT BALKAN STATES

The creation of Balkan States, "independent of the Imperialistic aims of the Great Powers," is laid down by the Committee as one of the conditions of securing a lasting peace, a desideratum which cannot be realized unless the Eastern Question be adequately solved, the key to the solution of which lies solely in the restoration of Hellenism to its natural frontiers. This fact was cogently set forth in the following telegraphic memorandum addressed to the Inter-Allied Conference of February last :

"To FELICIA SCATCHARD, LONDON.

"ATHENS, February 17, 1918.

"En attendant notre arrivée, expliquez à la Conférence ce qui suit :

"La solution de la question orientale est la condition indispensable pour une paix durable. La suppression du militarisme serait vaine sans cette solution, et le rétablissement de l'Hellénisme dans ses frontières naturelles est la clef, pour ainsi dire, de cette solution. Ce n'est que la restitution des pays helléniques à la Grèce qui peut mettre fin aux tendances de domination des autres races en Orient. La race hellénique par tradition et diosyncrasie n'est pas conquérante, mais humanitaire et libérale. La réalisation des droits nationaux de la Grèce rendrait impossible les tendances despotiques des autres races, et assurerait l'équilibre qui servirait de base de coopération sincère, à l'avenir, pour la formation d'une fédération balkanique démocratique. Autrement la paix du monde serait en danger par les conflits des peuples de la Péninsule des Balkans.

"La cause de la guerre présente est l'injustice permise dans cette

* A statement of views submitted to International Socialism by Platon E. Drakoules, delegate of the Greek Labour League at the London Conference, August 28 and 29, 1917.

Péninsule, et ce n'est qu'en réparant cette injustice qu'on peut conclure une paix permanente. Ces réflexions concernent la Macédoine, l'Epire, la Thrace, l'Asie Mineure occidentale, et les îles de la mer d'Egée. Des statistiques et des documents officiels prouvent que la Bulgarie a travaillé systématiquement pour extirper les éléments helléniques dans le but de revendiquer des droits de nationalité. Sa conduite corrobore notre point de vue : la majorité des habitants de chaque pays doit avoir la souveraineté. Pareils aux agissements de la Bulgarie sont ceux de la Turquie, qui dernièrement a poussé les expulsions collectives des communautés helléniques jusqu'au suprême degré. Une des conséquences en est celle-ci : Plus de cinq cents mille réfugiés vivent en ce moment en Grèce au dépens du Gouvernement grec. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que la Turquie n'est autre chose qu'une armée d'occupation, et que la Bulgarie compte sur les sacrifices des autres pour réaliser ses rêves. Tout encouragement des tendances bulgares serait contraire aux principes établis de droit et de liberté. Le principe de la liberté des peuples de l'indépendance des nationalités et de leur droit de se régir par eux-mêmes est le principe fondamental du socialisme contemporain ; il ne serait pas possible de permettre la réalisation des projets de conquête de la classe capitaliste d'une nationalité balkanique sans renoncer à l'idéal même du Socialisme International, et sans répandre la semence de désordres futurs et de haines implacables parmi les peuples balkaniques, tandis qu'on a, en ce moment, une occasion unique de contribuer à la disparition des animosités de race suscitées sur la Péninsule balkanique par les intrigues des capitalistes et des militaires.

"Au nom de la liberté des peuples et de la solidarité humaine nous avons le devoir de prier la conférence de prendre nos arguments en considération très sérieuse, car leur importance est inséparable de la nécessité de la paix du monde.

"PLATON E. DRAKOULES,
"APOSTOL POLYZOPOULOS,*
"GEORGE ALEXIADES."

This communication was ignored, and, despite Mr. Sidney Webb's assurance that Greece should receive full attention, no voice was raised on behalf of Hellenic interests at the Conference—a fact for which Mr. Henderson expressed his regret when his attention was drawn to the criticism of the *Labour War Aims Memorandum* in our issue for last July.

IV. BALKAN FEDERATION |

The Neutral Socialists seem to be little acquainted with Balkan history even so far as it concerns the history of Balkan Socialism. The Balkan Socialist parties were on the eve of being united a short time before the war, when, at Bucharest and Sofia, at meetings between Racowsky of Roumania and Bulgaria, and Drakoules of Athens, the project of creating an Inter-Balkan Socialist Bureau at Sofia, as an avenue to a democratic Balkan Federation, was accepted by all the Balkan Socialist parties.

* This gentleman left Athens as delegate of the Greek Labour League, but deserted his comrades when he discovered Huysman's hostile attitude to the pro-Ally Greek delegates.—ED. ASIATIC REVIEW.

† Balkan federation has been a plank of Greek Socialism since 1894, when for the first time there was a Socialist candidate for Parliament, and 7,000 votes were recorded on behalf of that programme.

V. BALKAN NATIONAL PROBLEMS

"Can Balkan quarrels be ended by a 'friendly understanding' as suggested by the Neutral Socialists?" I inquired of Dr. Drakoules.

"There are considerations of justice which no amount of 'friendly understanding' can satisfy," he replied. "There are points on which Bulgaria and Greece cannot make 'mutual concessions.' Moreover, it is idle to say that these two countries have 'identical interests,' since they themselves do not think so. Nor does it seem conducive to a 'friendly understanding' to suggest that 'Serbia's interest can be promoted by the incorporation of Montenegro' or that Salonica is 'Serbia's proper port.' The Montenegrins have a separate national consciousness, and Salonica is a part of Greece. Nor does it pave the way to federation to urge that Bulgarian and Serbian delegations both agree that the 'port of Salonica should be subject to the common jurisdiction of the Balkan States.'"

"But is it not true," I asked, "that the Bulgarian problem would be solved by the inclusion of as much of Macedonia as is Bulgarian?"

"That is so," he assented; "but since Bulgaria considers the whole of Macedonia as Bulgarian, her problem will remain unsolved so long as the principle of consulting the peoples themselves is overlooked."

"What must be done to enable the Balkan nations to develop a 'progressive policy'?" I inquired.

"The main thing is to persuade them to solve their differences consonant with the requirements of national justice—*i.e.*, in accordance with the principles of self-determination."

VI. THE NATIONAL PROBLEM OF GREECE

"The national problem of Greece, what of that?" I asked.

"It can be solved only by satisfying the demands of justice," was the reply, "*which demands are exactly conterminous with the national claims.* Yet Greece is willing to sacrifice much for the sake of democratic peace."

"The sacrifice would seem to be expected from Greece in view of the economic requirements of the Balkans," I interposed.

"The view that economic necessity requires the aggrandisement of the other States at the expense of Greece militates against all sense of justice, and leaves the national problem of Greece unsolved," declared Dr. Drakoules with some warmth; "and the danger to peace from this cause is so obvious, that early this year I sent a telegram to Stockholm protesting on behalf of the Greek workers against this short-sighted policy. I repeat, however, that Greece is prepared to make sacrifices in the interests of the whole; and if we are to look forward to federation in the Balkan Peninsula, we must start from the premises that in the verdict of the peoples themselves lies the only democratic solution."

The telegram referred to above has not been included in official reports, so I append it here:

"**LIGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS DE GRECE,**
 " **PARTI SOCIALISTE GRÉC,**
 " **40, RUE DU PIREX, ATHENES,**
 " **January, 1918.**

"CONGRES SOCIALISTE, STOCKHOLM

" C'est avec étonnement et regret que le Parti Socialiste grec a vu que le comité d'organisation du Congrès Socialiste de Stockholm est disposé à ignorer l'opinion et les sentiments des Socialistes Balkans relativement à l'avenir d'une province balkanique et favoriser les prétentions de la bourgeoisie bulgare sur cette province. La Macédoine est une province dont une petite portion seulement peut être considérée comme bulgarisée, et tout encouragement des tendances bulgares au delà de cette portion, serait contraire aux principes établis de liberté et de droit.

" Le principe de la liberté des peuples, de l'indépendance des nationalités, et de leur droit de disposer d'elles-mêmes, est un principe fondamental du Socialisme Contemporain, et il ne serait pas possible de permettre les projets de conquête de la classe capitaliste d'une nationalité balkanique sans renoncer à l'idéal même du Socialisme International, et sans jeter les semences des discords futurs et des haines implacables parmi les peuples balkaniques, tandis que le Socialisme International a en ce moment une opportunité unique de contribuer à faire effacer les antipathies raciales si longtemps cultivées sur la Péninsule balcanique par les intrigues plutocratiques et militaristes.

" Au nom de la liberté des peuples et de la solidarité humaine j'ai le devoir de faire appel à vous de montrer moins de faveur aux efforts occultes de la Bulgarie officielle. Salutations fraternelles.

" P. E. DRAKOULES."

VII. THE SEPTEMBER INTER-ALLIED CONFERENCE

(Labour and Socialist) was forced by the Women's Party and the American delegation to admit the Press. Greek representatives opposed to the peace-without-victory view were not invited. This telegram was therefore sent to the Conference :

" On behalf of the Greek Labour Movement, I desire to point out to the Conference the great importance of the Hellenic factor in the crusade against Prussian designs, and to submit the opinion of the Greek working classes that no discussion with enemy Socialists is desirable before abolition of German methods of government.

" DPA 100.

" UNION SOCIETY, OXFORD,
 " September 19, 1918."

As, for obvious reasons, the above vital statement was not read out, it is placed on record in these notes.

F. R. SCATCHERD.

CORRESPONDENCE

“A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR”

A NOTE ON THE BALTIC GERMANS.

To the Editor of the Asiatic Review.

MADAM,

The object of Mr. Francis Steuart's note is not clear. One asks, Are these remarks necessary and relevant?

To begin with, why does he quote Napoleon, who cannot be considered as an authority on Russian or British interests, but rather the contrary? As a matter of fact, the quoted words of Napoleon at Tilsit are tactless, mischievous, and risky. Tactless, because Napoleon attempted thereby to teach the Emperor Alexander what he should do in the maintenance of his own interests. The Livonians who occupied positions in the entourage of the Emperor had a full national right to do so, and were evidently entrusted with such positions because they were considered by their Sovereign to be the right men in the right places. Imagine what your correspondent would say if some French General expressed astonishment at the fact that so many Scotsmen, Welshmen, and Irishmen held office in England! Napoleon's words are mischievous because they might, as has happened with your correspondent, give rise in some minds to the false supposition that the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces are “inimical to the inhabitants of Russia.” The quoted remark is risky in the light of the fact that Napoleon himself was not French, but a Corsican of Italian race. His career was dependent on the fact that his foreign origin did not weigh in the balance. He should therefore be the last to comment on the fact that there were Livonians in the entourage of Alexander I.

Various historic data are given which have really not a bearing on the question, and which are, I think, incorrect. The Livonian Order ceased to exist in 1561, not 1582. Its territory, which comprised Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia, was divided, so that Courland became, not “a possession of the Teutonic Order,” but a dukedom suzerain to the Crown of Poland from 1561 to 1795, and the rest of the territory became a province of Poland until conquered by the Swedes. Courland never “fell under Russian suzerainty,” but was simply incorporated by Russia in 1795, in consequence of the last partition of Poland, at the request of the Diet of the nobles, and after the abdication of the last Duke Peter. It is therefore clear that the Baltic provinces had already lost their connection with

Germany in 1561, and that Livonia and Estonia from 1721 and Courland from 1795 belonged to the Russian Empire. Dating from this time the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces became Russians, though being of Teutonic descent. Whenever they travelled abroad they declared themselves to be Russians, and they had every right to do so, since their nationality was Russian. Even by the Germans themselves they were never called Germans, but "Deutschrussen"—i.e., "Russians of Teutonic extraction." Russians likewise do not call the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces Germans ("Germantsy"), but reserve this appellation exclusively to the people of the German Empire. On the contrary, those of foreign descent naturalized in Germany were called Germans, even though they bore such names as Keith, Butler, Tilly, and Mackensen, a corruption of Mackenzie. Political nationality has at all times and everywhere overshadowed racial descent, more particularly so when several generations and centuries have passed since the change had taken place, as in the case of the Baltic provinces.

Reverting from past to present-day conditions, may I remind my readers that the inhabitants of the Russian Baltic provinces have fought on the side of the Allies, and that this consideration alone would arouse their objection to being called Germans, an appellation which might easily induce the British to look upon them with suspicion? I know of men originating from the nobility of the Baltic provinces who are fighting in the ranks of the British Army, and would naturally resent being called Germans. Under the heading "Damages for being called a German," *The Times* of June 12th reports the case of one, Louis Stemberg, "a Russian born in Courland," who was awarded £250 damages at Northampton Assizes from defendant who had described him a "German." That makes the position abundantly clear.

The argument of your correspondent turns—unconsciously, no doubt—to the advantage of Germany, who, now occupying the Baltic provinces, desires to prove that these provinces are German. This side of the "Note on the Baltic Germans" is not without piquancy. But besides, there is an unwholesome tendency to stir up class hatred. "The Baltic Barons, as they are called," are supposed to be anxious to maintain their position as "top dog." The Baltic Barons, who hold their titles from feudal times, had them confirmed by Imperial rescripts when Russia acquired these provinces; therefore the expression used, "as they are called," has no meaning whatever. Broadly speaking, the nobility and the middle class in the Baltic provinces are both of Teutonic descent, while the proletariat and the peasants are of Lettish and Estonian origin. That is why in Estonia a peasant is called an "Esthe"—a racial expression; and an Estonian who is not a peasant is called an "Estlander"—a geographical expression. The allegation that only a noble's wife is called a "Frau" is untrue, as also is the assertion, referring to the Baltic nobles, "intermarrying wholly among themselves or with East Prussian families." My own family, as a typical example, has intermarried with several British and Russian families, not to mention other cases of alliance with Swedish, Russian, and Finnish stock. As to the sons of the Baltic nobles who

"were often educated in Germany," such cases could only be great exceptions, since by so doing no qualification for civil service in Russia was obtained, and the usual reduction in the term of military service granted to those of higher education was forfeited. Your correspondent also alleges that "the noble did not give his own name to the peasant, to avoid any risk of vile identity." This certainly was not the case. The peasants wanted to assume not only the names, but also the titles of their landlords, and that could not be conceded; but they could not possibly be prevented from taking any surname they liked.

The statement that the people of the Russian Baltic provinces are "hyphenated" is also unnecessary and malicious. The people of the Baltic provinces have always most loyally identified themselves with the Russian Empire, together with all its other races. The defender of Sevastopol, Count Totleben, descended from a Baltic-Teutonic stock, was at the same time a Russian national hero.

Great empires of the size of the British Empire and Russia, as she was and will be again in the future, cannot consist of one race alone. The epithet of "hyphenated" is entirely out of place. The Baltic nobility and bourgeoisie will consolidate and amalgamate themselves with the Letts and Ests now that the fetters of the Russian bureaucracy have fallen, and any attempt at sowing discord amongst them must fail.

A. HEYKING.

"EAST INDIA"—AND "THE WEST INDIES"

OWING to a pardonable blunder the West Indies acquired, when discovered, a name to which they had absolutely no right or claim. By a less excusable extension of that error the aborigines of Central, and the "Redskins" of North America also came to be styled "Indians." The perpetuation of the blunder is, however, indefensible. To talk of "India" as "East India" implies the existence of a "West India," which does not exist, yet officially "East India" is still accepted, apparently in deference to the Colonial Office, which shrinks from the mental effort of finding a suitable and not absurdly misleading term for the Island Colonies of the Atlantic.

The retention of the term "West Indies" might possibly be defended on grounds of historical sentiment—if it did not mislead not merely the man in the street but the scholar as well. For example, the *Athenaeum* Subject Index to Periodicals, 1916, lists under "Modern Languages" "The 'Indians' of British Guiana" and even the north-west coast of America, in close proximity to Indo-European Philology, under which it includes a vocabulary of Romani and Dard, refusing apparently to recognize the latter as an "Indian" language, and excluding it altogether from its category of Oriental tongues. In time we may find the term "Indian" reserved to the races of the New World! Surely the time has come for the Indian and Colonial Offices to agree on accurate nomenclature. The present misuse of the terms "Indies" and "Indian" is hardly flattering to the self-esteem of those who inherit an ancient civilization.

H. A. K.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

CONTENTS: "India Day"—Presentation from India to Viscount Morley at the National Liberal Club—Sir Satyendra Sinha at the Overseas Press Club—The Indian Reform Scheme at the Union of East and West Mr. A. J. Balfour on Serbia (Marston House)—Father Nicholai Velimirovic and other Lecturers on Serbia.—A Distinguished Russian Visitor: Madame Polontseva, Doctor of Philosophy—Upcoming Events

INDIA

FOR the first time since there have been Flag Days connected with the war, India had her turn in London on September 20. There have been Flag Days for every imaginable object, yet not one for India. The public could hardly believe it. Not that Indian soldiers have been overlooked: there have been organizations at work here and in India, the Indian Soldiers' Comforts Fund, the Mesopotamia Fund, the Eastern League, among the number which have done splendid service, but the public, as approached individually in the streets by means of the organization of a Flag Day in London, had its first opportunity only on September 20, 1918, to testify to its gratitude for India's services in the war. The appeal was for £50,000 for huts and clubs and their equipment for Indian troops on all fronts. H.H. Princess Sophia Duleep Singh was Hon. Secretary of India Day; the Chairman was Brigadier-General E. M. Flint; the Hon. Treasurer, Sir Henry Proctor; and the Organizing Secretary, Mrs. Kate Delafield, 3, Bedford Place, London, W.C. 1. The Fund will be administered by the War Emergency Committee of the Y.M.C.A. The response was generous, both financially and personally, and the sun also lent its welcome aid on the Day. From considerably over one hundred strategic points railway stations, hotels, restaurants, busy centres and thoroughfares the attack was made on London by an army of sellers with miniature elephants in gilt and bronze, stars with a charming view of the Taj Mahal at Agra, flags with a gaily caparisoned elephant and mahout. The little elephants were most popular from 4 a.m. in the markets till darkness fell and afterwards--when the theatres yielded their share of contributors to the Fund. There were many instances of great self-denial in order to help India Day; some busy workers in the city gave from 4 to 8 a.m., and then took up their daily duties, and nurses and V.A.D.'s gave their leisure time, much of which ought to have been spent in sleep. Through the hospitality of the

Duchess of Wellington, there was a dépôt at Apsley House, and among the many helpers were Lady Islington, Lady Kensington, Lady Holmwood, Lady Pinhey, Lady Primrose, the Hon. Mrs. Eric Thesiger, the Hon. Mrs. Stuart Wortley, Lady Muir-Mackenzie, Lady Freemantle, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. Bhola Nauth, Mrs. Kotval, Mrs. Norrie, and Mrs. Banfield. The National Indian Association and other organizations did splendid service, and a special attraction in Trafalgar Square was the aeroplane model, made and exhibited by Homi Kotval, a Parsi aeronautical student.

Field-Marshal Lord French rendered India Day notable help by writing to Princess Sophia to express his warmest good wishes for success, and paying fine tribute to the tenacity, endurance, and fine fighting qualities of the Indian troops, dispatched suddenly from a hot climate to the rigours of a Western winter and totally unknown methods of warfare. In the course of his letter he wrote : "As Commander-in-Chief I was on many occasions deeply indebted to them for valuable help, and I have no hesitation in saying that they splendidly upheld the glorious fighting traditions of the Indian Army."

Her Majesty Queen Alexandra wrote a personal letter to Princess Sophia expressing warmest sympathy with the effort on behalf of India's soldiers, and sending a cheque for £50. From the city came many generous gifts, including £1,050 from the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China; £1,000 from the P. and O.; £5,000 from the Ellerman Lines; 100 guineas from J. Latta, Esq.; 100 guineas from Grindlay and Co.; £100 from the Persian Oil Co.; £50 from the National Bank of India; £50 from the Mercantile Bank of India; and £50 from G. Henderson and Son.

The movement is spreading beyond London, and India Days are to be held in various parts of the country. It is well that there is public recognition of a duty to India's fighting men, who on the Western Front, in Gallipoli, Egypt, Palestine, Salonika, Aden, Africa, and Mesopotamia have rendered devoted and daring service to the cause of the Allies. There is also to be in the near future a Mansion House meeting, presided over by the Lord Mayor, in furtherance of the same excellent object.

Probably no statesman of recent times could have been the centre of the remarkable demonstration of appreciation, nay, more, of affection, at the National Liberal Club, on July 25, but Lord Morley of Blackburn, o.m. The occasion was unique. For the first time a British statesman was the recipient in this country of a spontaneous tribute of admiration from his Indian friends. The bust, excellent as a likeness and a work of art worthy of its renowned sculptor, Mr. A. Bruce-Joy, which was presented to Lord Morley and then presented by him to the National Liberal Club, expressed in tangible form the love and respect felt in India for Lord Morley's great services to that country. Lord Morley stands for high ideals, and long before he was invested with political responsibility on behalf of India, his writings as well as his spoken words and the deeds of his public life had sunk deep into the heart of thinking India. At a time when attention in East and West

is being focussed upon the new reform proposals, it was fitting that tribute should be paid to the statesman who ten years ago was not daunted by difficulties in taking bold and progressive action with regard to the wider and more effective association of Indians in the government of their country.

There was a notable rally of Lord Morley's friends, British and Indian, old and young, men and women—for the trend of modern times was evident in the interest taken by women in the occasion, and the actual unveiling ceremony was performed by an Indian, Lady Abbas Ali Baig. Among the many who gathered to pay tribute to the veteran were Mr. E. S. Montagu, M.P., Secretary of State for India, Mrs. Montagu, Lord Bryce, Mr. Birrell, M.P., Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., Sir Herbert Roberts, M.P., Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., Lady Cecilia Roberts, Princess Sophia Dulceep Singh, Sir Abbas and Lady Baig, Lord and Lady Carmichael, Sir William and Lady Duke, Sir Charles and Lady Lyall, Sir M. M. Bhownagree, chairman of the Presentation Committee, Mr. N. C. Sen, secretary, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Sir Pralshankar Puttani, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Sir A. and Lady Hirtel, Lord Lincolnshire, president of the National Liberal Club, presided, and pointed out that even in the midst of a great war, in which India's soldiers were playing a heroic part, the moment is fitting for a new departure with regard to the governing of India. Sir M. M. Bhownagree, who made the presentation, told how the inception came from Indians who had been in personal touch with Lord Morley, and that their idea of commemorating his eventful connection with India was widely supported throughout the Indian Empire. A sculptured bust, even though a fine work of art, was not an adequate representation of the sentiment prevailing, but it carried with it the love, reverence, and sense of obligation of the people of India. Sir Abbas Ali Baig paid tribute to Lord Morley's services to India at a critical time, and declared that his name is enshrined in the hearts of the people.

Lord Morley was greeted with resounding cheers on rising to reply, and it was evident that the demonstration and the occasion touched him deeply. He regretted the absence of familiar friends, mentioning especially the late Mr. Gokhale, and Sir Krishna Gupia, whose service and fellowship had been both helpful and enlightening. He pointed out that the keynote of the reform scheme with which Lord Minto and he were associated was sympathy. Sympathy was no substitute for wise government, but no government was wise which tried to do without sympathy. Neither he nor Lord Minto imagined that the reforms of 1908 would satisfy India's political hunger, but it was a gratification to hear from Lord Hardinge on the outbreak of war that the feeling in India had never been so good, and to know of the vast political improvement which had taken place since the operation of the reforms of 1908. Looking at the reform proposals of 1918, he felt sure he could trace the parental lineaments of 1908. Paying tribute to the energy and devotion of Mr. Montagu when his colleague at the India Office, Lord Morley pointed out that no one could suppose India would be left un-

touched by the great convulsion and passion sweeping over the world. India's desires could not be met by a dogmatic negative; they must receive considered treatment. With regard to the acceptance of the bust by the National Liberal Club, Lord Morley expressed his special pleasure and appreciation of the honour, because, whatever may have been his faults, he had been from first to last a National Liberal!

Mr. Montagu's brief speech was warmly welcomed. He declared that the greatest tribute to Lord Morley and his work was the fact that something more was now necessary. Referring to his work with Lord Morley at the India Office he said: "While he laboured I learned. I can assure him that there has been crowded into the nine years since his reforms were instituted so great a political development in India as would be impossible to believe unless one had seen it at its beginning and to-day. We are determined to go on with the lessons which Lord Morley and his colleagues taught the world. However great the difficulty and however loud the opposition, I am determined, wherever I may find myself, to work all I know to place India on the indisputable road to the final vindication and justification of the glorious British connection, responsible, complete, self-governed."

Before his return to India, Sir Satyendra Sinha, who has again this year represented India at the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, received many more requests to speak than he could grant. At a conference of the Overseas Press Centre, however, he pointed out the connection between prosperity and loyalty. India is a poor country. This should not be. With a population intelligent and law-abiding, with an amazingly fertile soil, with unlimited resources of men and material, India should be as prosperous as any other part of the Empire. The function of Government was to see that there was prosperity in the land, and educated men in India were asking: "What is wrong with the Government?" Sir Satyendra believed that India would progress under self-government as Britain and the Overseas Dominions have done. Mistakes would be made, instances of inefficiency and even dishonesty might occur, but beyond these disappointments lay a brighter future; he always believed that the goal of British Rule in India was to make India as capable of governing herself as were Canada, Australia, and South Africa. The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was valuable, he said, for the promise it held out for the future. If the main principles of the scheme were carried out, with the elimination of some of its over-cautious checks and counter-checks, he, as an Indian, thought it would give satisfaction in India.

The publication of the Indian Reform Scheme led the Union of East and West to depart from its usual sphere of action—Indian plays and the interests of Indian literature and art—and hold a meeting more political in character. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu gave in outline the historic background of the reform proposals, and welcomed them as

evidence of a real desire to forge ahead along the road which will bring India into the community of free nations in the British Commonwealth. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali showed that by her spirit of adventure, her daring in action, her tenacity of effort, and her joy in life, India had won her right to political advancement. Mr. Edward Lucas, Agent-General for South Australia, made a sympathetic speech.

SERBIA

At an important and impressive meeting at the Mansion House, presided over by the Lord Mayor, and supported by Mr. A. J. Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the French Minister Plenipotentiary, the Italian Ambassador, and other representatives of the belligerent nations, the Serbian Minister pointed out that the war was forced upon Serbia, but she was determined to bear any suffering necessary to realize her goal, the union of the Slavs of the Balkans. The occasion was the inauguration of the Serbian (Yugo-Slav) National War Aims Committee, the aims of which, as stated at the meeting, include the independence and union of the Yugo-Slavs, the Balkans for the Balkan peoples, reparation for the devastated countries of the Yugo-Slavs, and economic and intellectual intercourse with the Allies, as the best means of support and recovery from the present catastrophe. Mr. Balfour concluded a review of the situation, past and present, with warm support of the aims of the Committee and the expression of hope that the Serbian Minister, on the conclusion of peace, would "be able to look, not merely to his own country, but to the race of which his country is only a part, and say that they have shared to the full the advantages which the blood and treasure so freely poured out have obtained."

Father Nicholai Velimirovic and other lecturers have rendered great service to Serbia in speaking to many audiences in this country—in private houses, as, for instance, at Lady Mond's; to wounded soldiers, as, for instance, at Clivedon; to inquiring and sympathetic hearts, as, for instance, at the gathering in Mortimer Hall, over which Mr. D. N. Dunlop, president of the London Federation of the Theosophical Society, presided. Father Nicholai, one of the most spiritually minded of men and one who has not become hard or embittered by the sorrowful experiences of his country and people, always impresses upon his audience that Serbia is being perfected by suffering; that she will not be happy and free until all the nations on earth are also happy and free. Serbians have a devoted love of Nature, which they regard as living; they teach the children not to hurt the trees or flowers, and to regard the birds and animals and forces of Nature as their friends, after the manner of St. Francis of Assisi. All Nations need love and power; power without love is brutal; love without power is helpless.

RUSSIA

An interesting Russian visitor to this country is Madame Polovtseva, a Doctor of Philosophy, and a worker for many years in the municipal activities of Petrograd and Peterhof, of which, by the way, she might have been mayor, had she consented to fulfil the office. She preferred, however, to work in other directions. She represents in this country the great Co-operative Movement in Russia, and has undaunted faith that this movement will be the mainstay and salvation of her country. In 1915 there were 30,000 Co-operative Societies of various kinds in Russia; in 1917 their number had increased to 50,000 with 10,000,000 members. These societies, which are concerned with education and cultural progress as well as with economics, food supply, care of mothers and children, libraries, etc., still exist and carry on their work in spite of the disastrous condition of the country. Dr. Polovtseva earnestly desires that through the Co-operative Societies, ramifying throughout Russia, the Allies should make known to the huge population—180,000,000, of whom three-quarters are unlettered peasants—the difference between their aims and methods and those of Germany. Truly this dignified Russian woman, whose personal charm is only equalled by her sincerity and notable public service, is an irresistible ambassador of goodwill between the yet mighty and living Russia and the Allies.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

The approach of autumn brings with it the first indications of many advantages afforded by learned institutions for those who are keenly interested in the meeting of East and West. At the School of Oriental Studies the following languages have been added to the curriculum: Panjabi, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Melanesian, Micronesian, Polynesian, and Papuan, as well as courses in Indian and Chinese Palaeography. A course of lectures and practical classes in Phonetics will be given during the session, which commenced on September 30. On Thursdays, October 10 and 17, at 3 p.m., Mr. Alexander Sefil will lecture on "Arabic is a Medium of Education and Commerce," and "Islam in its Relation to International Morality." Dr. E. Edwards, M.A., of the British Museum, will lecture on Turkish Literature on Wednesdays, October 9, 16, 23, and 30, at 3 p.m. Mrs. Rhys David has joined the staff of the School as Lecturer in Pali. The prospectus of the third session of the School, September 30, 1918, to July 12, 1919, giving necessary information as to its work, can be obtained from the secretary, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 1.

At University College (University of London) Professor Flinders Petrie will lecture on "Prehistoric Egypt" on Thursday, October 3, at 2.30 p.m., and Dr. T. G. Pinches on "Shinar and Assur, Pictures of an Early Civilization," on the same day at 4 p.m. "The Sea Gates of Empire" is the subject of Professor L. W. Lyde's lecture on Thursday, October 17, at 4 p.m. Other lectures of special interest include: "Greek

Sculpture," by Professor Percy Gardner, on Tuesday, October 8, at 3 p.m.; "The Cathedrals of the Marne-Aisne District (Rheims, Soissons, etc.)," by Professor F. W. Simpson, on Thursday, October 31, at 5.30 p.m.; "Early Roman Legal Developments," by Professor A. F. Murison, on Tuesday, October 8, at 6 p.m.; "The Comparative Law of Legal Procedure," and "The Part of Greece in Jurisprudence," by Professor Sir John Macdonnell, on Wednesdays, October 16, 23, 30, at 5.30 p.m.; "The Nature and Use of 'Tones' in Chinese and other Languages," by David Jones, M.A., on Monday, October 21, at 5 p.m.; "The League of Nations," by Professor A. F. Pollard, on Thursdays, October 10, 24, November 7, at 5 p.m.; "The Problem of International Language," by H. E. Palmer, on Thursdays, November 21, 28, December 5, 12, at 5 p.m.; "Ghosts," by Garveth Read, M.A., on Thursday, October 3, at 5 p.m.

At King's College (University of London) lectures, under the auspices of the United Russia Societies Association, will be given at the College on October 15, November 19, December 17.

At the London School of Economics (University of London) inaugural public lectures include: "The Living Wage" (Ratan Tata Department of Social Science), by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree on October 3, at 5 p.m.; "Science in Politics" (Department of Public Administration), by Professor Graham Wallas on October 9, at 5 p.m.; and courses of lectures (six) on "International Relations from the Sociological Standpoint," by Professor L. T. Hobhouse, on Fridays, beginning on October 4, at 5 p.m.; and on "International Treaties" (three) by Sir John Macdonell, on Thursdays, beginning on November 21, at 5.30 p.m.

At the Central Asian Society, 22, Albemarle Street, W., on Wednesday, October 9, at 4.30 p.m., Miss Annette M. B. Meakin will lecture on "Life in Russian Turkestan and Germany's Menace to India."

A. A. S.

